

The Second Part
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION

By the Lords.

Die Lunæ 3. Januarij 1680.

ORdered by the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal* in Parliament Assembled, That the Thanks of this House be given to Dr. Burnet, for the great Service done by him to this Kingdom, and the Protestant Religion, in writing the *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, so truly and exactly; And that he be desired to proceed in the perfecting what he further intends therein with all convenient speed.

Jo. Browne Cleric. Parliamentorum.

By the Commons.

Jovis 23. Die Decemb. 1680.

ORdered, That the Thanks of *This House* be given to Dr. Burnet, for his Book Intituled *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*.

Will. Goldesbrough Cleric. Dom. Com.

Mercurij 5. Die Januarij 1680.

ORdered that Dr. Burnet be desired to proceed with, and compleat that good Work by him begun in Writing and Publishing *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*.

Will. Goldesbrough Cler. Dom. Com.



Printed for Rich^d. Chiswell at the Rose and Crowne in S^t. Pauls Ch^h

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION
OF THE
Church of England.

The Second Part.

OF THE
Progress made in it till the Settlement of
it in the beginning
OF
Q. Elizabeths Reign.

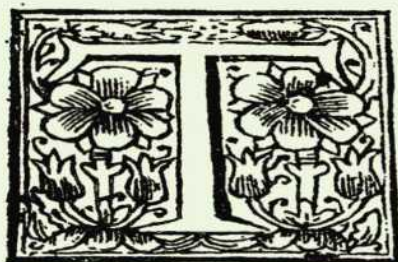
The Second Edition, Corrected.

By *GILBERT BURNET*, D D.²

L O N D O N,

Printed by T. H. for **Richard Chiswell**, at the Rose and Crown
in St. Paul's Church-yard, **MDCLXXXIII**

THE PREFACE



THE favourable reception which the former Part of Work had, together with the new Materials that sent me from Noble and Worthy Hands, have encouraged me to prosecute it, and to carry down the History of the Reformation of this Church till it was brought to a compleat settlement in the beginning of Queen Elizabeths Reign, which I now offer to the World.

The great zeal of this Age for what was done in that, about Religion, has made the History of it to be received and read with more than ordinary attention and care: and many have expressed their satisfaction in what was formerly published, by contributing several Papers of great consequence to what remained: and since I found no part of the first Volume was more universally acceptable, than that wherein I was only a Transcriber, I mean the Collection of Records and Authentick Papers, which I had set down in confirmation of the more remarkable and doubtful parts of the History; I continue the same method now. I shall repeat nothing here that was in my former Preface: But refer the Reader to such things as concern this History in general, and my encouragement in the undertaking and prosecution of it, to what is there premised to the whole Work: and therefore I shall now enlarge on such things as do more particularly relate to this Volume.

The Papers that were conveyed to me from several Hands are referred to, as the occasion to mention them occurs in the History, with such acknowledgments as I thought best became this way of writing, though far short of the merits of those who furnished me with them. But the Store-house from whence I drew the greatest part both of the History and Collection, is the often-celebrated Cotton Library, out of which, by the noble favour of its truly learned Owner, Sir John Cotton, I gathered all that was necessary for composing this Part, together with some few things which had escaped me in my former Search; and belong to the First Part: and those I have mixed in the Collection added to this Volume upon such occasions as I thought most pertinent. But among all the Remains of the last Age, that are with great industry and order laid up in that Treasury, none pleased me better, nor were of more use to me, than the Journal of King Edwards Reign, written all with his own Hand: with some other Papers of his, which I have put by themselves in the beginning of the Collection: Of these I shall say nothing here, having given a full account of them in the History of his Reign, to which I refer the Reader. I find most of our Writers have taken Parcels out of them, and Sir John Heyward has transcribed from them the greatest part of his Book: therefore I thought this thing

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thing of such consequence, that upon good advice I have published them all faithfully copied from the Originals.

But as others assisted me towards the perfecting this Part, so that learned Divine, and most exact Enquirer into Historical Learning, Mr. Fulman, Rector of Hamton-Meysey in Gloucester-shire, did most signally oblige me, by a Collection of some mistakes I had made in the former Work. He had for many years applied his thoughts with a very searching care to the same Subject, and so was able to judge more critically of it, than other Readers. Some of those had escaped me, others had not come within my view, in some particulars my Vouchers were not good, and in others I had mistaken Authors. These I publish at the end of this Volume, being neither a-

to confess my faults, nor unwilling to acknowledge from what and I received better information. My design in writing is to discover Truth, and to deliver it down impartially to the next Age; so I should think it both a mean and criminal piece of vanity to suppress this discovery of my Errors. And though the number and consequence of them had been greater than it is, I should rather have submitted to a much severer Penance, than have left the World in the mistakes, I had led them into: yet I was not a little pleased to find that they were neither many, nor of importance to the main Parts of the History: and were chiefly about Dates or small variations in the order of Time. I hope this Part has fewer faults since that worthy Person did pursue his former kindness so far, as to review it before-hand: and with great judgment to correct such errors as he found in it: Those I had formerly fallen into, made me more careful in examining even the smallest matters. Yet if after all my care, and the kind Censures of those who have revised this Work, there is any thing left that may require a further Retraction, I shall not decline to make it so soon as I see there is need of it, being, I hope, raised above the poor vanity of seeking my own reputation, by sacrificing Truth to it.

Those to whose censure I submitted this whole History in both its Parts, where chiefly three great Divines, whose Lives are such Examples, their Sermons such Instructions; their Writings such unanswerable Vindications of our Church, and their whole deportment so suitable to their profession, that as I reckon my being admitted into some measure of friendship with them, among the chief Blessings of my Life, so I know nothing can more effectually recommend this Work than to say that it passed with their hearty approbation, after they had examined it with that care, which their great zeal for the Cause concerned in it, and their goodness to the Author, and freedom with him obliged them to use. They are so well known, that without naming them, those of this Age will easily guess who they are; and they will be so well known to Posterity, by their excellent Writings, that the naming them is so high an advantage to my Book, that I much doubt whether it is decent for me to do it. One of them, Dr. Lloyd, is now, while I am writing, by His Majesties favour, promoted to the Bishoprick of St. Asaph: a Dignity to which how deservedly soever his great Learning, Piety, and Merit, has advanced him, yet I particularly know how far he was from any aspirings to it. It was he I described in my former Preface, that engaged me first to this design, and for that reason he has been more than ordinary careful to examine it, with that exactness at is peculiar to him. The other two are the Reverend, Learned, and

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and Judicious Deans, of Canterbury and St. Pauls, Dr. Tillotson, and Dr. Stillingfleet, too well known to receive any addition from the Characters I can give of them.

Others gave me Supplies of another sort, to enable me to go through with an undertaking that put me to no small expence. I am not ashamed to acknowledge, that the straitness of my condition, made this uneasie to me, being destitute of all publick provision: but I should be much ashamed of my ingratitude, if I did not celebrate their bounty who have taken such care of me, as not to leave this addition of charge, on one who lives not without difficulties. I must again repeat my Thanks, for the generous kindness, protection, and liberal Supplies of Sir Harbottle Grimston Master of the Rolls, this being the sixth year of my subsistence him, to whom I must ever acknowledge that I am more beholding than to Men living. The noble Mr. Boyle, as he employs both his Time and Wealth, for the good of Mankind, (for which he considers himself as chiefly born, and which he has promoted not only in his own excellent Writings, that have made him so famous over all the World, but in many other designs that have been chiefly carried on at his cost,) so hath he renewed his kindness to me in largesses suitable to so great a Mind. Others were also pleased to joyn their help. The Right Honourable the Lord Finch, now Lord High Chancellor of England, whose great Parts, and greater Vertues, are so conspicuous, that it were a high Presumption in me to say any thing in his commendation, being in nothing more eminent than in his zeal for, and care of this Church, thought it might be of some importance to have its History well digested, and therefore as he bore a large share of my expence, so he took it more particularly under his care, and under all the Burdens of that high Employment which he now bears, yet found time for reading it in Manuscript, of which he must have robbed himself, since he never denies it to those who have a Right to it on any publick account; and hath added such Remarks and Corrections as are no small part of any finishing it may be judged to have. The Lord Russel, the Inheritor of that Zeal for true Religion, and the other Vertues that have from the first beginnings of the Reformation, in a continued Entail, adorned that Noble Family of Bedford, beyond most others of the Kingdom, did espouse the Interests of the Protestant Religion in this particular, as he has done on all other more publick occasions; and by a most liberal Supply encouraged me to prosecute this Undertaking. That Worthy Counsellor, whose celebrated Integrity and clear Judgment have raised him so high in his Profession, Anthony Keck Esquire, did also concur in easing me of the charge that Searching, Copying, and gathering Materials put me to: And having received as much from these my Noble Benefactors, as did enable me to carry on my Design, I did excuse my self at other Persons Hands, who very generously offered to supply me in the expence which this Work brought with it. That was done in a most extraordinary manner, by the Right Honourable the Earl of Halifax, whom, if I reckon among the greatest Persons this Age, has produced, I am sure all that know him will allow, that I speak modestly of him: He indeed offered me the yearly continuance of a Bounty, that would not only have defrayed all this expence, but have been an entire and honourable subsistence to me; and though my necessities were not so pressing as to persuade me to accept it, yet so unusual a generosity

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generosity doth certainly merit the highest acknowledgments I can make for it.

But I now turn to that which ought to be the chief Subject of this Preface to remove the prejudices, by which weak and unwary Persons have been prepossessed in their Judgments concerning the Reformation, during that Period of it that falls within this Volume. I know the Duty of an Historian leads him to write as one that is of neither Party; and I have endeavoured to follow it as carefully as I could, neither concealing the faults of the one Party, nor denying the just Praises that were due to any of the other side, and have delivered things as I found them, making them neither better nor worse than indeed they were: But now that I am not yet ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ that Province, and am here writing my own Thoughts, and relating the Actions of other Men, I hope it will be judged no indecent thing to clear the Readers mind of those Impressions, which may either have already biased him too much, or may upon a slight Reading of what follows, arise in his thoughts: unless he were prepared and armed with some necessary Reflections, which every one that may possibly read this History, has not had the leisure, or other opportunities, to make to such a degree as were needful.

It is certainly an unjust way of proceeding, in any that is to be a Judge, to let himself be secretly possessed with such Impressions of Persons and Things, as may bias his thoughts: for where the Scales are not well adjusted, the Weight cannot be truly reckoned. So that it is an indirect Method to load Mens Minds with Prejudices, and not to let them in to the trial of Truth, till their Inclinations are first swayed such a way. I deny not but in matters of Religion most commonly Men receive such Notions, before they can well examine them, as do much determine them in the Enquiries they make afterwards, when their understandings grow up to a fuller ripeness: but those Pre-occupations, if rightly infused, are rather such as give them general Notions of what is good and honest in the abstracted Ideas, than concerning matters of Fact: for every wise and pious Man must avoid all such Methods of Instruction, as are founded on Falshood and Craft: and he that will breed a Man to love Truth, must form in him such a liking of it, that he may clearly see he would bribe him into no Opinion or Party by false or indirect Arts: But since Men are generally so apt to let some easie Notions enter into their Minds, which will pre-engage their Affections, and for most part those who set themselves to gain Proselytes, do begin with such Arts, it will not be amiss to give the Reader such an account of these, as may prepare him against them, that so he may with a clearer mind consider what is now to be delivered to him, concerning the Reformation of Religion among us.

I shall begin with that which is most commonly urged; that the whole Church being one Body, the Changes that were made in Religion, did break that Unity, and dissolve the Bond by which the Catholick Church is to be knit together, and that therefore the first Reformers began, and we still continue a Schisme in the Church.

In answer to this, it is to be considered that the Bishops and Pastors of the Church are obliged to instruct their People in the true Faith of Christ, according to the Scriptures: The nature of their Function, being a Sacred Trust, binds them to this; they were also at their Consecration engaged to it, by a formal Sponson, according to the Questions and Answers that are in
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the Roman Pontifical to this day. Pastors owe it as a Debt to their People to teach them according to the Scriptures: They owe a Charity to their Brethren, and are to live with them in the terms of Brotherly Love, and Friendly Correspondence; but if that cannot be had on easier terms, than the concealing necessary Truths, and the delivering gross errors to those committed to their charge, it is certain that they ought not to purchase it at so dear a rate. When the Pastors of this Church saw it over-run with errors and corruptions, they were obliged by the duty they owed to God and to their People, to discover them; and to undeceive their misled Flocks. It is of great Importance to maintain Peace and Unity, but if a Party in the Church does set up some Doctrines and Practices, that do much endanger the Salvation of Souls, and makes advantages by these, so that there is no hope left to gain them by rational and softer Methods, than as St. Peter was to be withstood to his Face, in a lesser matter, much more are those, who pretend no higher than to be his Successors, to be withstood, when the things are of great moment and consequence. When Heresies sprung up in the Primitive Church, we find the neighbouring Bishops condemned them without staying for the concurrence of other Churches; as in the Case of Samosatenus, Arius, and Pelagius: and even when the greatest part of the Church was become Semi-Arian, and many great Councils, chiefly that at Ariminum, consisting of above 800 Bishops, as some say, had through ignorance and fear complied, the Orthodox Bishops did not forbear to instruct those committed to their care according to the true Faith. A general concurrence is a thing much to be laboured for; but when it cannot be had, every Bishop must then do his duty so as to be answerable to the chief Bishop of Souls.

So that instead of being led away by so slight a prejudice, we must turn our Enquiries to this, Whether there were really such abuses in the Church, as did require a Reformation? and whether there was any reason to hope for a more general concurrence in it? In the following History the Reader will see what corruptions were found to be both in the Doctrine and Worship of this Church: from whence he may infer what need there was of Reformation. And it is very plain, that they had no reason to expect the concurrence of other Churches; for the Council of Trent had already made a great progress, and it was very visible, that as the Court of Rome governed all things there, so they were resolved to admit of no effectual Reformation, of any considerable matters; but to establish by a more formal decision, those errors and abuses that had given so much scandal to the Christian World for so many Ages.

This being the true state of the Case, it is certain, that if there were really great corruptions, either in Belief or Manners in this Church, then the Bishops were bound to reform them: since the backwardness of others in their duty, could no excuse them from doing theirs, when they were clearly convinced of it. So that the Reader is to shake off this prejudice, and only to examine whether there was really such need of a Reformation? since if that be true, it is certain the Bishops of this, as well as of other Churches, were bound to set about it; and the faultiness of some could be no excuse to the rest.

The second Prejudice is, That the Reformation was begun and carried on, not by the major part of the Bishops and Clergy; but by a few selected Bishops and Divines, who being supported by the Name of the Kings Authority, did frame things as they pleased; and by their Interest at Court go
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them to be Enacted in Parliament : and after they had removed such Bishops as opposed them, then they procured the Convocation to consent to what was done : So that upon the matter, the Reformation was the Work of Cranmer, with a few more of his Party, and not of this Church, which never agreed wholly to it, till the Bishops were so modelled as to be compliant to the designs of the Court. In short, the resolution of this, is to be taken from a common Case ; when the major part of a Church is according to the Conscience of the Supreme Civil Magistrate in an Error, and the lesser part is in the right. The Case is not hard, if well understood : for in the whole Scripture there is no promise made to the major part of the Pastors of the Church ; and there being no Divine Promise made about it, it is certain that the Nature of Man is such, that Truth separated from Interest hath few Votaries : but when it is opposite to it, it must have a very small Party. So that most of those things which needed Reformation, being such as added much to the Wealth and Power of the Clergy, it had been a wonder indeed, if the greater part had not opposed it. In that Case, as the smaller part were not to depart from their Sentiments, because opposed in them by a more numerous Party that was too deeply concerned in the matter : so it was both natural for them, and very reasonable, to take Sanctuary in the Authority and Protection of the Prince and the Law. That Princes have an Authority in things Sacred, was so universally agreed to in King Henry's Reign, and was made out upon such clear Evidence of Reason and Precedents, both in the Jewish State, and in the Roman Empire, when it turned Christian, that this ground was already gained. It is the first Law in Justinians Code, made by Theodosius when he came to the Empire, That all should every where, under severe pains, follow that Faith which was received by Damasus Bishop of Rome, and Peter of Alexandria. And why might not the King and Laws of England give the like Authority to the Arch-bishops of Canterbury and York.

When the Empire, and especially the Eastern part of it, had been, during the Reign of Constantius, and Valens succeeding him after a short Interval, so overspread with Arianisme, it is scarce to be imagined how it could have been reformed in any other manner : for they durst not at first trust it to the discretion of a Synod ; and yet the Question then on foot was not so link'd with Interest, being a Speculative Point of Divinity, as those about which the Contest were in the beginnings of the Reformation.

It is not to be imagined how any Changes in Religion can be made by Sovereign Princes, unless an Authority be lodged with them of giving the Sanction of a Law, to the founder, though the lesser part of a Church : for as Princes and Law-givers are not tied to an implicate obedience to Clergymen, but are left to the freedom of their own discerning, so they must have

Power to choose what side to be of where things are much enquired into. The Jurisdiction of Synods or Councils, is founded either on the Rules of Expediency and Brotherly Correspondence, or on the force of Civil Laws : for when the Christian Belief had not the support of Law, every Bishop taught his own Flock the best he could, and gave his Neighbours such an account of his Faith, at, or soon after his Consecration, as satisfied them, and so maintained the Unity of the Church. The formality of Synods grew up in the Church, from the division of the Roman Empire, and the Dignity of the several Cities ; which is a thing so well known, and so plainly acknowledged by the Writers of all sides, that it were a needless imposing on the

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the Readers patience, to spend time to prove it. Such as would understand it more perfectly, will find it in De Marca the late Arch-bishop of Paris's Books de Concordia Imperii & Sacerdotii, and in Blondells Works, De la Primaute de l'Eglise. None can imagine there is a Divine Authority in that which sprang from such a beginning. The major part of Synods cannot be supposed to be in matters of Faith, so assisted from Heaven, that the lesser part must necessarily acquiesce in their Decrees, or that the Civil Powers must always measure their Laws by their Votes: especially where Interest does visibly turn the Scales. And this may satisfy any reasonable Man as to this prejudice; that if Arch-bishop Cranmer and Holgate, the two Primates and Metropolitans of this Church, were in the right, in the things that they procured to be reformed, though the greater part of the Bishops being biassed by base ends, and generally both superstitious and little conversant in the true Theological Learning, did oppose them, and they were thereby forced to order matters so, that at first they were prepared by some selected Bishops and Divines, and afterwards Enacted by King and Parliament, this is no just exception to what was so managed. And such a Reformation can no more be blasted by being called a Parliament-Religion, than the Reformations made by the Kings of Israel without or against the Majority of the Priests, could be blemish'd by being call'd the Kings Religion.

A third Prejudice is, that the Persons who governed the Affairs at Court, were weak or ill Men: that the King being under Age, things were carried by those who had him in their Power. And for the two great Ministers of that Reign, or rather the Administrators of it, the Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland, as their violent and untimely deaths, may seem to be effects of the indignation of Heaven, for what they did; so they were both eminently faulty in their Administration, and are supposed to have sought too much their own ends. This seems to cast a blemish on their Actions, and to give some reason to suspect the things were not good which had such Instruments to advance them.

But this Prejudice, compounded of many Particulars, when taken to pieces, will appear of no force to blast the credit of what they did. By our Law, the King never dies, and is never young nor old, so that the Authority of the King is the same, whether administered by himself or by his Governours, when he is under Age: nor are we to judge of Men by the events that befall them. These are the deepest Secrets of Divine Providence, into which it is impossible for Men of limited understandings to penetrate: and if we make Judgments of Persons and Things by accidents, we shall very often most certainly conclude falsely. Solomon made the Observation, which the Series of Humane Affairs ever since hath fully justified, That there are just men to whom it happens according to the Work of the Wicked; and Wicked Men to whom it happens according to the Work of the Righteous: and the enquiring into these seemingly unequal steps of Gods Governing the World, is a Vanity. As for the Duke of Northumberland, the Reformation is not at all concerned in him, for if we believe what he said, when there was the least reason to suspect him, on the Scaffold, he was all the while a Papist in his Heart. And so no wonder if such a Man, striking in for his own ambitious ends, with that which was popular, even against the persuasions of his Conscience, did very ill things. The Duke of Somerset was indeed more sincere, and though he was not without

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without his faults, (which we may safely acknowledge, since the Man of Infallibility is not pretended to be without sin) yet these were not such heinous transgressions, but rather such as humane infirmity exposes most Men to, when they are raised to an high condition. He was too vain, too much addicted to his own Notions, and being a Man of no extraordinary Parts, he was too much at the disposal of those, who by flatteries and submissions insinuated themselves into him; and he made too great haste to raise a vast Estate to be altogether innocent: but I never find him charged with any personal disorders, nor was he ever guilty of falshood, of perverting Justice, of Cruelty, or of Oppression. He was so much against the list of these, that he lost the affections of the Nobility for being so careful of the Commons, and covering them from the oppression of their Landlords. The Business of his Brother, though it has a very ill appearance, and is made to look worse by the lame account our Books give of it, seems to have been forced on him: for the Admiral was a Man of most incurable ambition, and so inclined to raise disturbance, that after so many relapses and such frequent Reconcilions, he still breaking out into new disorders, it became almost necessary to put him out of a capacity of doing more mischief. But if we compare the Duke of Somerset with the great Ministers even in the best Courts; we shall find him better than most of them: and if some few have carried their Prosperity better, many more even of those who are otherwise recorded for extraordinary Persons, have been guilty of far greater faults. He who is but a little acquainted with History, or with the Courts of Princes, must needs know so much of this Argument, that he will easily cure himself of any ill effects which this Prejudice may have on him.

A fourth Prejudice is raised from the great Invasions which were then made upon the Church-Lands, and things dedicated to Pious Uses; which is a thing hated by Men of all Religions, and branded with the odious Names of Sacrilege, and robbing of God; so that the Spoils of Religious Houses and Churches, seem to have been the secret Motives that at first drew in, and still engage so many to the Reformation. This has more weight in it than the former, and therefore deserves to be more fully considered.

The Light of Nature teaches, that those who are dedicated to the Service of God and for instructing the People, ought to be so well provided for, that they may be delivered from the distractions of Secular Cares, and secured from the contempt which follows Poverty; and be furnished with such means as may both enable them to know that well wherein they are to instruct others, and to gain such an Interest in the affections of those among whom they labour, as modest Hospitality and liberal Alms-giving may procure. In this all Nations and Religions have so generally agreed, that it may be well called a Law of Nations, if not of Nature. Had Church-men been contented with this measure, it is very probable things had never run to the other Extream so much as they have done. But as the Pope got to himself a great Principality, so the rest of his Clergy designed to imitate him in that, as much as was possible: they spared no pains, nor thought they any Methods too bad, that could set forward these Projects. The belief of Purgatory, and the redeeming of Souls out of it by Masses, with many other publick Cheats imposed on the World, had brought the Wealth of this and other Nations into their Hands. Upon the discovery of this imposture, it was but a reasonable and just proceeding of the Government to re-assume those Lands, and dispose otherwise of them, which had been for most part fraudu-
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lently ~~drawn~~ from the former Ages for indeed the best part of the Soul of England, being in such ill Hands, it was the Interest of the whole Kingdom to have it put to better uses. So that the Abbies being generally raised and endowed by the efficacy of those false Opinions, which were infused into the People, I can see no just exception against the Dissolution of them, with the Chantries, and other Foundations of like superstition; and the fault was not in taking them away, but in not applying a greater part of them to uses truly Religious.

But most of these Monasteries had been enriched by that, which was indeed the Spoil of the Church: for in many Places the Tithes which belonged to the Secular Clergy were taken from them, and by the Authority of Papal Bulls were given to the Monasteries. This was the Original of the greatest mischief that came on this Church at the Reformation: The Abbots having possessed themselves of the Tithes, and leaving left to those who served the Cure either some small Donative or Stipend, and at best the small Tithes & Vicarage, those who purchased the Abbey-Lands from the Crown in the former Reign, had them with no other charge reserved for the Incumbents, but that small Pittance that the Abbots had formerly given them: and this is now a much less allowance, than the Curates had in the times of Popery: for though they have now the same Right by their Incumbency that they then had, yet in the time of Superstition, the Fees of Obits, Exequies, Soul-Masses, and such other Perquisites did furnish them so plentifully, that considering their obligation to remain unmarried, they lived well, though their certain maintenance was but small: but these things falling off by the Reformation, which likewise leaves the Clergy at liberty in the matter of Marriage, this has occasioned much ignorance and scandal among the Clergy. I shall not enter into the debate about the Divine Right of Tithes, this I am sure of, a decent maintenance of the Clergy is of natural Right, and that it is not better looked to, is a publick reproach to the whole Nation; when in all other Religious and Nations, those who serve at the Altar live by it. The ancient Allowances for the Curates in Market Towns being generally so small, because the Number and Wealth of the People made the Perquisites so considerable, has made those Places to be too often but ill supplied: and what way this makes for the seducers of all hands, when the Minister is of so mean a condition, and hath so incompetent a Maintenance that he can scarce secure himself from extream want, and great contempt, I leave it to every Man to judge.

This is as high a contempt of Religion and the Gospel as any can be, and is one of those things for which this Nation has much to answer to God; that now in one hundred and twenty years time, so little has been done by publick Authority for the redress of such a crying oppression. Some private Persons have done great things this way, but the publick has yet done nothing suitable to the occasion: Though their Neighbour Nation of Scotland, has set them a very good Example, where, by the great zeal and care of King James, and the late blessed King, Acts and Orders of Parliament have been made, for examining the whole state of the Clergy, and for supplying all poor Livings so plentifully, that in Glebe and Tithes all Benefices are now raised, to at least fifty Pounds Sterling yearly. What greater scorn can be put upon Religion, than to provide so scantily for those that are trusted with the care of Souls, that some hundreds of Parishes in England pay not Ten Pounds a year to their Pastors, and perhaps some thousands no

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Fifty? This is to be numbred among those crying sins that are bringing down vengeance on us, since by this many Souls are left to perish, because it is not possible to provide them with able and faithful Shepherds. I shall not examine all the particular Reasons that have obstructed the redress of this mischief, but those concerned in it may soon find some of them out in themselves. And here I acknowledge a great and just prejudice lies against our Reformation, which no man can fully answer. But how faulty soever we may be in this Particular, they of the Church of Rome have little reason to object it to us, since the first and true occasion of it was, of their own doing. Our fault is, that at the dissolution of the Monasteries, restitution was not made to the Parish Priests of what the Popes had sacrilegiously taken from them. And now that we are upon the utter extirpation of Popery, let us not retain this Relique of it. And I pray God to inspire and direct His Majesty and His two Houses of Parliament effectually to remove this just, and, for ought I know, only great scandal of our English Reformation.

A fifth Prejudice, which seems to give ill impressions of our Reformation, is, that the Clergy have now no interest in the Consciences of the People, nor any inspection into their manners; but they are without yoke or restraint. All the Ancient Canons for the publick Penance of scandalous offenders are laid aside, and our Clergy are so little admitted to know or direct the Lives and Manners of their Flocks, that many will scarce bear a reproof patiently from them: Our Ecclesiastical Courts are not in the Hands of the Bishops and their Clergy, but put over to the Civilians, where too often Fees are more strictly looked after, than the correction of Manners. I hope there is not cause for so great a Cry, but so it is, these Courts are much complained of; and publick vice and scandal is but little enquired after, or punished: Excommunication is become a kind of Secular Sentence, and is hardly now considered as a Spiritual Censure, being judged and given out by Lay-men, and often upon Grounds, which, to speak moderately, do not merit so severe and dreadful a Sentence. There are besides this a great many other Abuses, brought in in the worst Times, and now purged out of some of the Churches of the Roman Communion, which yet continue, and are too much in use among us, such as Pluralities, Non-residencies, and other things of that nature: so that it may be said, that some of the manifest corruptions of Popery, where they are recommended by the advantages that accompany them, are not yet thoroughly purged out, notwithstanding all the noise we have made about Reformation in matters much more disputable, and of far less consequence.

This whole Objection, when all acknowledged, as the greatest part of it cannot be denied, amounts indeed to this, that our Reformation is not yet arrived at that full perfection, that is to be desired. The want of publick Penance, and Penitentiary Canons, is indeed a very great defect: our Church does not deny it, but acknowledges it in the Preface to the Office of Communion. It was one of the greatest Glories of the Primitive Church, that they were so governed, that none of their number could sin openly without publick Censure, and a long separation from the Holy Communion; which they judged was defiled by a promiscuous admitting of all Persons to it. Had they consulted the Arts of Policy, they would not have held in Converts by so strict a way of proceeding, lest their discontent might have driven them away; at a time when to be a Christian was attended with so many discouragements, that it might seem dangerous by so severe a Discipline.

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time, to frighten the World out of their Communion. But the Pastors of that time, resolved to follow the Rules delivered them by the Apostles, and trusted God with the success, which answered and exceeded all their expectations: for nothing convinced the World more of the truth of that Religion, than to see those trusted with the care of Souls, watch so effectually over their Manners, that for some sins, which in these loose Ages in which we live, pass but for common effects of humane frailty, Men were made to abstain from the Communion for many years, and did cheerfully submit to such Rules as might be truly medicinal for curing those Diseases in their Minds.

But alas! the Church-men of the latter Ages being once vested with this Authority, to which the World submitted, as long as it saw the good effects of it, did soon learn to abuse it; and to bring the People to a blind subjection to them. It was one of the chief Arts by which the Papacy swelled to its height: for Confessors instead of bringing their Penitents to open Penance, set up other things in the room of it; pretending they could commute it, and in the Name of God accept of one thing for another: and they accepted of a Penitents going, either to the Holy War, or which was more Holy of the two, to one of the Popes Wars against Hereticks, or deposed Princes; and gave full Pardons to those who thus engaged in their designs. Afterwards (when the Pope had no great occasion to kill Men, or the People no great mind to be killed in his Service) they accepted of Money, as an Alms to God: and so all publick Penance was laid down, and Murder or Merchandise was set up in its room. This being the State of things at the Reformation, it is no wonder if the People could not be easily brought to submit to publick Penance; which had been for some Ages entirely laid aside: and there was reason why they should not be forward to come under the Yoke of their Priests, lest they should have raised upon that Foundation, such a Tyrannical Dominion over them, as others had formerly exercised. This made some Reformed Churches beyond Sea bring in the Laity with them, into their Courts, which if they had done merely as a good Expedient, for removing the jealousy which the World then had of Ecclesiastical Tyranny, there was no great Objection to have been made to it; but they made the thing liable to very great exception, when they pretended a Divine Institution for those Lay-Elders. Here in England, it is plain the Nation would not bear such Authority to be lodged with the Clergy at first; but it will appear in the following Work, that a Platform was made of an Ecclesiastical Discipline, though the Bishops had no hopes of reducing it into practice, till the King should come to be of Age, and pass a Law for the authorising of it: but he dying before this was effected, it was not prosecuted with that zeal that the thing required in Queen Elizabeths time: and then those who in their Exile were taken with the Models beyond Seas, contenting more to get it put in the method of other Churches, than to have it set up in any other Form, that contention begat such heat, that it took Men off from this and many other excellent designs: and whereas the Presbyters were found to have had anciently a share in the Government of the Churches, as the Bishops Council and Assistants, some of them that were of hot tempers demanding more than their share, they were by the immoderate use of the Counterpoise kept out of any part of Ecclesiastical Discipline; and all went into those Courts commonly called the Spiritual Courts; without making distinction betwixt in those Causes of Testaments, Marriages, and such

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such other Sutes, that require some learning in the Civil and Canon Law, and the other Causes of the Censures of the Clergy and Laity, which are of a more Spiritual Nature, and ought indeed to be tried only by the Bishops and Clergy; for they are no small part of the Care of Souls, which is incumbent on them: and by them only Excommunications ought to be made, as being a Suspension from the Sacred Rites of Christians, of which none ~~can~~ be the competent Judges, but those to whom the charge of Souls is committed. The worst that can be said of all these Abuses, is, that they are Reliques of Popery, and we owe it to the unhappy Contests among our selves, that a due correction has not been yet given to them.

From hence one evil has followed, not inferior to these from whence it flows, that the Pastoral Charge is now looked on by too many, rather as a device only for instructing People, to which they only submit as much as they think fit, than as a care of Souls, as indeed it is: And it is not to be denied but the practice of not a few of us of the Clergy, has confirmed the People in this mistake, who consider our Function as a Method of living, by performing Divine Offices, and making Sermons, rather than as a watching over the Souls of the Flocks committed to us, visiting the Sick, reproving scandalous Persons, reconciling differences, and being strict at least in governing the Poor, whose necessities will oblige them to submit to any good Rules, we shall set them for the better conduct of their Lives. In these things does the Pastoral Care chiefly consist, and not only in the bare performing of Offices, or pronouncing Sermons, which every one almost may learn to do after some tolerable fashion. If Men had a just Notion of this Holy Function, and a right sense of it before they were initiated in it, those scandalous abuses of Plurality of Benefices with Cure, (where they are so poor and contiguous, that both can scarce maintain one incumbent, and one Man can discharge the duty of both very well) Non-residencies, and the hiring out that Sacred Trust to pitiful Mercenaries at the cheapest rates, would soon fall off. These are things of so crying a nature, that no wonder if the wrath of God is ready to break out upon us. These are abuses that even the Church of Rome, after all her impudence, is ashamed of, and are at this day generally discountenanced all France over. Queen Mary here in England in the time of Popery, set her self effectually to root them out. And that they should be still found among Protestants, and in so Reformed a Church, is a scandal that may justly make us blush. All the honest Prelates at the Council of Trent endeavoured to get Residence declared to be of Divine Right, and so not to be dispensed with upon any consideration whatsoever: and there is nothing more apparently contrary to the most common impressions, which all men have about matters of Religion, than that Benefices are given for the Office to which they are annexed: and if in matters of Mens Estates, or of their Health, it would be a thing of high scandal, for one to receive the Fees, and commit the Work to the care of some inferiour or raw Practitioner, how much worse is it to turn over so important a commitment, as the care of Souls must be confessed to be, to mean hands? And to conclude, those who are guilty of such disorders, have much to answer for, both to God, for the neglect of these Souls for which they are to give an account, and to the World, for the reproach they have brought on this Church and on the Sacred Functions, by their ill practices; nor could the divisions of this Age ever have risen to such a height if the People had not been polluted with ill impressions of some

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Some of the Clergy, from those inexcusable faults, that are so conspicuous in too many that are called Shepherds: Who Cloath themselves with the Wool, but have not fed the Flock, that have not strengthened the diseased, nor healed the sick, nor bound up that which was broken, nor brought again that which was driven away, nor sought that which was lost, but have ruled them with force and cruelty: And if we would look up to God who is visibly angry with us, and has made us base and contemptible among the People, we should find great reason to reflect on those words of Jeremy. The Pastors are become Brutish, and have not sought the Lord, therefore they shall not prosper, and all their Flocks shall be scattered.

But I were very unjust if having ventured on so plain and necessary a reprehension; I should not add, that God has not so left this Age and Church, but there is in it a great number in both the holy Functions, who are perhaps as Eminent in the exemplariness of their Lives, and as diligent in their Labours, as has been in any one Church in any Age since Miracles ceased. The humility and strictness of Life in many of our Prelate, and some that were highly Born, and yet have far out-gone some others from whom more might have been expected, raises them far above censure, though perhaps not above envy. And when such think not the daily instructing their Neighbours a thing below them, but do it with as constant a care, as if they were to earn their Bread by it, when they are so affable to the meanest Clergy-men that come to them, when they are so nicely scrupulous about those whom they admit into holy Orders, and so large in their Charities, that one would think they were furnished with some unseen ways, these things must raise great esteem for such Bishops, and seem to give some hopes of better times. Of all this I may be allowed to speak the more freely, since I am led to it by none of those Bribes, either of gratitude, or fear, or hope, which are wont to Corrupt men to say what they do not think: But I were much to blame, if in a Work that may perhaps Live some time in the World, I should only find fault with what is amiss, and not also acknowledge what is so very commendable and Praiseworthy. And when I look into the Inferior Clergy, there are, chiefly about this great City of London, so many, so Eminent, both for the strictness of their Lives, the constancy of their Labours, their Excellent and plain way of Preaching, (which is now perhaps brought to as great a Perfection, as ever was since men spoke as they received it immediately from the Holy Ghost) the great gentleness of their Deportment to such as differ from them, their mutual Love and Charity, and in a Word for all the qualities that can adorn Ministers or Christians, that if such a number of such Men cannot prevail with this debauched Age, this one thing to me looks more dismally than all the other affrighting Symptoms of our Condition; that God having sent so many faithful Teachers, their Labours are still so ineffectual.

I have now examined all the prejudices that either occur to my thoughts, or that I have not met with in Books or Discourses, against our Reformation; and I hope upon a free enquiry into them, it will be found that some of them are of no force at all, and that the other, which are better Grounded, can amount to no more than this, that things were not managed with that care, or brought to that Perfection that were to be desired: so that all the use we ought to make of these Objections, is to be directed

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directed by them to do those things which may compleat and adorn that Work, which was managed by Men subject to Infirmities, who neither could see every thing, nor were able to accomplish all that they had Projected, and saw fit to be done.

But from the matter of the following History, another Objection of another sort may arise, which though it has no relation to the Reformation, yet leaves no small Imputation on the Nation, as too apt to change, and be carried about with every Religion in Vogue, since in little more than 20 years time, there were four great changes made in Religion; and in all these the main Body of the Nation turned with the Stream: and it was but a small number that stood firm and suffered for their Consciences. But if the State of the Nation be well considered, there will be nothing in all this so strange as at first view it may perhaps appear: for in the times of Popery the People were kept in such profound ignorance, that they knowing nothing of Religion, beyond the outward Forms and Pageantry, and being highly dissatisfied with the ill Lives of the Clergy, and offended with their Cruelty against those that contradicted their Opinions, it is no wonder that they were inclined to hear Preachers of any sort, who laid out to them the reasons of the Doctrine they delivered, and did not impose it on them in gross, as the others had done. These Teachers being also Men of Innocent tempers, and good Lives, and being recommended to the Compassion of the Nation, by their sufferings, and to their esteem, by their zeal and readiness to run all hazards for their Consciences, had great advantages to gain on the Belief and affections of the People. And to speak freely, I make no doubt, but if the Reformation had been longer a hatching under the heat of Persecution, it had come forth perfecter than it was. This disposition of the People, and King Henry's Quarrelling with the Pope made the way easie for the first Change. But then the severities about the Supremacy on one hand, and the six Articles on the other, made People to stagger and reel between the two Religions. And all People being fond of new things, and the discoveries of the Impostures of the Priests and lewdness of the Monks, encreasing their dislike of them, it was no wonder the Reformation went on with so little Tumult and Precipitation till King Edward's time. But though there were then very Learned and Zealous Divines, who managed and carried on the changes that were made, yet still the greater part of the Clergy was very Ignorant, and very Corrupt; which was occasioned by the Pensions that were reserved out of the Rents of the suppressed Monasteries to the Monks during their Lives, or till they were provided with Livings. The Abbey-Lands that were sold with the Charge of these annexed to them, coming into the Hands of Persons who had no mind to have that Burden lie longer on them, they got these Monks provided with Benefices, that so they might be eased of that Charge. And for the other Abbies that still remained with the Crown, the same Course was taken: for the Monks were put into all the small Benefices that were in the Kings gift. So that the greatest part of the Clergy, were such as had been formerly Monks or Friars, very ignorant for most part, and generally addicted to their former Superstition, though otherwise Men, that would comply with any thing rather than forfeit their Livings. Under such Incumbents nothing but Ignorance and Unconcernedness in Religion could prevail. By this means it was that the greater part of the Na-

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Nation was not well instructed, nor possessed with any warmth and sincere Love to the Reformation, which made the following change under Queen Mary more easily effected. The Proceedings in King Edward's time were likewise so gentle and Moderate, flowing from the calm temper of Arch-Bishop Cranmer, and the policy of others, who were willing to accept of any thing they could obtain, hoping that time would do the business, if the over-driving it did not precipitate the whole affair: that it was an easy thing for a Concealed Papist to weather the difficulties of that Reign. There were also great scandals given by the Indiscretion of many of the New Preachers. The misgovernment of Affairs under the Duke of Somerset, with the restless Ambition of the Duke of Northumberland did alienate the Nation much from them; and a great aversion commonly begets an universal dislike of every thing that is done by those whom we hate.

All these things concurred to prepare the minds of the People to the change made by Queen Mary: but in her Reign Popery did more plainly discover it self in the many repeated Burnings, and the other Cruelties then openly exercised. The Nation was also in such danger of being brought under the uneasy Yoke of Spanish Government, and they were many of them in fear of losing their new-gotten Church Lands; these things, together with the loss of Calais in the end of her Reign, which was universally much resented as a lasting dishonour to the Nation, raised in them a far greater aversion to her Government, and to every thing that had been done in it, than they had to the former. The Genius of the English leads them to hate Cruelty and Tyranny; and when they saw these were the necessary Concomitants of Popery, no wonder it was thrown out with so general an agreement, that there was scarce any considerable Opposition made to it, except by some few of their Clergy: who having changed so oft, were ashamed of such repeated recantations: and so resolved at last to stand their ground; which was the more easy to resolve on under so merciful a Prince, who punished them only by a Forfeiture of their Benefices; and that being done, took care of their Subsistence for the rest of their Lives: Bonner himself not being excepted, though so deeply dyed in the Blood of so many Innocents.

All these things laid together, it will not seem strange that such great Alterations were so easily brought about in so short a time. But from the days of Queen Elizabeth that the Old Monks were worn out, and New Men better Educated were placed in Churches, things did generally put on a new Visage: and this Church has since that time continued to be the Sanctuary and shelter of all Forreigners, and the chief Object of the Envy and Hatred of the Popish Church, and the great Glory of the Reformation; and has wisely avoided the splitting asunder, on the high Points of the Divine Decrees, which have broken so many of them Reformed beyond Sea; but in these has left Divines to the freedom of their several Opinions: nor did she run on that other Rock, of desiring at first so peremptorily the manner of Christs Presence in the Sacrament, which divided the German and the Helvetian Churches, but in that did also leave a Latitude to Men of different persuasions. From this great temper it might have reasonably been expected, that we should have continued United at Home, and then for things Sacred, as well as Civil, we had been out of the Danger of what all our Forreign Enemies could have contrived or done against us.

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But the Enemy, while the Watchmen slept, sowed his Tares even in this Fruitful Field; of which it may be expected I should give some Account here, and the rather because I end this Work at the time when those unhappy differences first arose; so that I give them no part in this History: and yet I have in the search I made, seen some things of great Importance, which are very little known, that give me a clearer light into the beginnings of these Differences than is commonly to be had; of which I shall discourse so, as becomes one who has not blindly given himself up to any Party, and is not afraid to speak the truth even in the most critical matters.

There were many learned and Pious divines in the beginning of Queen Elizabeths Reign, who being driven beyond Sea had observed the New Models set up in Geneva, and other places, for the Censuring of Scandalous Persons, of mixed Judicatories of the Ministers and Laity: and these reflecting on the great looseness of Life which had been universally Complained of in King Edward's time, thought such a Platform might be an effectual way for keeping out a return of the like disorders. There were also some few Rites reserved in this Church, that had been either used in the Primitive Church, or though brought in of latter time, yet seemed of excellent use to beget Reverence in Holy Performances: which had also this to be said for them, that the keeping these still, was done in Imitation of what Christ and his Apostles did in Symbolizing with the Jewish Rites, to gain the Jews thereby as much as could be; so it was judged necessary to preserve these, to let the World see that though Corruptions were thrown out, yet the Reformers did not love to change only for change sake, when it was not otherwise needful: and this they hoped might draw in many, who otherwise would not so easily have forsaken the Roman Communion. Yet these Divines excepted to those, as Compliances with Popery, and though they professed no great dislike to the Ceremonies themselves, or doubt of their Lawfulness, yet were they against their Continuance, upon that single Account, which was indeed the chief reason why they were continued. But all this Debate was modestly Managed, and without violent Heat or Separation: afterwards some of the Queens Courtiers had an eye to the fair Manours of some of the greater Sees, and being otherwise Men of ill Tempers and Lives, and probably of no Religion, would have persuaded the Queen, that nothing could Unite all the Reformed Churches so effectually, as to bring the English Church to the Model beyond Sea, and that it would much enrich the Crown, if she took the Revenues of Bishopricks and Cathedrals into her own Hands. This made those on the other hand who laid to Heart the true Interest of the Protestant Religion, and therefore endeavoured to preserve this Church in that strong and well Modelled Frame to which it was brought (particularly the Lord Burleigh, the Wisest States-man of that Age, and perhaps of any other) study how to Engage the Queen out of Interest to support it, and they Demonstrated to her that these New Models would certainly bring with them a great Abatement of her Prerogative: since if the Concerns of Religion came into Popular Hands, there would be a Power set up distinct from hers, over which she could have no Authority.

This she perceived well, and therefore resolved to Maintain the Antient Government of the Church, but by this means it became a matter of

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of Interest, and so these differences which might have been more easily reconciled before grew now into formed Factions: so that all Expedients were left unattempted which might have made up the Breach: And it becoming the Interest of some, to put it past reconciling, this was too easily effected. Those of the Division finding they could not carry their main design, raised all the Clamours they could against the Churchmen; and put in Bills into the Parliament against the abuses of Pluralities, Non-residences, and the Excesses of the Spiritual Courts. But the Queen being possessed with this, that the Parliaments meddling in these matters tended to the lessening of her Authority, of which she was extremely sensible, got all these Bills to be thrown out. If the abuses that gave such occasion to the male-contented to complain, had been effectually redressed, that Party must have had little to work on: but these things furnished them with new Complaints still: the Market-Towns being also ill provided for, there were Voluntary Contributions made, for Lectures in these places. The Lecturers were generally Men that overtopped the Incumbents in diligent and Zealous Preaching, and they depending on the bounty of the People for their Subsistence, were engaged to follow the humours of those who Governed those Voluntary Contributions. All these things tended to the encrease of the Party; which owed its chief growth to the scandalous Maintenance of the Ministers of great Towns, for which reason they were seldom of great Abilities, and to the scandals given by the Pluralities and Non-residences of others, that were over-provided. Yet the Government in Civil matters was so steady all the Queens Reign, that they could do no great thing, after she once declared her self so openly and resolutely against them.

But upon King James's coming to the Crown, and the divisions that came to be afterwards in Parliaments, between the too too often named Parties, for the Court and Country; and Clergymen being linked to the interests of the Crown, all those who in Civil matters opposed the designs of the Court, resolved to cherish those of the Division, under the Colour of their being hearty Protestants, and that it was the interest of the Reformed Religion to use them well; and that all Protestants should Unite: And indeed the differences between them were then so small, that if great Art had not been used to keep them asunder, they had certainly United of their own accord. But the late unhappy Wars, engaged those who before only complained of abuses, into a formed separation, which still continues to the great danger and disgrace of the Protestant Religion. I shall not make any Observations on latter Transactions which fall within all Mens View; but it is plain that from the beginning there have been laboured designs to make Tools of the several Parties, and to make a great breach between them; which lays us now so open to our common Enemy. And it looks like a sad forerunner of Ruin, when we cannot after so long Experience of the mischievous Effects of these Contests, learn to be so wise as to void the running on those Rocks, on which our Fathers did so unfortunately split; but on the contrary many steer as steadily towards them, as if they were the only safe Harbours, where they may securely weather every Storm.

But being now to lead the Reader into so agreeable a Prospect, as I hope the Reformation of the Church will be to him, I will hold him yet a little longer before I open it, and desire him for his better preparation to

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it to reflect on the nature of Religion in general, and of the Christian in particular. That Religion is chiefly designed for perfecting the nature of Man, for improving his Faculties, governing his Actions, and securing the Peace of every Mans Conscience, and of the societies of Mankind in common, is a truth so plain, that without further arguing about it all will agree to it. Every part of Religion is then to be judged by its Relation to the main ends of it; and since the Christian Doctrine was revealed from Heaven, as the most perfect and proper way that ever was, for the advancing the good of Mankind, nothing can be a part of this holy Faith but what is proportioned to the end for which it was designed. And all the additions that have been made to it, since it was first delivered to the World, are justly to be suspected; especially where it is manifest at first view that they were intended to serve carnal and secular ends. What can be reasonably supposed the where the Popes are chosen by such intrigues, either of nephews of the former Pope, or the craft of some aspiring men, title them to infallibility or Universal Jurisdiction? What can we think of redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, or preserving them from it by tricks, or some mean Pageantry; but that it is a foul piece of Merchandise? What is to be said of Implicit Obedience, the Priestly Dominion over Consciences, the keeping the Scriptures out of the peoples hands, and the Worship of God in a strange Tongue? but that these are so many Arts to hoodwink the world, and to deliver it up into the hands of the ambitious Clergy. What can we think of the superstition and idolatry of Images, and all the other pomp of the Roman Worship? but that by these things the People are to be kept up in a gross notion of Religion, as a splendid business, and that the Priests have a trick of saving them, if they will but take care to humour them, and leave that matter wholly in their hands. And to sum up all, what can we think of that constellation of Prodigies in the Sacrament of the Altar, as they pretend to explain it, and all really to no purpose? but that it is an art to bring the World by whole sale to renounce their reason and sense, and to have a most wonderful veneration for a sort of men who can with a word perform the most astonishing thing that ever was.

I should grow too large for a Preface, if I would pursue this Argument as far as it will go. But if on the other hand we reflect on the true ends of this holy Religion, we must needs be convinced that we need go no where else out of this Church to find them; but are completely instructed in all parts of it, and furnished with all the helps to advance us to that which is indeed the end of our faith, the salvation of our souls. Here we have the Rules of holy Obedience, and the Methods of Repentance and Reconciliation for past sins clearly set before us: we believe all that Doctrine which Christ and his Apostles delivered, and the Primitive Church received: we have the comfort of all those Sacraments which Christ instituted, and in the same manner that he appointed them: All the helps to devotion that the Gospel offers are in every ones hand. So what can it be that should so extravagantly seduce any who have been bred up in a Church so well constituted, unless a blind superstition in their temper, or a desire to get heaven in some easier method than Christ has appointed, do strangely impose on their understandings, or corrupt their minds. Indeed the thing is so unaccountable that it looks like a curse from heaven on those who are given up to it, for their other sins; for an ordinary measure of Infatuation cannot carry any one so far in folly. And it may be laid down for a certain Maxim, that such as leave us, have never

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never had a true and well formed Notion of Religion, or of Christianity in its main and chief Design; but take things in parcels, and without examining them suffer themselves to be carried away by some prejudices which only darken weaker Judgments.

But if it is an high and unaccountable folly for any to forsake our Communion, and go over to those of Rome, it is at the same time an unexcusable weakness in others who seem full of zeal against Popery, and yet upon some inconsiderable Objections do depart from the unity of this Body, and form separated Assemblies and Communions; though they cannot object any thing material either to our Doctrine or Worship: but the most astonishing part of the wonder is, that in such differences there should be so little mutual forbearance or gentleness to be found: and that these should raise such heats as if the substance of Religion were concerned in them. This is of God, and is a stroke from Heaven on both sides, for their other sins: We of the Church Communion have trusted too much to the supports we receive from the Law, we have done our duties too slightly, and have minded the Care of Souls too little; therefore God to punish and awaken us has suffered so many of our People to be wrested out of our hands: and those of the Separation have been too forward to Blood and War, and thereby have drawn much guilt on themselves, and have been too compliant with the Leaders of their several Factions, or rather apt to out-run them. It is plain, God is offended with us all, and therefore we are punished with this fatal blindness, not to see at this time the things that belong to our peace.

And this leads me to Reflections of another sort, with which I shall conclude this Preface, which I have now drawn out to a greater length than at first I intended. It is apparent the Wrath of God hangs over our heads, and is ready to break out upon us. The Symptoms of our ill condition are as sad as they are visible: and one of the worst is, that each sort and Party is very ready to throw the guilt of it off themselves, and cast it on others, with whom they are displeased: But no man says, What have I done? The Clergy accuse the Laity, and the Laity condemn the Clergy. Those in the City charge the Country, and the Country complains of the City: every one finds out somewhat wherein he thinks he is least concerned, and is willing to fix on that all the indignation of Heaven, which, God knows, we our selves have kindled against our selves. It cannot be denied, since it is so visible, that universally the whole Nation is corrupted, and that the Gospel has not had those effects among us which might have been expected, after so long and so free a course as it has had in this Island. Our wise and worthy Progenitors reformed our Doctrine and Worship; but we have not reformed our Lives and Manners: what will it avail us to understand the right Methods of worshipping God, if we are without true Devotion, and coldly perform publick Offices, without sense and affection, which is as bad as a Bead-roll of Prayers in what ever Language they be pronounced. What signifies our having the Sacraments purely administered among us, if we either contemptuously neglect them, or irreverently handle them, more perhaps in compliance with Law, than out of a sense of the Holy Duties incumbent on us? for what end are the Scriptures put in our hands, if we do not read them with great attention, and order our lives according to them? and what does all preaching signify, if Men go to Church meerly for Form, and hear Sermons only as set Discourses, which they will censure or commend as they think they see cause, but are resolved never to be the better for them? If to all these
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The Preface.

sad Considerations we add the gross sensuality and impurity, that is so avowedly practised that it is become a fashion, so far it is from being a reproach; the oppression, injustice, intemperance, and many other immoralities among us, what can be expected, but that these abominations receiving the highest aggravation they are capable of, from the clear light of the Gospel which we have so long enjoyed, the just Judgments of Heaven, should fall on us so signally, as to make us a reproach to all our Neighbours. But as if all this were not enough, to fill up the measure of our iniquities, many have arriv'd at a new pitch of impiety, by defying Heaven it self, with their avowed Blasphemies and Atheism: and if they are driven out of their Atheistical Tenets which are indeed the most ridiculous of any in the World, they set up their rest on some general Notions of Morality and Natural Religion, and do boldly reject all that is revealed: and where they dare vent it, (alas! where dare they not do it?) they reject Christianity and the Scriptures, with open and impudent scorn, and are absolutely insensible of any obligation of Conscience in any thing whatsoever: and even in that Morality which they for decencies sake magnifie so much, none are more bare-facedly and grossly faulty. This is a direct attempt against God himself, and can we think that he will not visit for such things, nor be avenged on such a Nation? And yet the hypocrisy of those who disguise their flagitious Lives, with a Mask of Religion, is perhaps a degree above all; though not so scandalous till the Mask falls off, and that they appear to be what they truly are. When we are all so guilty, and when we are so allarm'd by the black Clouds that threaten such terrible and lasting Storms, what may be expected but that we should be generally struck with a deep sense of our crying sins, and turn to God with our whole Souls? But after all the loud awakenings from Heaven we will not hearken to that Voice, but will still go on in our sins, we may justly look for unheard-of Calamities, and such miseries as shall be proportioned to our offences: and then we are sure they will be great and wonderful.

Yet if on the other hand there were a general turning to God, or at least if so many were rightly sensible of this, as, according to the proportion that the Mercies of God allow, did some way ballance the wickedness of the rest, and if these were as zealous in the true methods of imploring Gods favour, as others are in procuring his displeasure; and were not only mourning for their own sins, but for the sins of others; the Prayers and Sighs of many such, might dissipate that dismal Cloud which our sins have gathered; and we might yet hope to see the Gospel take root among us: since that God who is the Author of it is merciful, and full of compassion, and ready to forgive; and this holy Religion which by his Grace is planted among us is still so dear to him, that if we by our own unworthiness do not render our selves incapable of so great a Blessing, we may reasonably hope that he will continue that which at first was by so many happy concurring Providences brought in, and was by a continued Series of the same indulgent care advanc'd by degrees, and at last raised to that pitch of perfection which few things attain in this World. But this will best appear in the ensuing History, from which I fear I may have too long detained the Reader.

10. September
1680.

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R. White fecit



*Natus 12 Octob 1537
Regnare cepit, 28*

*January 1547
Obijt 6^{to} Julij 1553*

The Second Part
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION
OF THE
Church of England.

BOOK I.

Of the Life and Reign of King Edward the Sixth.



Edward, the Sixth King of England of that Name, was the only Son of King Henry the 8th, by his best beloved Queen Jane Seimour, or St. Maur, Daughter to Sir John Seimour, who was descended from Roger St. Maur, that married one of the Daughters and Heirs of the Lord Beauchamp of Hacche. Their Ancestors came into England with William the Conqueror, and had at

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* 1537.
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several times made themselves considerable by the Noble Acts they did in the Wars. *He was born at Hampton-Court on the 12th day of October, being St. Edwards Eve, in the Year 1537. *and lost his Mother the day after he was born; who died, not by the cruelty of the Chyrurgeons ripping up her Belly to make way for the Princes Birth. (as some Writers gave out, to represent King Henry barbarous and cruel in all his Actions; whose report has been since too easily followed:) but as the Original Letters that are yet extant, shew, she was well delivered of him, and the day following was taken with a distemper incident to Women in that condition, of which she died.

died on the 14th, say Hall, Stow, Speed, and Herbert: on the 15th, say Hennings: on the 17th, if we Letter, of the Physicians be true in Fillers Church Hist. P. 42. Cott. Libr.

He was soon after Christened, the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk being his God-fathers, according to his own

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own Journal, though *Hall* says the last was only his God-father when he was Bishopped; he continued under the charge and care of the Women, till he was six years old; and then he was put under the Government of Dr. Cox and Mr. Cheek: The one was to be his Preceptor for his Manners, and the knowledge of Philosophy and Divinity: The other for the Tongues and Mathematicks. And he was also provided with Masters for the French, and all other things becoming a Prince, the Heir of so great a Crown.

His Disposition

He gave very early many indications of a good disposition to Learning, and of a most wonderful probity of mind, and above all, of great respect to Religion, and every thing relating to it. So that when he was once in one of his childish diversions, somewhat being to be reached at, that he and his Companions were too low for, one of them laid on the floor a great Bible that was in the Room to keep on; which he beholding with indignation, took up the Bible himself, and gave over his play for that time. He was in all things subject to the Orders laid down for his Education, and proficed so much in Learning, that all about him conceived great hopes of extraordinary things from him, if he should live: But such unusual beginnings seemed rather to threaten the too early end of a Life, that by all appearance was likely to have produced such astonishing things. He was so forward in his Learning, that before he was eight years old he wrote Latine Letters to his Father, who was a Prince of that stern severity, that one can hardly think those about his Son durst cheat him by making Letters for him. He used also at that Age to write both to his God-father the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and to his Uncle, who was first made Viscount *Beauchamp*, as descended from that Family, and soon after Earl of *Hartford*. It seems *Q. Catherine Parr* understood Latin, for he wrote to her also in the same Language. But the full Character of this young Prince is given us by *Cardan*, who saw it after his death, and in *Italy*, where this Prince was accounted an Heirick, so that there was nothing to be got or expected by flattering him; and yet it is so Great, and withal so agreeing in all things to Truth, that as I shall begin my Collection of Papers at the end of this Volume with his words in *Latin*, so it will be very fit to give them here in *English*.

Collection.
Number 1.

Cardan's Character of him.

"All the Graces were in him. He had many Tongues when he was yet but a Child: Together with the *English* his natural Tongue, he had both *Latin* and *French*: nor was he ignorant, as I hear, of the *Greek*, *Italian*, and *Spanish*, and perhaps some more. But for the *English*, *French* and *Latin*, he was exact in them; and apt to learn every thing. Nor was he ignorant of Logick, of the Principles of Natural Philosophy, nor of Music. The sweetness of his temper was such as became a Mortal, his gravity becoming the Majesty of a King, and his disposition suitable to his high degree. In sum; that Child was so bred, had such Parts, was of such expectation, that he looked like a Miracle of his a Man. These things are not spoken Rhetorically, and beyond the truth, but are indeed short of it. And afterward he adds, He was a marvellous Boy: When I was with him, he was in the 15th Year of Age, in which he spake *Latin* as politely and as promptly as I did: He asked me what was the subject of my Book *de rerum Varietate*, which I had dedicated to him? I answered, That in the first Chapter I gave the true cause of Comets, which had been long enquired into.

" But

"but was never found out before. What is it, said he? I said, it was
 "the concourse of the light of wandring Stars. He answered, How
 "can that be, since the Stars move in different Motions? How comes it
 "that the Comets are not soon dissipated, or do not move after them ac-
 "cording to their Motions? To this I answered, They do move after
 "them, but much quicker than they, by reason of the different Aspect,
 "as we see in a Chrystal, or when a Rain-bow rebounds from the Wall :
 "for a little change makes a great difference of place. But the King
 "said, How can that be, where there is no Subject to receive that Light,
 "as the Wall is the Subject for the Rain-bow? To this I answered, That
 "this was as in the Milky-way, or where many Candles were lighted, the
 "middle place where their shining met was white and clear. From this
 "little tast it may be imagined what he was. And indeed the ingenuity
 "and sweetness of his disposition had raised in all good and learned Men
 "the greatest expectation of him possible. He began to love the Libe-
 "ral Arts before he knew them, and to know them before he could use
 "them : and in him there was such an attempt of Nature, that not only
 "England, but the World has reason to lament his being so early snatched
 "away. How truly was it said of such extraordinary Persons, That
 "their Lives are short, and seldom do they come to be old? He gave us
 "an Essay of Vertue, though he did not live to give a pattern of it. When
 "the gravity of a King was needful, he carryed himself like an Old Man ;
 "and yet he was always affable and gentle, as became his Age. He play-
 "ed on the Lute: he meddled in affairs of State : and for bounty, he did
 "in that emulate his Father; though he even, when he endeavoured to
 "be too good, might appear to have been bad : but there was no ground
 "of suspecting any such thing in the Son, whose mind was cultivated by the
 "study of Philosophy.

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It has been said in the end of his Fathers Life, that he then designed to
 create him Prince of *Wales* : For though he was called so, as the Heirs of
 this Crown are, yet he was not by a formal Creation invested with that
 dignity. This pretence was made use of to hasten forward the Attain-
 der of the Duke of *Norfolk* : since he had many Offices for life, which
 the King intended to dispose of; and desired to have them speedily fil-
 led, in order to the creating of his Son Prince of *Wales*. In the mean
 time his Father died, and the Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*,
 were sent by the Council to give him notice of it, being then at *Hartford*,
 and to bring him to the Tower of *London*; and having brought him to
Enfield, with his Sister the Lady *Elizabeth*, they let him know of his
 Fathers death, and that he was now their King : On the 31st of *January*
 the Kings Death was published in *London*, and he proclaimed King.

A design to
create him
Prince of
Wales.

King Henry
dies

At the Tower, his Fathers Executors, with the rest of the Privy Coun-
 cil, received him with the respects due to their King : So tempering their
 sorrow for the death of their late Master, with their joy for his sons
 happy succeeding him; that by an excess of joy they might not seem to
 have forgot the one so soon, nor to be ill to the other by an extreme
 grief. The first thing they did, was the opening King *Henry's* Will : by
 which they found he had nominated sixteen Persons to be his Execu-
 tors, and Governors of his Son, and to the Kingdom, till his Son was
 eighteen years of Age. These were the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the
 Lord *Wriothesley* Lord Treasurer, the Lord St. *John* Great Master, the

King Henry
came to the
Tower.

King Henry's
Will opened.

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Lord *Ruffel* Lord Privy-Seal, the Earl of *Hartford* Lord Great Chamberlain, the Viscount *Lisle* Lord Admiral, *Tonstal* bishop of *Duresme*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Horse, Sir *William Paget* Secretary of State, Sir *Edward North* Chancellor of the Court of *Augmentations*, Sir *Edward Montague* Lord Chief-Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, Judge *Bramley*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert* Chief Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, Sir *Edward Wotton* Treasurer of *Callice*, and Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. These, or the major part of them, were to execute his Will, and to administer the Affairs of the Kingdom. By their consent were the King and his Sisters to be disposed of in Marriage. But with this difference, that it was only ordered, That the King should marry by their Advice; but the two Sisters were so limited in their Marriage, that they were to forfeit their Right of Succession, if they married without their consent; it being of far greater importance to the Peace and Interest of the Nation who should be their Husbands, if the Crown did devolve on them, than who should be the Kings Wife. And by the Act passed in the 35th Year of King *Henry*, he was empowered to leave the Crown to them, with what limitations he should think fit. To the Executors, the King added by his Will, a Privy-Council who should be assisting to them. These were, the Earls of *Arundel*, and *Essex*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney* Treasurer of the Household, Sir *John Gage* Comptroller, Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Vice-Chamberlain, Sir *William Petre* Secretary of State, Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *John Baker*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Thomas Seimour*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, and Sir *Edmund Peckham*. The King also ordered, That if any of the Executors should die, the Survivors without giving them a Power of substituting others, should continue to administer Affairs. He also charged them to pay all his Debts, and the Legacies he left, and to perfect any Grants he had begun, and to make good every thing that he had promised. The Will being opened and read, all the Executors, Judge *Bramley* and the two *Wottons* only excepted, were present, and did resolve to execute the Will in all points, and to take an Oath for their faithful discharge of that Trust.

Debate about
choosing a
Protector.

But it was also proposed, That for the speedier dispatch of things, and for a more certain order and direction of all Affairs, there should be one chosen to be Head of the rest, to whom Ambassadors and others might address themselves. It was added to caution this, That the Person to be raised to that Dignity, should do nothing of any sort without the Advice and Consent of the greater part of the rest. But this was opposed by the Lord Chancellour, who thought that the Dignity of his Office, setting him next the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who did not much follow Secular Affairs, he should have the chief stroke in the Government; therefore he pressed, That they might not depart from the Kings Will in any particular, neither by adding to it, nor taking from it. It was plain, the late King intended they should be all alike in the Administration, and the raising one to a Title or Degree above the rest, was a great change from what he had ordered. And whereas it was now said, that the Person to be thus nominated was to have no manner of Power over the rest, that was only to exalt him into an high Dignity with the less envy or apprehension of danger; for it was certain great Titles always make way for high Power. But the Earl of *Hartford* had so great a
Party

Party among them, that it was agreed to, the Lord Chancellor himself consenting when he saw his opposition was without effect, that one should be raised over the rest in Title to be called the *Protector of the Kings Realms, and the Governour of his Person*: The next Point held no long debate, who should be nominated to this high Trust; for they unanimously agreed, That the Earl of *Hartford*, by reason of his nearness of Blood to the King, and the great experience he had in affairs, was the fittest Person. "So he was declared Protector of the Realm, and Governour to the Kings Person; but with that special and express Condition, that he should not do any Act but by the Advice and Consent of the other Executors, according to the Will of the late King. Then they all went to take their Oaths, but it was proposed, that it should be delayed till the next day, that so they might do it upon better consideration. More was not done that day, save that the Lord Chancellor was ordered to deliver up the Seals to the King, and to receive them again from his Hands; for King *Henry's* Seal was to be made use of, either till a new one was made, or till the King was Crowned; He was also ordered to renew the Commissions of the Judges, the Justices of Peace, the Presidents of the *North*, and of *Wales*, and of some other Officers. This was the issue of the first Council-day under this King: In which, the so easie advancement of the Earl of *Hartford* to so high a Dignity gave great occasion to censure: it seeming to be a change of what King *Henry* had designed. But the Kings great kindness to his Unkle made it pass so smoothly; For the rest of the Executors, not being of the Ancient Nobility, but Courtiers, were drawn in easily to comply with that which was so acceptable to their young King. Only the Lord Chancellor, who had chiefly opposed it, was to expect small favour at the new Protectors hands. It was soon apparent what emulation there was between them. And the Nation being then divided, between those who loved the old Superstition, and those who desired a more complete Reformation; The Protector set himself at the Head of the one, and the Lord Chancellor at the Head of the other Party.

1547.
The Earl of
Hartford chosen.

The next day the Executors met again, and first took their Oaths most solemnly for their faithful executing the Will. They also ordered all those who were by the late King named Privy-Councillors to come into the Kings Presence, and there they declared to the King the choice they had made of his Unkle; who gave his Assent to it. It was also signified to the Lords of the Council, who likewise with one voice gave their Consent to it. And dispatches were ordered to be sent to the Emperor, the French King, and the Regent of *Flanders*, giving notice of the Kings Death, and of the Constitution of the Council, and the Nomination of the Protector during the Minority of their young King. All Dispatches were ordered to be Signed only by the Protector; and all the Temporal Lords, with all the Bishops about the Town, were commanded to come and swear Allegiance to the King. On the 2d. of Feb. the Protector was declared Lord Treasurer, and Earl Marshal, these Places having been designed for him by the late King upon the Duke of *Norfolk's* Attainder. Letters were also sent to *Callice*, *Brisaigne*, *Ireland*, the Marches of *Scotland*, and most of the Counties of *England*, giving notice of the Kings Succession, and of the order now settled. The Will was also ordered to be Enrolled, and every of the Executors

which is declared in
Council

1547.

The Bishops
take out Com-
missions for
their Bishop-
ricks,

Collection
Number 2.

The Reason of
the new Cre-
ation of many
Noblemen.

was to have an Exemplification of it under the Great Seal: and the Clerks of Council were also ordered to give to every of them an account of all things done in Council under their Hands and Seals. And the Bishops were required to take out new Commissions of the same form with those they had taken out in King Henry's time, (for which see Page 267. of the former Part;) only with this difference, That there is no mention made of a Vicar-General in these Commissions, as was in the former, there being none after *Cromwel* advanced to that dignity. Two of these Commissions are yet extant, one taken out by *Cranmer*, the other taken out by *Bonner*. But this was only done by reason of the present juncture, because the Bishops being generally addicted to the former Superstition, it was thought necessary to keep them under so arbitrary a Power as that subjected them to; for they hereby held their Bishopricks only during the Kings pleasure, and were to exercise them as his Delegates in his Name, and by his Authority. *Cranmer* set an Example to the rest, and took out his Commission, which is in the *Collection*. But this was afterwards judged too heavy a Yoak, and therefore the new Bishops that were made by this King were not put under it; (and so *Ridley*, when made Bishop of *London* in *Bonnors* room, was not required to take out any such Commission;) but they were to hold their Bishopricks during life.

There was a Clause in the Kings Will, requiring his Executors to make good all that he had promised in any manner of ways. Whereupon Sir *William Paget*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert*, were required to declare what they knew of the Kings Intentions and Promises; the former being the Secretary whom he had trusted most, and the other two, those that attended on him in his Bed-Chamber during his Sickness; though they were called Gentlemen of the Privy-chamber; for the Service of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber was not then set up. *Paget* declared, That when the evidence appeared against the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son the Earl of *Surrey*, the King, who used to talk oft in private with him alone, told him, that he intended to bestow their Lands liberally: and since by Attainders, and other ways, the Nobility were much decayed, he intended to create some Peers; and ordered him to write a Book of such as he thought meetest: who thereupon proposed the Earl of *Hartford* to be a Duke; the Earl of *Essex* to be a Marquess; the Viscount *Lisle* to be an Earl; the Lords *St. John*, *Russel*, and *Wriothesley*, to be Earls; and Sir *Tho. Seimour*, Sir *Thom. Cheyncey*, Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *William Willoughby*, Sir *Tho. Arundel*, Sir *Edmund Sheffield*, Sir *Jo. St. Leiger*, Sir *Wymbish*, Sir *Vernon of the Peak*, and Sir *Christopher Danby*, to be Barons. *Paget* also proposed a distribution of the Duke of *Norfolk's* Estate. But the King liked it not, and made Mr. *Gates* bring him the Books of that Estate; which being done, he ordered *Paget* to tot upon the Earl of *Hartford* (these are the words of his Deposition) a Thousand Marks; on the Lord *Lisle*, *St. John*, and *Russel*, 200 Pounds a year; to the Lord *Wriothesley* 100; and for Sir *Tho. Seimour* 300 Pounds a year. But *Paget* said it was too little, and stood long arguing with him: yet the King ordered him to propose it to the Persons concerned, and see how they liked it. And he putting the King in mind of *Denny*, who had been oft a Suiter for him, but he had never yet in lieu of that obtained any thing for *Denny*, the King

King ordered 200 Pounds for him, and 400 Marks for Sir William Herbert, and remembered some others likewise. But Paget having according to the Kings Commands, spoken to these who were to be advanced, found that many of them desired to continue in their former Ranks, and thought the Lands the King intended to give were not sufficient for the maintenance of the Honour to be conferred on them: which he reported to the best advantage he could for every Man, and endeavoured to raise the Kings favour to them as high as he could. But while this was in consultation, the Duke of Norfolk, very prudently apprehending the ruin of his Posterity, if his Lands were divided into many Hands, out of which he could not so easily recover them; whereas if they continued in the Crown, some turn of Affairs might again establish his Family; and intending also to oblige the King by so unusual a Complement, sent a letter to him that he would be pleased to settle all his Lands on the Prince. (the now King) and not give them away: for, said he, according to the Phrase of that Time, *They are good and stately Gear*. This wrought so far on the King, that he resolved to reserve them for himself, and to reward his Servants some other way. Whereupon Paget pressed him once to resolve on the Honours he would bestow, and what he would give with them, and they should afterwards consider of the way how to give it. The King growing still worse, said to him, "That if ought came to him but good, as he thought he could not long endure, he intended to place them all about his Son, as Men whom he trusted and loved above all other: and that therefore he would consider them the more. So after many Consultations he ordered the Book to be thus filled up, "The Earl of Hartford to be Earl Marshal, and Lord Treasurer, and to be Duke of Somerset, Exeter, or Hartford, and his Son to be Earl of Wiltshire, with 800 l. a year of Land, and 300 l. a year out of the next Bishops Land that fell void; the Earl of Essex to be Marquess of Essex; the Viscount Lisle to be Earl of Coventry; the Lord Wriothesley to be Earl of Winchester; Sir Tho. Seymour to be a Baron and Lord Admiral; Sir Richard Rich, Sir Jo. St. Leiger, Sir William Willoughby, Sir Ed. Sheffield, and Sir Christopher Danby, to be Barons: with yearly Revenues to them, and several other Persons. And having at the Suit of Sir Edward North promised to give the Earl of Hartford six of the best Prebends that should fall in any Cathedral, except Deanries and Treasurerships; at his Suit he agreed, that a Deanry and a Treasurership should be instead of two of the six Prebendaries. And thus all this being written as the King had ordered it, the King took the Book and put it in his Pocket, and gave the Secretary order to let every one know what he had determined for them. But before these things took effect the King died. Yet being on his Death-bed put in mind of what he had promised, he ordered it to be put in his Will, that his Executors should perform every thing that should appear to have been promised by him. All this Denny and Herbert confirmed, for they then waited in his Chamber; and when the Secretary went out, the King told them the substance of what had passed between them, and made Denny read the Book over again to him: whereupon Herbert observed that the Secretary had remembered all but himself; to which the King answered, He should not forget him, and ordered Denny to write 400 l. a year for him. All these things being thus declared upon Oath and the greatest

1547.

The Affairs
of Scotland

Resented.

Secular Men
had their Ec-
clesiastical
Privileges.

part of them having been formerly signified to some of them, and the whole matter being well known and spread abroad, the Executors, both out of Conscience to the Kings Will, and for their own Honours, resolved to fulfil what the King had intended, but was hindered by death to accomplish. But being apprehensive both of Wars with the Emperour and French King, they resolved not to lessen the Kings Treasure nor Revenue, nor to sell his Jewels or Plate, but to find some other wayes to pay them; and this put them afterwards on selling the Chantry Lands.

The business of Scotland was then so pressing, that *Balnagoss*, who was Agent for those that had shut themselves within the Castle of *St. Andrews*, had this day 1180 *l.* ordered to be carried to them for an half years pay to the Soldiers of that Garrison: There were also Pensions appointed for the most leading Men in that Business. The Earl of *Roths* eldest Son had 280 Pound, Sir *James Kircaldy* had 200, and many others had smaller Pensions allowed them, for their amit; as it is expressed in the Council Books. That day the Lord Protector Knighted the King, being authorized to do it by Letters Patents. So it seems, that as the Laws of Chivalry required that the King should receive Knighthood from the Hand of some other Knight; so it was judged too great a presumption for his own Subject to give it, without a Warrant under the Great Seal. The King at the same time Knighted Sir *John Hubletborn* the Lord Major of *London*. When it was known abroad what a distribution of Honour and Wealth the Council had resolved on, it was much censured: many saying, that it was not enough for them to have drained the dead King of all his Treasure, but that the first step of their proceedings in their new Trust was to provide Honour and Estates for themselves; whereas it had been a more decent way for them to have reserved their Pretensions till the King had come to be of Age. Another thing in the Attestations seemed much to lessen the credit of the Kings Will, which was said to be Signed the 30th of *Decemb* and so did bear date: whereas this Narration insinuates, that it was made a very little while before he dyed, not being able to accomplish his design in these things which he had projected: but it was well known that he was not so ill on the 30th of *December*.

It may perhaps seem strange, that the Earl of *Hartford* had six good Prebends promised him; two of these being afterwards converted into a Deanry and a Treasurership. But it was ordinary at that time. The Lord *Cromwell* had been Dean of *Wells*; and many other secular Men had these Ecclesiastical Benefices without Cure conferred on them. For which, there being no charge of Souls annexed to them, this might seem to be an excuse. Yet even those had a sacred charge incumbent on them in the Cathedrals; and were just and necessary encouragements, either for such as by Age or other defects were not fit for a Parochial Charge, and yet might be otherwise capable to do eminent service in the Church; or for the support of such as in their Parochial labours did serve so well as to merit preferment, and yet perhaps were so menially provided for as to need some farther help for their subsistence. But certainly they were never intended for the enriching of such lazy and sensual Men, who having given themselves up to a dissolute course of life, had little of a Church-man but the Habit and Name, and yet used to rail against Sacrilege in others, not considering that they themselves were

of

of the same crime, enriching their Families with the Spoils of the Church, or with the Goods of it, which were put into their Hands for better uses. And it was no wonder that when Clergy-men had thus abused these Endowments, Secular Men broke in upon them; observing plainly, that the Clergy who enjoyed them made no better use of them than Laicks might do. Though instead of reforming an abuse that was so generally spread, they, like Men that minded nothing more than the enriching of themselves, took a certain course to make the mischief perpetual; by robing the Church of those Endowments and helps it had received from the Munificence of the Founders of its Cathedrals, who were generally the first Christian Kings of this Nation; which had it been done by Law would have been a thing of very bad consequence; but as it was done, was directly contrary to the *Magna Charta*, and to the Kings Coronation Oath.

But now they that were weary of the Popish Superstitions observing that Arch-bishop *Cranmer* had so great a share of the young Kings affection, and that the Protector and he were in the same interests, began to call for a further Reformation of Religion; and some were so full of zeal for it, that they would not wait on the slow motions of the State. So the Curate and Church-wardens of *St. Martins in Ironmonger-Lane* in *London*, took down the Images and Pictures of the Saints, and the Crucifix out of their Church, and painted many Texts of Scripture upon the Walls; some of them according to a perverse Translation, as the Complaint has it; and in the place where the Crucifix was, they set up the Kings Arms with some Texts of Scripture about it. Upon this the Bishop and Lord-Major of *London* complained to the Council. And the Curate and Church-wardens being cited to appear, answered for themselves, That the Roof of their Church being bad, they had taken it down, and that the Crucifix and Images were so rotten, that when they removed them they fell to powder; That the charge they had been at in repairing their Church was such, that they could not buy new Images: That they had taken down the Images in the Chancel, because some had been guilty of Idolatry towards them. In conclusion, they said, what they had done was with a good intention; and if they had in any thing done amiss, they asked pardon, and submitted themselves. Some were for punishing them severely; for all the Papists reckoned that this would be a leading Case to all the rest of this Reign: and if this was easily passed over, others would be from that remissness animated to attempt such things every where. But on the other hand those at Court who had designed to set forward a Reformation, had a mind only so far to check the heat of the People, as to keep it within compass, but not to dishearten their friends too much. *Cranmer* and his Party were for a general removing of all Images; and said in the late Kings time order being given to remove such as were a Superstition; Upon that there were great Contentions in many Places what Images had been so abused, and what not; and that these Disputes would be endless unless all were taken away.

In the purest times of Christianity they had no Images at all in their Churches. One of the first Councils, namely that at *Elvins* in *Spain* made a Canon against the painting what they worshiped on the Walls. *Epiphanius* was highly offended when he saw a Vail hanging before the door of a Church, which he considered so little as

Images removed without Authority out of one Church in *London*.

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not to know well whose Picture it was, but thought it might be Christs, or some other Saints; yet he tore it, and gave them of that Place Money to buy a new Vail in its room. Afterwards, with the rest of the pomp of Hethenism, Images came to be set up in Churches; yet so as that there was no sort of Worship payed to them. But in the time of Pope *Gregory* the first, many went into extremes about them; some were for breaking them, and others worshiped them; That Pope thought the middle way best, neither to break, nor to worship them, but to keep them only to put the People in mind of the Saints. Afterwards there being subtil Questions started about the Unity of Christs Person and Will, the Greek Emperours generally inclined to have the animosities raised by these, removed by some comprehensive words to which all might consent: which the Interest of State as well as Religion seemed to require; for their Empire every day declining, all methods for uniting it were thought good and prudent. But the Bishops were stiff and peremptory: So in the sixth general Council they condemned all who differed from them. Upon this the Emperours that succeeded would not receive that Council, but the Bishops of *Rome* ordered the Pictures of all the Bishops who had been at that Council to be set up in the Churches: Upon which the Emperours contended against these or any Pictures whatsoever in Churches. And herein that hapned which is not unusual, that one Controversie rising occasionally out of another, the Parties forsake the first Contest, and fall into sharp Conflicts about the occasional differences. For now the Emperours and Popes quarrelled most violently about the use of Images, and ill Names going a great way towards the defining an Opinion, the Popes and their Party accused all that were against Images, as favouring *Judaism*, or *Mahometanism*, which was then much spread in *Asia* and *Africa*: The Emperours and their Party accusing the others of *Gentilism* and *Heathenish Idolatry*. Upon this occasion *Gregory* the third first assumed the Rebellious Pretension to a Power to depose *Leo* the Emperour from all his dominions in *Italy*. There was one General Council at *Constantinople* that condemned the use or worship of Images; and soon after another at *Nice* did establish it: and yet at the same time *Charles* the Great, though not a little linked in Interest to the Bishops of *Rome*, holding both the *French* and Imperial Crowns by the favour of the Popes, wrote, or employed *Alcuin* (a most learned Country-man of ours at these times went) to write in his Name against the Worship of Images. And in a Council at *Frankfort* it was condemned, which was also done afterwards in another Council at *Paris*. But in such Ages of Ignorance and Superstition any thing that wrought so much on the senses and imaginations of the People was sure to prevail in conclusion. And this had in a Course of seven more Ages been improved by the craft and impostures of the Monks, so wonderfully, that there was no sign of Divine Adoration that could be invented that was not applied to these Images. So in King *Henry*'s time that temper was found, that such Images, as had been abused to Superstition should be removed; and for other Images external Worship, such as kneeling, censuring, and praying before them, was kept up, but the People were to be taught that these were not at all intended to the Image, but to that which was represented by it. And for this there was much subtle arguing. Among *Crawlers* papers I have

Have seen several Arguments for a moderate use of Images. But to all these they opposed the second Commandment as plainly forbidding all visible Objects of Adoration, together with what was in the Scriptures against the Idolatry of the Heathens, and what the Fathers had written against the *Gentiles*. And they added, that how excusable soever, that practice might have been in such dark and barbarous Ages in which the People knew little more of Divine Matters than what they learned from their Images, yet the horrible abuses that followed on the bringing them into Churches, made it necessary now to throw them all out. It was notorious that the People every where doted on them, and gave them Divine Honour: Nor did the Clergy, who were generally too guilty themselves of such abuses, teach them how to distinguish aright: and the Acts of Worship that were allowed, were such, that beside the scandal such Worship had in it, and the danger of drawing People into Idolatry, it was in it self inexcusable to offer up such external parts of Religious Adoration to Gold or Silver, Wood or Stone. So *Cranmer* and others, being resolved to purge the Church of this Abuse, got the worst part of the Sentence, that some had designed against the Curate and Church-wardens, to be mitigated into a Reprimend; and as it is entred in the Council Books, "In respect of their submission, and of some other Reasons which did mitigate their offence, (These were *Cranmer's* Arguments against Images) they did pardon their imprisonment, which was at first determined, and ordered them to provide a Crucifix, or at least some painting of it till one were ready, and to beware of such rashness for the future. But no mention is made of the other Images.

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Many began to pull Images.

The carriage of the Council in this matter discovering the inclinations of the greatest part of them, and *Dr. Ridley* having in his Lent Sermon preached against the Superstition that was generally had to Images and Holy Water, it raised a great heat over *England*: So that *Gardiner* hearing that on *May-day* the People of *Portsmouth* had removed and broken the Images of Christ and the Saints, writ about it with great warmth to one Captain *Vaughan*, that waited on the Protector, and was then at *Portsmouth*. "He desired to know whether he should send one to preach against it; though he thought that was the casting Precious Stones to Hogs, or worse than Hogs, as were these *Lollards*. He said that *Luther* had set out a Book against those who removed Images, and himself had seen them still in the Lutheran Churches: and he thought the removing Images was on design to subvert Religion and the state of the World: he argues for them from the Kings Image on the Seal, *Cæsars* Image on the Coin brought to Christ, the Kings Arms carried by the Heralds: he condemns false Images; but for those that were against true Images, he thought they were possessed with the Devil. *Vaughan* sent his Letter to the Protector, with one from *Gardiner* to himself, who finding the reasoning in it not so strong but that it might be answered, wrote to him himself, "That he allowed of his zeal against Idolatry, but that there were other things that needed to be looked to. "Great difference there was between the Civil respect due to the Kings Arms, and the Worship given to Images. There had been a time in which the abuse of the Scriptures was thought a good reason to take them from the People, yet not to burn them: though he looked on them as such, yet he would not burn them, but leave them to the good men."

At which *Gardiner* is incensed.

wrote to him about it. The Letters die in the Acts and Monuments.

men.

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“membrancers, he thought the hurt was not great ; but it was known
 “that for the most part it was otherwise : and upon abuse the Brazen Ser-
 “pent was broken, though made at Gods Commandment : and it being
 “pretended that they were *the Books of the People*, he thought the Bible
 “a much more intelligible and useful Book. There were some too rash,
 “and others too obstinate. The Magistrate was to steer a middle Course
 “between them ; not considering the Antiquity of things so much, as
 “what was good and expedient. *Gardiner* writ again to the Protector,
 “complaining of *Bale* and others, who published Books to the dishonour
 “of the late King ; and that all were running after Novelties ; and often
 “inculcates it, that things should be kept in the state they were in, till
 “the King were of Age : and in his Letters reflects both on the Arch-
 “bishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *Duresme* for consenting to such
 “things.

Gardiner writ
 to *Ridley* who
 had preached
 against Ima-

But finding his Letters had no effect on the Protector, he wrote to
Ridley : “That by the Law of *Moses* we were no more bound not to
 “have Images than not to eat Blood-Puddings. Image and Idol might
 “have been used promiscuously in former times, as King and Tyrane
 “were ; yet there was a great difference between these, according to the
 “Notions we now have. He cites Pope *Gregory* who was against both
 “adoring and breaking them : and says the Worship is not given to the
 “Image, so there is no Idolatry but to him represented by it : and as the
 “sound of Speech did by the Ear beget Notions in us, so he did not see
 “but the sight of an Image might stir up devotion. He confessed there
 “had been abuses, as there is in every thing that is in Mens Hands : he
 “thinks Imagery, and Graving, to be of as good use for instruction, as
 “Writing or Printing : and because *Ridley* had also preached against
 “the Superstition of Holy Water to drive away Devils, he added, That
 “a Vertue might be in Water, as well as in Christs Garment, *St. Peters*
 “Shadow, or *Elisba's* Staff. Pope *Marcellus* ordered *Equitius* to use it,
 “and the late King used to bless Cramp-Rings both of Gold and Silver,
 “which were much esteemed every where, and when he was abroad
 “they were often desired from him. This Gift he hoped the young King
 “would not neglect. He believed the Invocation of the Name of God
 “might give such a Vertue to Holy Water as well as to the Water of
 “Baptism. For *Ridley's* Answer to this, I never saw it ; so these things
 must here pass without any Reply : though it is very probable an ordina-
 ry Reader will with a very small measure of common Sense and Learn-
 ing, see how they might have been answered. The thing most remar-
 kable here is about these Cramp-Rings which King *Henry* used to bless,
 of which I never met with any thing before I saw this Letter ; but since
 I understand the Office of Blessing of these Rings is extant, as it was pre-
 pared for Queen *Maries* use, as shall be told in her Reign : It must be left to
 conjecture whether he did it as a practice of former Kings, or whether upon
 his being made *Supream Head*, he thought fit to take on him, as the Pope
 did, to consecrate such things, and send them about. Where to be sure
 Fancy and Flattery would raise many Stories of the wonderful effects of
 what he had so blessed ; and perhaps these might have been as true as the
 Reports made of the Vertues of *Agnus Dei's*, touched Beads, blessed
 Pebbles, with such other goodly Ware which the Friars were wont to
 carry about and distribute to their Benefactors as things highly sanctified.

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This I set down more fully, and have laid some things together that fell not out till some months after this, being the first step that was made towards a Reformation in this Reign.

1547.

Upon this occasion it is not unlikely that the Council wrote their Letters to all the Justices of Peace of *England*, on the 12th of *Feb.* letting them know, that they had sent down new Commissions to them for keeping the Peace: ordering them to assemble together, and first to call earnestly on God for his Grace to discharge their Duties faithfully according to the Oaths which they were to take: and that they should impartially, without corruption, or sinister affection, execute their Office; so that it might appear that they had God and the good of their King and Country before their Eyes: and that they should divide themselves into the several Hundreds, and see to the publick Peace: and that all Vagabonds and disturbers of the Peace should be duly punished; and that once every six weeks they should write to the Lord Protector and Council, the state in which the County was, till they were otherwise commanded. That which was sent into the County of *Norfolk* will be found in the Collection.

1547. Feb. 12.
The Commission of the Justices of the Peace.

Collection
Number 1

But now the Funeral of the deceased King, and the Coronation of his Son were to be dispatched. In the Coronation-Ceremonies that had been formerly used, there were some things that did not agree with the present Laws of the Land: as the Promise made to the Abbots for maintaining their Lands and Dignities: They were also so tedious, that a new Form was ordered to be drawn, which the Reader will find in the Collection. The most material thing in it is the first Ceremony, whereby, the King being shewed to the People at the four Corners of the Stage, the Arch-bishop was to demand their Consent to it: and yet in such terms as should demonstrate he was no Elective Prince; "for he being declared the rightful and undoubted Heir both by the Law of God and Man, they were desired to give their good Wills and Assents to the same, as by their Duty of Allegiance they were bound to do. This being agreed on the 13th of *Feb.* on the day following King *Henry's* Body was with all the Pomp of a Royal Funeral removed to *Sheen* in the way to *Windſor*. There great observation was made on a thing that was no extraordinary matter: He had been extreme corpulent, and dying of a Dropsie, or some thing like it, it was no wonder if a fortnight after, upon so long a motion, some putrid matter might run thorough the Coffin. But *Sheen* having been a House of Religious Women, it was called a signal Mark of the displeasure of Heaven, that some of his Blood and Fat dropped through the Lead in the night: and to make this work mightily on weak People, it was said, that the Dogs licked it next morning. This was much magnified in commendation of *Bishop Petto*, afterwards made Cardinal, who (as was told *Page 151.* of the former Part) had threatened him in a Sermon at *Greenwich*, *That the Dogs should lick his Blood*. Though to consider things more equally, it had been a Wonder indeed if it had been otherwise. But having met with this Observation in a MS. written near that time, I would not envy the World the Pleasure of it. Next day he was brought to *Windſor*, and interred in *St. George's Chappel*. And he having by his Will left that Church to be a yeer for ever for two Priests to say Mass at his Tomb daily, and to write a yardly, and a Sermon at every Obit, with 10*l.* to the

Collection
Number 4

1547. Feb. 13.
King Henry buried.

1547. Poor, and for a Sermon every Sunday, together with the maintenance of thirteen poor Knights; The Judges were consulted how this should be well settled in Law. Who advised that the Lands which the King had given, should be made over to that Colledge by Indentures Tripartite, the King being one Party, the Protector and the other Executors a second, and the Dean and Chapter of *Windſor* a third Party. These were to be signed with the Kings Hand, and the great Seal put to them, with the Hands and Seals of all the rest: and then Patents were to be given for the Lands, founded on the Kings Testament, and the Indentures Tripartite.

Soul-Masses
exam'd

But the Pomp of this Business ministered an occasion of enquiring into the use and lawfulness of Soul-Masses and *Obits*, which came to be among the first things that were reformed. Christ had instituted the Sacrament to be celebrated in remembrance of his Death, and it was a Sacrament only to those who did participate in it: but that the consecrating the Sacrament could be of any use to departed Souls, seemed a thing not easie to be conceived. For if they are the Prayers of the Living that profit the Dead, then these would have done as well without a Mass. But the People would not have esteemed bare Prayers so much, nor have payed so dear for them. So that the true Original of Soul-Masses was thought to have been only to increase the Esteem and Wealth of the Clergy. It is true, in the Primitive Church there was a Commemoration of the Saints departed in the *Daily Sacrifice*, so they termed the Communion, and such as had given any offence at their death were not remembered in it: So that for so slight an offence, as the leaving a Priest Tutor to ones Children, which might distract them from their Spiritual care, ones name was to be left out of that Commemoration in *Cyprians* time; which was a very disproportioned punishment to that offence, if such Commemorations had been thought useful or necessary to the Souls departed. But all this was nothing to the private Masses for them, and was indeed nothing at first but an honourable mention of such as had died in the Faith. And they believing then generally that there was a Glorious Thousand Years to be on Earth, and that the Saints should rise some sooner and some later to have their part in it, they prayed in general for their quiet Rest, and their speedy Resurrection. For these Prayers growing, as all superstitious devices do, to be more considered, some began to frame an Hypothesis to justify them by; that of the Thousand years being generally exploded. And in *St. Austins* time they began to fancy there was a state of punishment even for the Good in another Life, out of which some were sooner and some later freed, according to the measure of their Repentance for their Sins in this Life. But he tells us, this was taken up without any sure ground, and that it was no way certain. Yet by *Visions*, *Dreams*, and *Tales*, the belief of it was so far promoted, that it came to be generally received in the next Age after him: and then as the People were told that the Saints interceded for them, so it was added that they might intercede for their departed Friends. And this was the Foundation of all that Trade of Soul-Masses and *Obits*. Now the deceased King had acted like one, who did not believe that these things signified much; otherwise he would have had all reception in Purgatory, having by the sale of the Monasteries deprived the departed Souls of the benefit of the many Masses that were

were said for them in these Houses: yet it seems at his death he would make the matter sure, and to shew he intended as much benefit to the living, as to himself being dead, he took care that there should be not only Masses and *Obits*, but so many Sermons at *Windſor*, and a frequent distribution of Alms for the relief of the Poor. But upon this occasion it came to be examined what value there was in such things. Yet the Arch-bishop plainly saw that the Lord Chancellor would give great opposition to every motion that should be made for any further alteration; for which he and all that Party had the specious pretence always in their Mouths; That their late Glorious King was not only the most learned Prince, but the most learned Divine in the World, (for the flattering him did not end with his Life) and that therefore they were at least, to keep all things in the condition wherein he had left them, till the King were of Age. And this seemed also necessary on Considerations of State; For Changes in matter of Religion might bring on commotions and Disorders, which they as faithful Executors ought to avoid. But to this it was answered, That as their late King was infinitely learned, (for both Parties flattered him dead, as well as living) so he had resolved to make great Alterations, and was contriving how to change the Mass into a Communion: that therefore they were not to put off a thing of such consequence, wherein the Salvation of Peoples Souls was so much concerned, but were immediately to set about it. But the Lord Chancellor gave quickly great advantage against himself to his Enemies, who were resolved to make use of any Error he might be guilty of, so far as to ease themselves of the trouble he was like to give them.

The Kings Funeral being over, order was given for the Creation of The Peers. The Protector was to be Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Essex* to be Marquess of *Northampton*, the Viscount *Lisle* to be Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Wriothesley* Earl of *Southampton*; besides the new Creation of the Lords *Seimour*, *Rich*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and *Sheffield*: the rest it seems excusing themselves from new honours, as it appeared from the Deposition of *Paget*, that many of those on whom the late King had intended to confer Titles of Honour had declined it formerly. On the 20th. of Feb. being *Shrove-Sunday* the King was Crowned by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, according to the form that was agreed to. The Protector serving in it as Lord Steward, the Marquess of *Dorset* as Lord Constable, and the Earl of *Arundel* as Earl Marshal, deputed by the Protector. A Pardon was proclaimed, out of which the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pole*, and some others were excepted.

The first business of importance after the Coronation, was the Lord Chancellors fall. Who, resolving to give himself wholly to Matters of State, had on the 18th. of Feb. put the great Seal to a Commission, directed to Sir *Richard Southwell* Master of the Rolls, *John Tregonnell* Esq; Master of *Chaucery*, and to *John Oliver*, and *Arthur Bellasis*, Clerks, Masters of *Chaucery*; setting forth, that the Lord Chancellor being so employed in the Affairs of State, that he could not attend on the hearing of Causes in the Court of *Chaucery*, these three Masters, or any two of them, were empowered to execute the Lord Chancellors Office in that Court, in as ample manner as if he himself were present; only their Decrees were to be brought to the Lord Chancellor to be Signed by him before they were enrolled. This being done without

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of Peers.

Coronation.

The Lord Chancellor received from him of the.

1547.

any Warrant from the Lord Protector, and the other Executors, judged a high presumption in the Lord Chancellor thus to devolve others that Power which the Law had trusted in his Hands. The sons named by him encreased the offence which this gave, two of being Canonists, so that the common Lawyers looked upon this as a precedent of very high and ill consequence. And being encouraged by this, who had no good will to the Chancellor, they petitioned the Council in this Matter, and complained of the evil consequences of such a Commission, and set forth the fears that all the Students of the Law would, of a Change that was intended to be made of the Laws of England. The Council remembred well they had given no Warrant at all to the Chancellor for the issuing out any such Commission; so they sent the Judges, and required them to examine the Commission with the petition grounded upon it: who delivered their Opinions on the

Feb. 28.

Feb. That the Lord Chancellor ought not without Warrant from Council to have set the Seal to it; and that by his so doing he had by Common Law forfeited his Place to the King, and was liable to Fine

March 6.

Imprisonment at the Kings pleasure. This lay sleeping till the six March, and then the Judges Answer being brought to the Council, read with all their Hands, they entred into a debate how far it ought to be punished. The Lord Chancellor carried it very high; and as he used many Menaces to those who had petitioned against him, and the Judges for giving their Opinions as they did, so he carried himself bravely to the Protector, and told him he held his Place by a better Authority than he held his: That the late King being empow'ed to it by Parliament, had made him not only Chancellor, but one of the Glories of the Realm during his Sons Minority; and had by his Will given none of them Power over the rest to throw them out at pleasure: that therefore they might declare the Commission void if they pleased, to which he should consent; but they could not for such an error remove him out of his Office, nor out of his share of the Government. To this it was answered, that by the late Kings Will they, or the major part of them, were to Administer till the King was at Age; That this suited every one of them in particular to the rest; that otherwise if any of them broke out into Rebellion, he might pretend he could not be arrested nor put from the Government: Therefore it was agreed on, that every one of them in particular was subject to the greater part. The Lord Chancellor was required to shew what Warrant he had for that which he had done: Being now driven from that which he chiefly relied on, he answered for himself, That he had no Warrant; yet he thought by his Power he had Power to do it; that he had no ill intention in it, and therefore submitted himself to the Kings mercy, and to the gracious consideration of the Protector and the Council; and desired that in recompence of his past Services he might forego his Office with as little slander as might be; and that as to his Fine and Imprisonment they would use moderation. So he was made to withdraw. "The Councillors (as it is entered into the Council-Book) considering in their Consciences his sundry ways in his Office, to the great prejudice and utter decay of the Common Laws, and the prejudice that might follow by the continuing in the Hands of so stout and arrogant a Person, who as he pleased put the Seals to such Commissions without Warrant

“agree, That the Seal should be taken from him, and he be deprived of his Office, and be further fined as should be afterwards thought fitting; only they excused him from Imprisonment. So he being called in, and heard say all he could think of for his own justification, they did not judge it of such importance as might move them to change their mind. Sentence was therefore given, That he should stay in the Council-Chamber and Closet till the Sermon was ended, that then he should go home with the Seal to *Ely House* where he lived: but that after Supper, the Lord *Seimour*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Edw. North*, should be sent to him, and that he should deliver the Seal into their Hands; and be from that time deprived of his Office, and confined to his House during pleasure, and pay what Fine should be laid on him. To all which he submitted, and acknowledged the justice of their Sentence. So the next day the Seal was put into the Lord *St. Johns* Hands, till they should agree on a fit man to be Lord Chancellor; and it continued with him several months. On the day following, the late Kings Will being in his Hands for the granting of Exemplifications of it under the Great Seal, it was sent for, and ordered to be laid up in the Treasury of the *Exchequer*; and the Earl of *Southampton* continued in his Confinement till the 29th of June, but then he entered into a Recognisance of 4000 *l.* to pay what Fine they should impose on him, and upon that he was discharged of his Imprisonment. But in all this Sentence, they made no mention of his forfeiting his being one of the late Kings Executors, and of the present Kings Governours; either judging that, being put in these Trusts as he was Lord Chancellor, the discharging him of his Office did by consequence put an end to them; or perhaps they were not willing to do any thing that might seem to change the late Kings Will; and therefore by keeping him under the fear of a severe Fine, they chose rather to oblige him to be absent, and to carry himself quietly, than by any Sentence to exclude him from his share in that Trust. Which I incline the rather to believe, because I find him afterwards brought to Council without any Order entered about it: So that he seems to have come thither rather on a former Right than on a new choice made of him. Thus fell the Lord Chancellor, and in him the Popish Party lost their chief support, and the Protector his most emulous Rival. The Reader will find the Commission with the Opinion of the Judges about it in the *Collection*, from which he will be better able to judge of these Proceedings against him; Which were summary, and severe, beyond the usage of the Privy Council, and without the common forms of legal Processes. But the Councils Authority had been raised so high, by the Act mentioned *Page 263.* of the former *Part*, that they were empowered sufficiently for Matters of that nature.

That which followed a few days after made this be the more censured, since the Lord Protector, who hitherto held his Office but by the choice of the rest, and under great restrictions, was now resolved to hold it by Patent, to which the late Chancellor had been unwilling to consent. The pretence for it was, That the Forreign Ministers, the *French Ambassador* in particular, desired to be satisfied concerning his Power, and how far they might treat with him, and depend on the assurances and promises he gave. So the Protector and Council did on the 22th of *March* petition the King that they might act by a Commission under the Great Seal,

1547.

Collection
NumberThe Protector
holds his Office
by Patent.

March 12.

1547.

Collection
November 6.

Seal, which might empower and justifie them in what they were to do. And that was to be done in this manner. The King and the Lords were to Sign the Warrant for it, upon which the Lord *St. John* (who, though he had the keeping of the Great Seal, was never designed to be Lord Keeper, nor was empowered to hear Causes) should set the Seal to it. The Original Warrant was to be kept by the Protector, and Exemplifications of it were to be given to Forreign Ministers. To this Order Sir *Thom. Cheyney* set his Hand, upon what Authority I do not so clearly see, since he was none of the Executors. By this Commission, (which will be found in the *Collection*) it is set forth, "That the King being under Age, was desired by divers of the Nobles and Prelates of the Realm, to name and authorize one above all others, to have the Charge of the Kingdom, with the Government of his Person; whereupon he had formerly by word of mouth named his Uncle to be Protector and Governour of his Person; yet for a more perfect Declaration of that, he did now ratifie and approve all he had done since that Nomination, and constituted him his Governour and the Protector of his Kingdom till he should attain the full Age of 18 years: giving him the full Authority that belonged to that Office, to do every thing as he by his Wisdom should think for the Honour, Good, and Prosperity of the King and Kingdoms: and that he might be furnished with a Council for his aid and assistance, he did by the advice of his Uncle and others, Nobles, Prelates, and wise Men, accept of these Persons for his Counsellors, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *St. John* President, the Lord *Ruffel* Lord Privy-Seal, the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Warwick*, and *Arundel*, the Lord *Seimour*, the Bishop of *Duresme*, the Lord *Rich*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *Joh. Gage*, Sir *Anth. Brown*, Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Sir *William Paget*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *John Baker*, Doctor *Wotton*, Sir *Antio. Denny*, Sir *William Herbert*, Sir *Edm. North*, Sir *Ed. Montague*, Sir *Ed. Wotton*, Sir *Edm. Peckham*, Sir *Tho. Bromley*, and Sir *Richard Southwell*: giving the Protector Power to swear such other Commissioners as he should think fit: and that he with so many of the Council as he should think meet, might amend and change what they thought fitting: restraining the Council to act only by his Advice and Consent. And thus was the Protector fully settled in his Power, and no more under the curb of the Executors, who were now mixed with the other Counsellors, that by the late King's Will were only to be consulted with as they saw cause. But as he depressed them to an equality with the rest of the Counsellors, so he highly obliged the others who had been formerly under them, by bringing these equally with them into a share of the Government. He had also obtained to himself an high Authority over them: since they could do nothing without his consent, but he was only bound to call for so many of them as he thought meet, and was not limited to act as they advised, but clothed with the full Regal Power: and had it in his Hands to oblige whom he would, and to make his Council greater by calling into the Council such as he should nominate. How far this was Legal I shall not enquire. It was certainly contrary to King *Henry's* Will. And that being made upon an Act of Parliament, which empowered him to limit the Crown and the Government of it at his pleasure, this Commission, that did change the whole Government during the King's minority, seems

capable

capable of no other defence, but that it being made by the consent of the major part of the Executors, it was still valid and stable even by the Will, which devolved the Government on them or the major part of them.

1541

All this I have opened the more largely, both because none of our Historians have taken any notice of the first Constitution of the Government during this Reign, and being ignorant of the true account of it, they have committed great errors: and because having obtained, by the favour of that most industrious Collector of the Transactions of his Age Mr. *Rushworth*, the Original Council-Book, for the two first years of this Reign, I had a certain Authority to follow in it: the exactness of that Book, being beyond any thing I ever met with in all our Records. For every Council-day the Privy-Councillors that were present set their Hands to all that was ordered; judging so great caution necessary when the King was under Age. And therefore I thought this a Book of too great consequence to lie in private Hands: so the owner having made a Present of it to me, I delivered it to that Noble and Vertuous Gentleman Sir *John Nicolas*, one of the Clerks of the Council, to be kept with the rest of their Books.

And having now given the Reader a clear Prospect of the state of the Court, I shall next turn to the Affairs that were under their consideration. That which was first brought before them was concerning the state of *Germany*. *Francis Burgartus* Chancellor to the Duke of *Saxe*, with others from the other Princes and Cities of the Empire, were sent over upon the news of the former Kings death to solicit for Aids from the new King toward the carrying on the War with the Emperor. In order to the clearing of this, and to give a just account of our Councils in reference to Foreign Affairs, especially the cause being about Religion, I shall give a short view of the state of *Germany* at this time. The Emperor, having formed a design of an Universal Monarchy, laid hold on the differences of Religion in *Germany*, as a good mean to cover what he did, with the specious pretence of punishing Heresie, and protecting the Catholicks. But before he had formed this design, he procured his Brother to be chosen King of the *Romans*, and so declared his Successor in the Empire; which he was forced to do, being obliged to be much in *Spain* and his other hereditary Dominions; and being then so young as not to enter into such deep Counsels as he afterwards laid. But his Wars in *Italy* put him oft in ill terms with the Pope; and being likewise watched over in all his Motions by *Francis* the I. and *Henry VIII.* and the *Turk* often breaking into *Hungary* and *Germany*, he was forced to great compliances with the Princes of the Empire: Who being animated by the two great Crowns, did enter into a League for their mutual defence against all Aggressors. And at last in the Year 1544. in the Diet held at *Spire*, the Emperor, being engaged in War with *France*, and the *Turk*, both to secure *Germany*, and to obtain Money of the Prince, was willing to agree to the Edict made there; which was, That till there was a free Council in *Germany*, or such an Assembly in which Matters of Religion might be settled, there should be a general Peace, and none was to be troubled for Religion: the free exercise of both Religions being allowed; and all things were to continue in the state they were then in. And the Imperial Chamber at *Spire* was appointed for the Judges of the

The state
Affairs in
Germany.

1531. *Janus*
erdinand
Crown'd King
the *Romans*

1547.

1544 Sept. 24.
Emperor the
Peace with
France.
1545 Oct. 11.
Peace with
Italy.

that Court being all Papists, there were many Processions depending at the Suit of the Ecclesiasticks against the Protestant Princes, who had driven them out of their Lands: and the Princes expecting no fair dealing from them, all these Processions were now suspended, and the Chamber was to be filled up with new Judges, that should be more favourable to them. They obtaining this Decree, contributed very liberally to the Wars the Emperor seemed to be engaged in. Who having his Treasure exhausted, presently made Peace both with *France* and the Grand Signior, and resolved to turn his Wars upon the Empire, and to make use of that Treasure and Force they had contributed, to invade their Liberties, and to subdue them entirely to himself. Upon this he entered into a Treaty with the Pope, that a Council should be opened in *Trent*; upon which he should require the Princes to submit to it, which if they refused to do, he should make war on them. The Pope was to assist him with 10000 Men, besides heavy Taxes laid on his Clergy; to which he willingly consented. But the Emperor knowing, That if Religion were declared to be the ground of the War, all the Protestants would unite against him, who were the much greater number of the Empire; resolved to divide them among themselves, and to pretend somewhat else than Religion as the cause of the War. There were then four of the Electors of that Religion; the Count *Palatine*, the Duke of *Saxe*; the Marquess of *Brandenburg*, and the Arch-bishop of *Colen*; besides the Landgrave of *Hesse*, the Duke of *Wittemburg*, and many lesser Princes; and almost all the Cities of the Empire. *Bohem* and the other hereditary Dominions of the House of *Austria* were also generally of the same Religion. The Northern Kings and the *Swiss Cantons* were firmly united to them: The two Crowns of *England* and *France* were likewise concerned in Interest to support them against the *Austrian* Family. But the Emperor got *France* and *England* engaged in a War between themselves. So that he was now at leisure to accomplish his designs on the Empire; where some of the Princes being extreme old, as the Count *Palatine*, and *Herman* Arch-bishop of *Colen*; others being of soft and unactive tempers, as the Marquess of *Brandenburg*; and others discontented and ambitious, as *Maurice* of *Saxony*, and the Brothers of *Brandenburg*; he had indeed none of the first Rank to deal with, but the Duke of *Saxe* and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, who were both great Captains, but of such different tempers, that where they were in equal Command, there was no great probability of success. The former was a Prince of the best composition of any in that Age, he was sincerely religious, and one of the most equally tempered Men that was then alive, neither lifted up with success, nor cast down with misfortunes: He had a great capacity, but was slow in his resolutions. The Landgrave on the other hand had much more heat, was a quicker Man, and of an impatient temper, on which the accidents of Life made deep impressions.

When the Emperor began to engage in this design, the Pope, being jealous of his greatness, and desirous to entangle him in a long and expencetive War, published the secret ends of the League, and opened the Council in *Trent* in *Novemb.* 1545. where a few Bishops and Abbots, with his Legates presiding over them, usurped the most Glorious Title of *The most Holy Oecumenical Council* representing the Catholic Church. They started by such slow steps, as were directed from Rome, into the discus-

sion

sion of Articles of Doctrine; which were, as they were pleased to call it, explained to them by some Divines, for most part Friars, who amused the more ignorant Bishops with the nice speculations with which they had been exercised in the Schools; where hard and barbarous words served in good stead to conceal some things not so fit to be proposed bare-faced, and in plain terms. The Emperor having done enough towards his design, that a Council was opened in *Germany*, endeavoured to keep them from determining points of Doctrine, and pressed them to examine some abuses in the Government of the Church, which had, at least given occasion to that great alienation of so many from the See of *Rome* and the Clergy. There were also divers wise and learned Prelates, chiefly of *Spain*, who came thither, full of hopes of getting these abuses redressed. Some of them had observed, That in all times, Heresies and Schisms did owe their chief growth to the scandals, the ignorance, and negligence of the Clergy, which made the Laity conceive an ill opinion of them, and so disposed them both in inclination and interest to cherish such as opposed them; and therefore they designed to have many great corruptions cast out; and observing that Bishops Non-residence was a chief occasion of all those evils, they endeavoured to have Residence declared to be of Divine Right; intending thereby to lessen the Power of the Papacy, which was grown to that height, that they were slaves to that See, taxed by it at pleasure, and the care of their Diocesses extorted out of their hands by the several ranks of exempted Priests; and also to raise the Episcopal Authority to what it was anciently, and to cut off all these encroachments which the See of *Rome* had made on them at first by craft, and which they still maintained by their Power: But the Court of *Rome* was to lose much by all Reformations, and some Cardinals openly declared, That every Reformation gave the Hereticks great advantages, and was a Confession that the Church had erred, and that these very things so much complained of were the chief Nerves of the Popedom, which being cut, the greatness of their Court must needs fall: and therefore they did oppose all these motions, and were still for proceeding in establishing the Doctrine. And though the opposing a Decree to oblige all to Residence was so grossly scandalous that they were ashamed of it, yet they intended to secure the greatness of the Court by a *Salvo* for the Popes Privilege and Dignity in granting Dispensations. These Proceedings at *Trent* discovered what was to be expected from that Council, and alarm'd all the Protestants to think what they were to look for, if the Emperour should force them to submit to the Decrees of such an Assembly, where those whom they called Hereticks could expect little, since the Emperor himself could not prevail so far as to obtain or hinder delays, or to give preference for Matters of Discipline to Points of Doctrine. So the Protestants met at *Frankfort*, and entered into Councils for their common safety, in case any of them should be disturbed about Religion; chiefly for preserving the Elector of *Cölen*, whom the Pope had cited to *Rome* for Heresie. They wrote to the Emperors Ministers, That they heard from all Hands that the Emperor was raising great Forces, and signing a War against them; who thought themselves secured by the Edict of *Spire*, and desired nothing but the confirmation of that, and the regulation of the Imperial Chamber, as was then agreed on. A Meeting being proposed between the Emperor and the Landgrave of *Hesse*

1547.

at *Frankfort*
by *Protestants*
next day

Landgrave

1547.

Landgrave went to him to *Spire*, where the Emperor denied he had any design of a War, with which the other charged him : only he said he had with great difficulty obtained a Council in *Germany*, and therefore he hoped they would submit to it. But after some expostulations on both hands, the Landgrave left him; and now the thing was generally understood, though the Emperor did still deny it, and said he would make no War about Religion, but only against the disturbers of the Peace of the Empire. By this means he got the Elector *Palatine* to give little or no aid to the other Princes. The Marquess of *Brandenburg* was become jealous of the greatness of *Saxe*, and so was at first Neuter, but afterwards openly declared for the Emperor. But *Maurice* the Duke of *Saxe's* near Kinsman, who by that Dukes means was settled in a fair Principality, which his Uncle *George* had left him only on condition that he turned Papist, notwithstanding which he got him to be possessed of it; was made use of by the Emperor as the best Instrument to work his ends. To him therefore he promised the Electoral Dignity with the Dominions belonging to the Duke of *Saxe*, if he would assist him in the War against his Kinsman the present Elector; and gave him assurance under his Hand and Seal, That he would make no change in Religion, but leave the Princes of the *Ausburg* Confession the free exercise of their Religion. And thus the Emperor singled out the Duke of *Saxe* and the Landgrave from the rest, reckoning wisely, that if he once mastered them, he should more easily overcome all the rest. He pretended some other quarrels against them, as that of the Duke of *Brunswick*, who having begun a War with his Neighbours was taken Prisoner, and his Dominions possessed by the Landgrave. That with some old Quarrels was pretended the ground of the War. Upon which the Princes published a Writing to shew that it was Religion only, and a secret design to subdue *Germany*, that was the true cause of the War; and those alledged were sought Pretences to excuse so infamous a breach of Faith; and of the publick Decrees: that the Pope who designed the destruction of all of that Confession, had set on the Emperor to this; who easily laid hold on it, that he might master the liberty of *Germany*. Therefore they warned all the Princes of their danger. The Emperors Forces being to be drawn together out of several Places in *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Burgundy*, and *Boheme*, they whose Forces lay nearer had a great advantage if they had known how to use it: For in *June* they brought into the Field 70000 Foot and 15000 Horse, and might have driven the Emperor out of *Germany*, had they proceeded vigorously at first. But the divided Command was fatal to them, for when one was for Action, the other was against it. So they lost their opportunity, and gave the Emperor time to gather all his Forces about him, which were far inferior to theirs in strength: but the Emperor gained by time, whereas they who had no great Treasure lost much. All the Summer and a great deal of the Winter was spent without any considerable Action, though the two Armies were oft in view one of another. But in the beginning of the Winter, the Emperor having proscribed the Duke of *Saxe*, and promised to bestow the Principality on *Maurice*, he fell into *Saxony*, and carried a great many of the Cities which were not prepared for any such impression. This made the Duke separate his Army, and return to the defence of his own Country; which he quickly recovered, and drove *Maurice* almost out of

1546. June,
the Election
and Land-
grave pro-
scribed.

1546. July 20.
Duke of *Saxe*
and Land-
grave pro-
scribed.
Nov. 23.
The Elector
returns into
Saxony.

all his own Principality. The States of *Bohemia* also declared for the Elector of *Saxony*.

This was the state of the Affairs there. The Princes thought they had a good Prospect for the next Year, having mediated a Peace between the Crowns of *England* and *France*, whose Forces falling into *Flanders* must needs have bred a great distraction in the Emperors Councils. But King *Henry's* death gave them great apprehensions, and not without cause. For when they sent hither for an Aid in Money to carry on the War, the Protector and Council saw great dangers on both hands: if they left the *Germans* to perish, the Emperor would be then so lifted up, that they might expect to have an uneasy Neighbour of him: on the other hand it was a thing of great consequence to engage an Infant King in such a War. Therefore their Succours from hence were like to be weak and very slow. Howsoever the Council ordered *Paget* to assure them that within three or four Months they should send 50000 Crowns to their assistance: which was to be covered thus; The Merchants of the Still-yard were to borrow so much of the King, and to engage to bring home Stores to that value; they having the Money, should send it to *Hamburg*, and so to the Duke of *Saxe*. But the Princes received a second Blow in the loss of *Francis* the first of *France*. Who having lived long in a familiarity and friendship with King *Henry*, not ordinary for Crowned heads, was so much affected with the news of his death, that he was never seen cheerful after it. He made Royal Funeral Rites to be performed to his memory in the Church of *Noſtredame*: to which the Clergy (who one would have thought should have been glad to have seen his Funerals Celebrated in any fashion) were very averse. For that King had emancipated himself to a good degree from a servile subjection to them, and would be obeyed. He out-lived the other not long, for he died the last of *March*. He was the chief Patron of Learned Men and advancer of Learning that had been for many Ages. He was generally unsuccessful in his Wars, and yet a great Commander. At his death he left his Son an Advice to beware of the Brethren of *Lorain*, and to depend much on the Councillors whom he had employed. But his Son, upon his coming to the Crown, did so deliver himself up to the charms of his Mistress *Diana*, that all things were ordered as Men made their Court to her; which the Ministers that had served the former King scorned to do, and the Brothers of the House of *Lorain* doing very summissively, the one were discharged of their employments, and the other governed all the Councils. *Francis* had been oft intriguing in the business of Religion. Sometimes he had resolved to shake off the Popes Obedience, and set up a Patriarch in *France*; and had agreed with *Henry* the 2^d to go on in the same Councils with him. But he was first diverted by his Alliance with *Clement* the 7th; and afterwards by the Ascendant which the Cardinal of *Tournon* had over him, who engaged him at several times into severities against those that received the Reformation. Yet he had such a close Eye upon the Emperors motions, that he kept a constant good understanding with the Protestant Princes, and had no doubt assisted them if he had lived. But upon his death new Councils were taken; the Brothers of *Lorain* were furiously addicted to the Interests of the Princes, one of them being a Cardinal, who persuaded the King rather to burn his Rome than the security of *Bul*

1547.

1547. Jan.

Peace

England

France

1547. Mar. 31st
Francis I. died.

longer

1547.

loine out of the hands of the *Engliff*. So that the state of *Germany* was almost desperate before he was aware of it. And indeed the *Germans* lost so much in the death of these two Kings, upon whose assistance they had depended, that it was no wonder they were easily over-run by the Emperor. Some of their Allies, the Cities of *Ulm* and *Frankfort*, and the Duke of *Wittemburg*, submitting themselves to the Emperors mercy, the rest were much disheartened: which is a constant forerunner of the ruine of a Confederacy. Such was the state of Religion abroad.

Religion
at home.

At home Mens minds were much distracted. The People, especially in Market Towns and Places of Trade, began generally to see into many of the corruptions of the Doctrine and Worship, and were weary of them; Some preached against some abuses: *Glazier* at *Pauls Cross* taught, that the observance of *Lent* was only a Positive Law; others went further, and plainly condemned most of the former abuses; But the Clergy were as much engaged to defend them. They were for the most part such as had been bred in Monasteries and Religious Houses. For there being Pensions reserved for the Monks, when their Houses were surrendred and dissolved, till they should be otherwise provided; The Court of *Augmentations* took care to ease the King of that Charge, by recommending them to such small Benefices as were at the Kings disposal; and such as purchased those Lands of the Crown, with that Charge of paying the Pensions to the Monks, were also careful to ease themselves by procuring Benefices for them. The Benefices were generally very small, so that in many Places three or four Benefices could hardly afford enough for the maintenance of one Man. And this gave some colour for that abuse of one Man's having many Benefices that have a care of Souls annexed to them; and that not only where they are so contiguous, that the duty can be discharged by one, and so poor that the maintenance of both will scarce serve for the encouragement of one Person, but even where they are very remote, and of considerable value. This Corruption that crept in, in the dark Ages of the Church, was now practised in *England* out of necessity. By an Act made in King *Henry* the 8th's time, none might hold two Benefices without a Dispensation, but no Dispensation could enable one to hold three: yet that was not at this time much considered. The excuses made for this were That in some Places they could not find good Men for the Benefices, but in most Places the Livings were brought to nothing. For while the Abbies stood, the Abbots allowed those whom they appointed to serve the Cure in the Churches that belonged to them, (which were in value above the half of *England*) a small Stipend, or some little part of the Vicarage Tithes; and they were to raise their subsistence out of the Fees they had by the Sacraments, and other Sacramentals; and chiefly by the singing Masses for the Poor that died; for the Abbies had the profit of it from the Rich. And Masses went generally for 2 *d.* a Groat was thought a great Bounty. So they all concluded themselves undone, if these things were withdrawn. This engaged them against any Reformation, since every step that was made in it took their Bread out of their Mouths. But they being generally very ignorant could oppose nothing with the force of Reason or Learning. So although they were resolved to comply with any thing, rather than forfeit their Benefices; yet in their hearts they ab-

horre

horred all Reformation, and murmured against it where they thought they might do it safely; some preached as much for the old abuses, as others did against them. Dr. *Peru* at *St. Andrews Underhaft* justified the Worshipping of Images on the 23^d of April; yet on the 19th of June he preached a Recantation of that Sermon. Besides these, there were great Prelates, *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and *Tonstall*, whose long experience in Affairs, the being oft employed in Forreign Ambassies, together with their high preferment, gave them great Authority; and they were against all Alterations in Religion. But that was not so decent to profess, therefore they set upon this pretence, that till the King, their Supreme Head, were of Age, so as to consider things himself, all should continue in the state in which King *Henry* had left them: and these depended on the Lady *Mary* the Kings eldest Sister as their Head, who now professed her self to be in all Points for what her Father had done: and was very earnest to have every thing Enacted by him, but chiefly the six Articles to continue in force.

On the other hand *Cranmer*, being now delivered from that too awfull subjection that he had been held under by King *Henry*, resolved to go more vigorously in purging out abuses. He had the Protector firmly united to him in this design. Dr. *Cox* and Mr. *Cheek*, who were about the young King, were also very careful to infuse right Principles of Religion into him; and as he was very capable of understanding what was laid before him, so he had an early liking to all good and generous Principles; and was of so excellent a temper of mind, that as he naturally loved Truth, so the great probity of his Manners made him very inclinable to love and cherish true Religion. *Cranmer* had also several Bishops of his side; *Holgate* of *York*, *Holbeach* of *Lincoln*, *Goodrick* of *Ely*; and above all *Ridley* Elect of *Rocheſter*, designed for that See by King *Henry*, but not Consecrated till September this Year. Old *Latimer* was now discharged of his Imprisonment, but had no mind to return to a more publick Station, and did chooſe rather to live private, and employ himself in Preaching. He was kept by *Cranmer* at *Lambeth*, where he spent the rest of his days, till he was imprisoned in Queen *Maries* time; and attained the glorious end of his innocent and pious Life. But the apprehensions of his being restored again to his old Bishoprick, put *Heath*, then Bishop of *Worceſter*, into great anxieties; sometimes he thought if he consented to the Reformation, then *Latimer*, who left his Bishoprick on the account of the six Articles, must be restored, and this made him joyn with the Popish Party: at other times, when he saw the House of Commons moved to have *Latimer* put in again, then he joyned in the Councils for the Reformation, to secure Friends to himself by that compliance. Others of the Bishops were ignorant and weak Men, who understood Religion little, and valued it less; and so, although they liked the old Superstition best, because it encouraged Ignorance most, and that was the only sure support of their Power and Wealth, yet they resolved to swim with the Stream. It was designed by *Cranmer* and his Friends to carry on the Reformation but by slow and safe degrees, not hazarding too much at once. They trusted in the Providence of God, that he would assist them in so good a Work. They knew the corruptions they were to throw out to be such that they should easily satisfy the People with what they did, and they had many learned

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Men among them, who had now for divers years been examining these matters. There were also many that declared they had heard the King express his great regret for leaving the state of Religion in so unsettled a condition; and that he had resolved to have changed the Mass into a Communion, besides many other things. And in the Act of Parliament which he had procured, (see *Pag. 263. first Part*) for giving force and Authority to his Proclamations, a Proviso was added; That his Sons Councillors, while he should be under Age, might set out Proclamations of the same Authority with these which were made by the King himself. This gave them a full power to proceed in that Work; in which they resolved to follow the method begun by the late King of sending Visitors over *England* with Injunctions and Articles. They ordered them six several Circuits or Precincts. The first was *London, Westminster, Norwich, and Ely*. The second *Rockester, Canterbury, Winchester, and Winchester*. The third *Salisbury, Exeter, Bath, Bristol, and Gloucester*. The fourth *York, Durham, Carlisle, and Chester*. The fifth *Peterborough, Lincoln, Oxford, Coventry, and Lichfield*. And the sixth *Wales, Worcester, and Hereford*. For every Circuit there were two Gentlemen, a Civilian, a Divine, and a Register. They were designed to be sent out in the beginning of *May*, as appears by a Letter to be found in the *Collection*, written the fourth of *May* to the Arch-bishop of *York*. (There is also in the Registers of *London* another of the same strain.) Yet the Visitation being put off for some Months, this Inhibition was suspended on the 16th of *May*, till it should be again renewed. The Letter sets forth, that the King being speedily to order a Visitation over his whole Kingdom, therefore neither the Arch-bishop nor any other should exercise any Jurisdiction while that Visitation lasted. And since the minds of the People were held in great suspense by the Controversies they heard so variously tossed in the Pulpits, that for quieting these the King did require all Bishops to preach no where but in their Cathedrals, and that all other Clergy-men should not preach but in their Collegiate or Parochial Churches, unless they obtained a special Licence from the King to that effect. The design of this was to make a distinction between such as preached for the reformation of abuses, and such as did it not. The one were to be encouraged by Licenses to preach wherever they desired to do it, but the others were restrained to the Places where they were Incumbents. But that which of all other things did most damp those who designed the Reformation, was the misery to which they saw the Clergy reduced, and the great want of able men to propagate it over *England*. For the Rents of the Church were either so swallowed up by the suppression of Religious Houses, to whom the Tithes were generally appropriated, or so basely alienated by some lewd or superstitious Incumbents, who, to preserve themselves, being otherwise obnoxious, or to purchase Friends, had given away the best part of their Revenues and Benefices; that there was very little encouragement left for those that should labour in the Work of the Gospel. And though many Projects were thought on for remedying this great abuse, yet those were all so powerfully opposed, that there was no hope left of getting it remedied, till the King should come to be of Age, and be able by his Authority to procure the Church-men a more proportioned maintenance.

Visitation
is made over
England.

Collection
Humb. 7.

Two things only remained to be done at present. The one was to draw up some *Homilies* for the instruction of the People, which might ~~only~~ the defects of their Incumbents, together with the providing them with such Books as might lead them into the understanding of the Scriptures. The other was to select the most eminent Preachers they had, and send them over *England* with the Visitors, who should with more Authority instruct the Nation in the Principles of Religion. Therefore some were appointed to compile those *Homilies*; and Twelve were at first agreed on, being about those Arguments which were in themselves of the greatest importance. The 1st was about the use of the Scriptures. The 2^d of the misery of Mankind by sin. 3^d. Of their Salvation by Christ. 4th. Of True and Lively Faith. 5th. Of Good Works. 6th. Of Christian Love and Charity. 7th. Against Swearing, and chiefly Perjury. 8th. Against Apostacy, or declining from God. 9th. Against the fear of Death. 10th. An Exhortation to Obedience. 11th. Against Whoredom and Adultery, setting forth the state of Marriage how necessary and honourable it was. And the 12th against Contention, chiefly about matters of Religion. They intended to set more afterwards, but these were all that were at this time finished. The chief design in them was to acquaint the People with the method of Salvation according to the Gospel; in which there were two dangerous Extremes at that time that had divided the World. The greatest part of the ignorant Commons seemed to consider their Priests as a sort of a People who had such a secret trick of saving their Souls, as Mountebanks pretend in the curing of diseases; and that there was nothing to be done but to leave themselves in their hands, and the business could not miscarry. This was the chief Basis and support of all that Superstition which was so prevalent over the Nation. The other extreme was of some corrupt Gospellers, who thought if they magnified Christ much, and depended on his Merits and Intercession, they could not perish, which way soever they led their Lives. In these *Homilies* therefore special care was taken to rectify these errors. And the Salvation of Mankind was on the one hand wholly ascribed to the Death and Sufferings of Christ, to which Sinners were taught to fly, and to trust to it only, and to no other devices for the pardon of sin. They were at the same time taught that there was no Salvation through Christ, but to such as truly repented, and lived according to the Rules of the Gospel. The whole matter was so ordered to teach them, that avoiding the hurtful errors on both hands, they might all know the true and certain way of attaining Eternal Happiness. For the understanding the New Testament *Erasmus's* Paraphrase, which was translated into *English*, was thought the most profitable and easiest Book. Therefore it was resolved, that together with the Bible there should be one of these in every Parish-Church over *England*. They next considered the Articles and Injunctions that should be given to the Visitors. The greatest part of them were only the renewing what had been ordered by King *Henry* during *Cromwel's* being Vicegerent, which had been much neglected since his fall. For as there was no Vicegerent, so there was few Visitations appointed after his death by the Kings Authority; but the executing former Injunctions was left to the several Bishops, who were for the most part more careful about the six Articles, than about the Injunctions.

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Some Homilies compiled.

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Articles and
Injunctions
for the Visita-
tion.

"So now all the Orders about renouncing the Popes Power, and as-
 "serting the Kings Supremacy, about Preaching, teaching the Elemen-
 "of Religion in the Vulgar Tongue, about the Benefices of the
 "and the Taxes on them for the Poor, for Scholars, and their Man-
 "Houses, with the other Injunctions for the strictness of Ch-urch-mens
 "Lives, and against Superstitions, Pilgrimages, Images, or other
 "of that kind, and for Register-Books, were renewed. And to these,
 "many others were added: as, That Curates should take down such
 "Images as they knew were abused by Pilgrimages or Offerings to them;
 "but that private Persons should not do it. That in the Confession in Lent
 "they should examine all People whether they could recite the Elements
 "of Religion in the *English* Tongue. That at High-Mass they should
 "read the Epistle and Gospel in *English*, and every Sunday and Holy-day
 "they should read at Mattins one Chapter out of the New Testament,
 "and at Even-song another out of the Old in *English*. That the Cu-
 "rates should often visit the Sick, and have many places of the Scripture
 "in *English* in readiness wherewith to comfort them. That there should be
 "no more Processions about Churches, for avoiding contention for pre-
 "cedence in them. And that the Letany formerly said in the Processions,
 "should be said thereafter in the Quire in *English*, as had been ordered
 "by the late King. That the Holy-day being instituted at first that Men
 "should give themselves wholly to God, yet God was generally
 "more dishonoured upon it than on the other days, by idleness,
 "drunkenness, and quarrelling, the People thinking that they suffici-
 "ly honoured God by hearing Mass and Mattins, though they understood
 "nothing of it to their edifying; therefore thereafter the Holy-day
 "should be spent, according to Gods Holy Will, in hearing and reading
 "his Holy Word, in publick and private Prayers, in amending their
 "Lives, receiving the Communion, Visiting the Sick, and reconciling
 "themselves to their Neighbours. Yet the Curates were to declare to
 "their People, that in Harvest-time they might upon the Holy and Festi-
 "val days labour in their Harvest: That Curates were to admit none to
 "the Communion, who were not reconciled to their Neighbours: That
 "all dignified Clergy-men should preach personally twice a year. That the
 "People should be taught not to despise any of the Ceremonies not yet
 "abrogated, but to beware of the Superstition of sprinkling their Beds
 "with Holy Water, or the ringing of Bells, or using of Blessed Candles for
 "driving away Devils. That all Monuments of Idolatry should be re-
 "moved out of the Walls or Windows of Churches, and that there should
 "be a Pulpit in every Church for preaching: That there should be a
 "Chest with a hole in it for the receiving the Oblations of the People
 "for the Poor, and that the People should be exhorted to Almsh-giving
 "as much more profitable than what they formerly bestowed on Super-
 "stitious Pilgrimages, Trentals, and decking of Images. That all Pa-
 "trons who disposed of their Livings by Simoniackal Pactions should for-
 "feit their Right for that vacancy to the King, That the Homilies should
 "be read. That Priests should be used charitably and reverently for
 "their office sake. That no other Primer should be used but that set
 "out by King Henry. That the Prime and the Hours should be omitted
 "where there was a Sermon or Homily. That they should in Bidding
 "the Prayers remember the King their Supream Head, the Queen Dow-
 ger

ger, the Kings two Sifters, the Lord Protector, and the Council, the Lords, the Clergy, and the Commons of the Realm; and to pray for the Souls departed this life, that at the last day we with them may rest both body and Soul. All which Injunctions were to be observed, under the pains of Excommunication, Sequestration, or Deprivation, as Ordinaries should answer it to the King, the Justices of Peace being required to assist them.

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Besides these, there were other Injunctions given to the Bishops, Injunctions to the Bishops That they should see the former put in Execution, and should preach four times a year in their Diocesses: once at their Cathedral, and thrice times in other Churches, unless they had a reasonable excuse for their omission. That their Chaplains should be able to preach Gods Word, and should be made labour oft in it: That they should give Orders to none but such as would do the same; and if any did otherwise, that they should punish him, and recall their Licence. These are the chief Heads of the Injunctions, which being so often printed, shall refer the Reader that would consider them more carefully, to Collection of these and other such curious things made by the Right Reverend Father in God *Anthony Sparrow* now Lord Bishop of Norwich.

These being published, gave occasion to those who censured all things of that nature to examine them. These were much censured.

The removing Images that had been abused, gave great occasion of quarrel; and the thing being to be done by the Clergy only, it was not like that they, who lived chiefly by such things, would be very zealous in the removing them. Yet on the other hand, it was thought necessary to set some restraints to the heats of the People, who were otherwise apt to run too far where Bounds were not set to them.

The Article about the strict observance of the *Holy-day* seemed a little doubtful, whether by the *Holy-day* was to be understood, only the Lords day, or that and all other Church-Festivals. The naming it singularly the *Holy-day*, and in the end of that Article adding Festival-day to the *Holy-day*, seemed to favour their opinion that thought this strict observance of the *Holy-day* was particularly intended for the Lords-day, and not for the other Festivals. And indeed the setting aside of large portions of time on that day for our Spiritual Edification, and for the Service of God, both in publick and private, is so necessary for the advancement of true Piety, that great and good effects must needs follow on it. But some came afterwards, who not content to press great strictness on that day, would needs make a Controversie about the Morality of it, and about the fourth Commandment, and framed many Rules for it, which were stricter than themselves or any other could keep, and so could only load Mens Consciences with many scruples. This drew an opposition from others who could not agree to these severities, and these Contests were by the subtilty of the Enemies of the Power and Progress of Religion so improved, that instead of all Mens observing that time devoutly as they ought, some took up from the strictness of their own way, to contest all as indifferently, and did not in every thing agree to their own strictness. Some took up from the strictness of their own way, to contest all as indifferently, and did not in every thing agree to their own strictness. This was the first part of the day

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ed than if they were at work: So hard a thing it is to keep the due mean
between the Extremes of Superstition on the one hand, and of Ignorance on
the other.

The corruption of Lay-Patrons in their Simoniack Bargains, ^{it was then}
so notorious, that it was necessary to give a Check to it, as ^{we find}
there was by these Injunctions. But whether either this, or the Oath af-
terwards appointed to be taken, has effectually delivered this Church of
that great abuse, I shall not determine. If those who bestow Benefices,
did consider, that the charge of Souls being annexed to them, ^{they shall}
answer to God severely for putting so sacred a Trust in mean or ill hands,
upon any base or servile accounts, it would make them look a little more
carefully to a thing of so high consequence; and neither expose so holy a
thing to sale, nor gratifie a Friend or Servant by granting them the next
Advowson, or be too easily overcome with the solicitations of impudent
Pretenders.

The Form of Bidding Prayer was not begun by King Henry, as some
have weakly imagined; but was used in the times of Popery, as will ap-
pear by the Form of *Bidding the Beads* in King Henry the 7th's time,
which will be found in the *Collection*. Where the way was, first for the
Preacher to name and open his Text, and then to call on the People to
go to their Prayers, and to tell them what they were to pray for; after
which, all the People said their Beads in a general silence, and the Mini-
ster kneeled down likewise, and said his. All the change King Henry
the 8th. made in this, was, That the Pope and Cardinals names being
left out, he was ordered to be mentioned with the addition of his Ti-
tle of *Supream Head*, that the People hearing that oft repeated by their
Priests, might be better perswaded about it, but his other Titles were not
mentioned. And this Order was now renewed. Only the Prayer for
departed Souls was changed from what it had been. It was formerly in
these words. "Ye shall pray for the Souls that be departed, abiding
the Mercy of Almighty God, that it may please him, the rather at the
"contemplation of our Prayers, to grant them the Fruition of his Pre-
"sence; which did imply their being in a state where they did not enjoy
the Presence of God; which was avoided by the more general words
now prescribed.

The Injunctions given the Bishops directed them to that which, if
followed carefully, would be the most effectual means of Reforming,
at least the next Age, if not that wherein they lived. For if Holy Or-
ders were given to none, but to those who are well qualified, and seem
to be internally called by a Divine Vocation, the Church must soon put
on a new face: whereas, when Orders are too easily given, upon the
credit of emendicated Recommendations, or Titles, and after a slight
trial of the knowledge of such Candidates, without any exact scrutiny
into their sense of things, or into the disposition of their minds; no
wonder if by the means of Clergy-men so ordained, the Church
lose much in the esteem and love of the People, who being pos-
sessed with prejudices against the whole Society for the faults which
they see in particular Persons, become an easie prey to such as divide
from it.

Thus were the Visitors instructed, and sent out to make their Circuits, in *Aug. 7.*, about the time that the Protector made his Expedition into *Scotland*. For the occasion of it I shall refer the Reader to what is already said in the former part of this Work. Before they engaged deeper in the War, Sir *Francis Brian* was sent over to *France*, to congratulate the new King, and to see if he would confirm these Propositions that were agreed to during his Fathers life; and if he would pay the Pension that was to be given yearly till *Bulloigne* was restored; and chiefly to obtain of him to be neutral in the War of *Scotland*: complaining of that Nation that had broken their Faith with *England* in the matter of the Marriage. To all which the *French* King answered, That for these Articles they mentioned he thought it dishonourable for him to confirm them; and said his Fathers Agent *Poligny* had no Warrant to yield to them, for by them the *English* were at liberty to fortifie what they had about *Bulloigne*, which he would never consent to; That he was willing to pay what was agreed to by his Father, but would have first the conditions of the delivery of *Bulloigne* made more clear; As for the *Scots*, they were his perpetual Allies, whom he could not forsake if they were in any distress. And when it was pressed on him, and his Ambassador at *London*, that *Scotland* was subject to the Crown of *England*, they had no regard to it. When the Council desired the *French* Ambassador to look on the Records which they should bring him for proving their Title: He excused himself; and said his Master would not interpose in a Question of that nature, nor would he look back to what was pretended to have done two or three hundred years ago; but was to take things as he found them; and that the *Scots* had Records likewise to prove their being a free Kingdom. So the Council saw they could not engage in the War with *Scotland*, without drawing on a War with *France*; which made them try their Interest with their friends this year to see if the Marriage could be obtained. But the Castle of *St. Andrews* was now lost by the assistance that *Leo Strozzi* brought from *France*. And though they in *England* continued to send Pensions to their Party, (for in *May* 1300 *l.* was sent down by *Henry Belmaes*, and in *June* 125 *l.* was sent to the Earl of *Glencairn* for one half years payment of his Pension) yet they could gain no ground there; for the *Scots* now thought themselves safer then formerly; the Crown of *England* being in the hands of a Child, and the Court of *France* being much governed by their Queen Dowagers Brothers. They gave way to the Borders to make In-rodes; of whom about two thousand fell into the Western Marches, and made great Depredations. The *Scots* in *Ireland* were also very ill Neighbours to the *English* there. There were many other Complaints of Pyracies at Sea, and of a Ship-Royal that robbed many *English* Ships; but how these came to be complained of, I do not see, for they were in open War, and I do not find any Truce had been made. The *French* Agent at *London* pressed much that there might be a Treaty on the Borders before the Breach were made wider. But now the Protector had given Orders for raising an Army; so that he had no mind to lose that Summer. Yet to let the *French* King see how careful they were of preserving his Friendship, they appointed the Bishop of *Duresme*, and Sir *Robert Bow*, to give the *Scotch* Commissioners a Meeting on the Borders the 4th of *August*: but with these secret Instructions, That if

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The Protector
was in
Scotland.

Questions
made, whe-
ther *Scotland*
was a free
Kingdom or
Subject to
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the Scots would confirm the Marriage, all other things should be presently forgiven, and Peace be immediately made up; but if they were not empow'ed in that particular, and offered only to treat about Restitutions, that then they should immediately break off the Treaty. The Bishop of *Duresme* was also ordered to carry down with him the Exemplifications of many Records, to prove the Subjection of the Crown of *Scotland* to *England*: some of these are said to have been under the Hands and Seals of their Kings, their Nobles, their Bishops, Abbots, and Towns. He was also ordered to search for all the Records that were lying at *Duresme*, where many of them were kept, to be ready to be shewed to the Scots upon any occasion that might require it. The meeting on the Borders came to a quick issue, for the *Scottish* Commissioners had no power to treat about the Marriage. But *Tonstall* searching the Registers of his See, found many Writings of great consequence to clear that Subjection, of which the Reader will see an account, in a Letter he writ to the Council, in the *Collection* of Papers. The most remarkable of these was, the Homage King *William* of *Scotland* made to *Henry* the Second, by which he granted, that all the Nobles of his Realm should be his Subjects, and do Homage to him: and that all the Bishops of *Scotland* should be under the Arch-bishops of *York*: and that the King of *England* should give all the Abbeyes and Honours in *Scotland*, at the least they should not be given without his consent, with many other things of the like nature. It was said that the Monks in those days, who generally kept the Records, were so accustomed to the forging of Stories and Writings, that little credit was to be given to such Records as lay in their keeping. But having so faithfully acknowledged what was alledged against the freedom of *Scotland*, I may be allowed to set down a Proof on the other side, for my Native Country, copied from the original Writing yet extant under the Hands and Seals of many of the Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom. It is a Letter to the Pope: and it was ordinary that of such publick Letters there were Duplicates signed; the one of which was sent, and the other laid up among the Records, of which I have met with several Instances. So that of this Letter the Copy which was reserved being now in Noble Hands, was communicated to me, and is in the *Collection*. It was upon the Popes engaging with the King of *England* to assist him to subdue *Scotland* that they writ to him, and did assert most directly that their Kingdom was at all times free and independent. But now these Questions being waved, the other difference about the Marriage was brought to a sharper decision.

Collection
Numb. 9.

Collection
Numb. 10.

Aug. 21.

On the 21st of *August* the Protector took out a Commission to be General, and to make War on *Scotland*: and did devolve his Power during his absence on the Privy-Council; and appointed his Brother to be Lord-Lieutenant for the *South*, and the Earl of *Warwick* (whom he carried with him) Lord-Lieutenant for the *North*; and left a Commission of Array to the Marquess of *Northampton* for *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*; to the Earl of *Arundel* for *Sussex*, *Surrey*, *Hampshire*, and *Wiltshire*; and to Sir *Thomas Cheney* for *Kent*. All this was in case of any Invasion from *France*. Having thus settled Affairs during his absence, he set out for *Newcastle*, having ordered his Troops to march thither before: and coming thither on the 27th of that Month, he saw his Army mustered on the 28th, and marched forward to *Scotland*. The Lord

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Lord Clinton commanded the Ships that sailed on as the Army marched; which was done, that Provisions and Ammunition might be brought by them from *Newcastle* or *Berwick*, if the Enemy should at any time fall in behind their Army. He entred into *Scotch* Ground the second of *September*, and advanced to the *Paths* the 5th, where the Passage being narrow and untoward, they looked for an Enemy to have disputed it, but found none; the *Scots* having only broken the Ways, which in that dry season signified not much, but to stop them some hours in their March. When they had passed these, some little Castles, *Dunglas*, *Thornton*, and *Innerwick*, having but a few ill provided Men in them, rendred to them. On the 9th they came to *Falside*, where there was a long Fight in several Parties, in which there were 1300 of the *Scots* slain. And now they were in sight of the *Scotch* Army, which was for numbers of Men one of the greatest that they had ever brought together, consisting of 30000 Men: of which 10000 were commanded by the Governour, 8000 by the Earl of *Angus*, 8000 by the Earl of *Huntley*, and 4000 by the Earl of *Argile*, with a fair Train of Artillery, nine Brass, and 21 Iron Guns. On the other side, the *English* Army consisted of about 15000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, but all well appointed. The *Scots* were now heated with the old National Quarrel to *England*. It was given out that the Protector was come with his Army to carry away their Queen, and to enslave the Kingdom. And for the encouraging of the Army it was also said, that 12 Gallies and 50 Ships were on the Sea from *France*, and that they looked for them every day.

The Protector finding an Army brought together so soon, and so much greater than he expected, began to be in some apprehension, and therefore he writ to the *Scots* to this effect, That they should remember they were both Christians, and so should be tender of the effusion of so much Blood; that this War was not made with any design, but for a perpetual Peace, by the Marriage of their two Princes which they had already agreed, and given their publick Faith upon it; and that the *Scots* were to be much more gainers by it than the *English*: The Island seemed made for one Empire; It was pitty it should be more distracted with such Wars, when there was so fair and just a way offered for uniting it: and it was much better for them to marry their Queen to a Prince of the same Language, and on the same Continent, than to a Forreigner: but if they would not agree to that, he offered that their Queen should be bred up among them, and not at all contracted, neither to the *French*, nor to any other Forreigner, till she came of Age, that by the consent of the Estates she might choose a Husband for herself. If they would agree to this, he would immediately return with his Army out of *Scotland*, and make satisfaction for the damages the Country had suffered by the Invasion. This Proposition seems to justify what the *Scotch* Writers say, though none of the *English* mention it, That the Protector, what for want of Provisions, and what from the apprehensions he had of so numerous an Army of the *Scots*, was in great straits, and intended to have returned back to *England*, without hazarding an Engagement. But the *Scots* thought they were so much superior to the *English*, and that they had them now at such a disadvantage, that they resolved to fall upon them next day. And that the fair offers made by the Protector might not raise division among them,

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The Protector's Offers to the Scots,

the

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Rejected by
them.

the Governour having communicated these to a few whom he trusted, was by their advice perswaded to suppress them; but he sent a Trumpeter to the *English* Army with an Offer to suffer them to return without calling upon them: which the Protector had reason to reject, knowing that so mean an Action in the beginning of his Administration, would have quite ruined his Reputation. But to this, another that came with the Trumpeter added a Message from the Earl of *Huntley*, That the Protector and he with ten or twenty of a side, or singly, should decide the Quarrel by their Personal Valour. The Protector said, This was no private Quarrel, and the Trust he was in obliged him not to expose himself in such a way: and therefore he was to fight no other way but at the Head of his Army. But the Earl of *Warwick* offered to accept the Challenge. The Earl of *Huntley* sent no such Challenge, as he afterwards purged himself when he heard of it. For as it was unreasonable for him to expect the Protector should have answered it, so it had been an affronting the Governour of *Scotland* to have taken it off of his hands, since he was the only Person that might have challenged the Protector on equal terms. The truth of the matter was, a Gentleman that went along with the Trumpeter, made him do it without Warrant, fancying the Answer to it would have taken up some time, in which he might have viewed the Enemies Camp.

Sept. 10.
The Battle of
Pinkey near
Musselburgh.

On the 10th of September the two Armies drew out, and fought in the Field of *Pinkey* near *Musselburgh*. The *English* had the advantage of the Ground. And in the beginning of the Action, a Cannon Ball from one of the *English* Ships killed the Lord *Grames* eldest Son, and 25 Men more; which put the Earl of *Argiles* Highlanders into such a fright, that they could not be held in order. But after a Charge given by the Earl of *Angus*, in which the *English* lost some few Men, the *Scots* gave ground; and the *English* observing that, and breaking in furiously upon them, the *Scots* threw down their Arms and fled: The *English* pursued hard, and slew them without mercy. There were reckoned to be killed about 14000 and 1500 taken Prisoners, among whom was the Earl of *Huntley*, and 500 Gentlemen; and all the Artillery was taken. This loss quite disheartned the *Scots*, so that they all retired to *Strivling*, and left the whole Countrey to the Protectors mercy. Who the next day went and took *Lieth*, and the Souldiers in the Ships burnt some of the Sea-Towns of *Fife*, and re-took some *English* Ships that had been taken by the *Scots*, and burnt the rest. They also put a Garrison in the Isle of *St. Columba* in the *Firth* of about 200 Souldiers, and left two Ships to wait on them. He also sent the Earl of *Warwick*'s Brother, Sir *Ambrose Dudley*, to take *Broughty*, a Castle in the Mount of *Tay*; in which he put 200 Souldiers. He wasted *Edenburgh*, and uncovered the Abbey of *Holyrood-house*, and carried away the Lead and the Bells belonging to it. But he neither took the Castle of *Edenburgh*, nor did he go on to *Strivling* where the Queen with the straglers of the Army lay. And it was thought, that in the consternation wherein the late defeat had put them, every Place would have yielded to him. But he had some private reasons that pressed his return, and made him let go the advantages that were now in his hands, and so gave the *Scots* time to bring Succours out of *France*; wheres he might easily have made an end of the War now at once, if he had followed his Success vigorously. The Earl of *Warwick*, who had a great share in the

A great defeat
given the
Scots.

Honour

Honour of the Victory, but knew that the errors in conduct would much diminish the Protector's glory, which had been otherwise raised to an unmeasurable height, was not displeased at it. So on the 18th. of September the Protector drew his Army back into *England*, and having received a Message from the Queen and the Governour of *Scotland* offering a Treaty, he ordered them to send Commissioners to *Berwick* to treat with those he should appoint. As he returned through the *Merch*, and *Teviotdale*, all the chief Men in these Counties came in to him, and took an Oath to King *Edward*, the Form whereof will be found in the *Collection*, and delivered into his hands all the Places of strength in their Counties. He left a Garrison of 200 in *Home Castle*, under the Command of Sir *Edw. Dudley*; and fortified *Roxburgh*, where, for encouraging the rest, he wrought two hours with his own hands, and put 300 Souldiers and 200 Pioneers into it, giving Sir *Ralph Bulmer* the Command. At the same time the Earl of *Lennox* and the Lord *Wharton* made an in-road by the West Marches; but with little effect.

On the 29th of September the Protector returned into *England* full of Honour, having in all that expedition lost not above 60 Men, as one that then writ the account of it says: The *Scotch* Writers say he lost between 2 and 300. He had taken 80 Pieces of Canon, and bridled the two chief Rivers of the Kingdom by the Garrisons he left in them; and had left many Garrisons in the strong Places on the Frontier. And now it may be easily imagined how much this raised his reputation in *England*; since Men commonly make Auguries of the Fortune of their Rulers, from the Successes of the first Designs they undertake. So now they remembered what he had done formerly in *Scotland*; and how he had in *France* with 7000 Men, raised the *French* Army of 20000 that was set down before *Bulloigne*, and had forced them to leave their Ordnance, Baggage, and Tents, with the loss of one Man only in the year 1544, and that next year he had fallen into *Picardy*, and built *New-haven* with two other Forts there. So that they all expected great success under his Government. And indeed if the breach between his Brother and him, with some other errors, had not lost him the advantages he now had, this prosperous Action had laid the foundation of great Fortunes to him.

He left the Earl of *Warwick* to treat with those that should be sent from *Scotland*. But none came; for that Proposition had been made only to gain time. The Queen Mother there, was not ill pleased to see the interest of the Governour so much impaired by that misfortune, and perswaded the chief Men of that Kingdom to cast themselves wholly into the Arms of *France*, and to offer their young Queen to the Dolphin, and to think of no Treaty with the *English*. So the Earl of *Warwick* returned to *London*, having no small share in the Honour of this Expedition. He was Son to that *Dudley*, who was attainted and executed the first year of King *Henry* the 8th's Reign. But whether it was that the King afterwards repented of his severity to the Father, or that he was taken with the qualities of the Son, he raised him by many degrees to be Admiral and Viscount *Lisle*. He had defended *Bulloigne*, when it was in no good condition, against the Dolphin, whose Army was believed 30000 strong; and when the *French* had surrounded the Garrison, he recovered it, and killed 2000 of their Men. The Year after that, being in

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S. 11. 1.

Number 11.

S. 11. 29.
The Protector
returned to
England.

1547. Command at Sea, he offered the *French Fleet Battel*; which they declining, he made a descent upon *Normandy* with 5000 Men, and having burnt, and spoiled, a great deal, he returned to his Ships with the loss only of one Man. And he shewed he was as fit for a Court as a Camp; For being sent over to the *French Court* upon the Peace, he appeared there with much Splendour, and came off with great Honour. He was indeed a Man of great Parts, had not insatiable ambition with profound dissimulation stained his other Noble Qualities.

The Protector at his return was advised presently to meet the Parliament, (for which the Writs had been sent out before he went into *Scotland*) now that he was so covered with Glory, to get himself established in his Authority, and to do those other things which required a Session. He found the Visitors had performed their Visitation, and all had given obedience. And those who expounded the secret Providences of God with an Eye to their own opinions, took great notice of this; that on the same day in which the Visitors removed, and destroyed, most of the Images in *London*, their Armies were so succesful in *Scotland* in *Pinkie Field*. It is too common to all Men to magnifie such Events much, when they make for them; but if they are against them, they turn it off by this, That Gods Ways are past finding out. So partially do men argue where they are once engaged. *Bonner* and *Gardiner* had shewed some dislike of the Injunctions. *Bonner* received them with a Protestation that he would observe them, if they were not contrary to Gods Law and the Ordinances of the Church. Upon which *Sir Anthony Cook*, and the other Visitors, complained to the Council. So *Bonner* was sent for where he offered a submission, but full of vain *Quiddities*, (so it is expressed in the Council-Book,) But they not accepting of that, he made such a full one as they desired, which is in the *Collection*. Yet for giving error to others he was sent to lie for some time in the Prison called the *Fleet*. *Gardiner* seeing the *Homilies*, was also resolved to protest against them. *Sir John Godsave*, who was one of the Visitors, wrote to him not to ruine himself, nor lose his Bishoprick by such an Action. To whom he wrote a Letter, that has more of a Christian, and of a Bishop in it, than any thing I ever saw of his. He expresses in handsom terms a great contempt of the World, and a resolution to suffer any thing rather than depart from his Conscience. Besides that, (as he said) the things being against Law, he would not deliver up the Liberties of his Country, but would petition against them. This Letter will be found in the *Collection*, for I am resolved to suppress nothing of consequence on what side soever it may be. On the 25th of September it being informed to the Council, that *Gardiner* had written to some of that Board, and had spoken to others, many things in prejudice and contempt of the Kings Visitation; and that he intended to refuse to set forth the *Homilies* and *Injunctions*; he was sent for to the Council. Where being examined, he said, he thought they were contrary to the Word of God, and that his Conscience would not suffer him to observe them. He excepted to one of the *Homilies* that it did exclude Charity from justifying Men, as well as Faith. This he said was contrary to the *Book* set out in the late Kings time, which was afterwards confirmed in Parliament in the Year 1542. He said further, that he could never see one place of Scripture nor any ancient Doctor that favoured it. He also said *Erasmus's* Paraphrase was bad enough.

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number.

they were
not well re-
ceived by Bon-
ner.
Collection
Number 12.
Nor by Gar-
diner.

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Sept. 15.

in *Latin*, but much worse in *English*, for the Translator had oft out of ignorance, and oft out of design, misrendred him palpably, and was one that neither understood *Latine* nor *English* well. He offered to go to *Oxford* to dispute about Justification with any they should send him to, or to enter in conference with any that would undertake his Instruction in Town. But this did not satisfie the Council. So they pressed him to declare what he intended to do when the Visitors should be with him. He said, he did not know; he should further study these Points, for it would be three weeks before they could be with him; and he was sure he would say no worse than that he should obey them as far as could consist with Gods Law and the Kings. The Council urged him to promise that he would without any limitation set forth the *Homilies* and the *Injunctions*, which he refusing to do, was sent to the *Fleet*. Some days after that *Cranmer* went to see the *Dean* of *St. Paul*, having the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Rocheſter* with *Dr. Cox* and some others with him. He sent for *Gardiner* thither, and entred into discourse with him about that Passage in the Homily, excluding Charity out of our Justification: and urged those Places of *St. Paul*, *That we are justified by Faith without the Works of the Law*: He said his design in that Passage was only to draw Men from trusting in any thing they did: and to teach them to trust only to Christ. But *Gardiner* had a very different Notion of Justification. For as he said, Infants were justified by Baptisme, and Penitents by the Sacrament of Penance: and that the Conditions of the justifying of those of Age were Charity as well as Faith, as the three Estates make a Law all joyned together: for by this Simile he set it out in the report he writ of that Discourse to the Lord Protector, reckoning the King one of the three Estates, (a way of Speech very strange, especially in a Bishop, and a Lawyer.) For *Erasmus* it was said, that though there were faults, in his Paraphrase, as no Book besides the Scriptures is without faults, yet it was the best for that use they could find: and they did choose rather to set out what so learned a Man had written, than to make a new one which might give occasion to more Objections; and he was the most indifferent Writer they knew. Afterwards *Cranmer* knowing what was likely to work most on him, let fall some words (as *Gardiner* writ to the Protector) of bringing him into the Privy-Council, if he would concur in what they were carrying on. But that not having its ordinary effect on him, he was carried back to the *Fleet*.

There were also many complaints brought by some Clergy-men, of such as had used them ill for their obeying the Kings Injunctions, and for removing Images. Many were upon their submission sent away with a severe rebuke; others that offended more hainously were put in the *Fleet* for some time, and afterwards giving Bond for their good behaviour were discharged. But upon the Protectors return, the Bishop of *Winchester* writ him a long Letter in his own vindication. "He complained of the Visitors proceeding in his absence in so great a matter. He said the *Injunctions* were contrary to themselves, for they appointed the *Homilies* to be read, and *Erasmus's* Paraphrase to be put in all Churches: so he selected many passages out of these, that were contrary to one another. He also gathered many things out of *Erasmus's* Paraphrase that were contrary to the Power of Princes and several other censurable things in their Works, which *Peckham* wrote when he was young

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“ young, being of a far different strain from what he writ when he
 “ grew older, and better acquainted with the World. But he con-
 “ ded his Letter with a discourse of the extent of the King and Councils
 Power, which is all I transcribed of it, being very long, and full of
 things of no great consequence. He questions how far the King could
 command against Common or Statute Law: of which himself had
 many occasions to be well informed. Cardinal *Wolsey* had obtained
 his Legatine Power at the Kings desire, but notwithstanding that, he
 “ was brought into a *Præmunire*: and the Lawyers upon that Argument
 “ cited many Precedents of Judges that were fined when they transgres-
 “ sed the Laws, though commanded by Warrants from the King; and Earl
 “ *Typtest*, who was Chancellor, lost his Head for acting upon the Kings
 “ Warrant against Law. In the late Kings time the Judges would not let
 “ Fines on the breakers of the Kings Proclamations, when they were
 “ contrary to Law, till the *Act* concerning them was passed, about
 “ which there were many hot words when it was debated. He mentions
 “ a Discourse that passed between him and the Lord *Audley* in the Par-
 “ liament concerning the Kings Supremacy. *Audley* bid him look the *Act*
 “ of Supremacy, and he would see the Kings doings were restrained to
 “ Spiritual Jurisdiction: and by another *Act* no Spiritual Law could take
 “ place against the Common Law or an *Act* of Parliament: otherwise
 “ the Bishops would strike in with the King, and by means of the Supre-
 “ macy would order the Law as they pleased: but we will provide, said
 “ he, that the *Præmunire* shall never go off of your backs. In some late
 “ Cases he heard the Judges declare what the King might do against an
 “ *Act* of Parliament, and what danger they were in that medled in such
 “ matters. These things being so fresh in his memory he thought he might
 “ write what he did to the Lords of Council. But by this it appears, that
 no sort of Men is so much for the Kings Prerogative, but when it be-
 comes in any instance uneasy to them, they will shelter themselves under
 the Law. He continued afterwards by many Letters to the Protector to
 complain of his ill usage: “ That he had been then seven weeks in the
 “ *Fleet* without Servants, a Chaplain, or a Physician: that though he
 “ had his Writ of Summons, he was not suffered to come to the Parlia-
 “ ment, which might be a ground afterwards of questioning their Pro-
 “ ceedings: He advised the Protector not to make himself a Party in
 “ these matters, and used all the insinuations of decaying flattery that he
 “ could invent, with many sharp reflections on *Cromwel*, and indeed touch on
 “ the force of Laws, that they could not be repealed by the Kings Will.
 “ Concerning which he mentions a Passage that fell out between *Cromwel*
 “ and himself before the late King. *Cromwel* said, That the King might
 “ make or repeal Laws as the *Roman* Emperors did, and asked his opinion
 “ about it, whether the Kings Will was not a Law? To which he an-
 “ swered facetiously, That he thought it was much better for the King to
 “ make the Law his Will, than to make his Will a Law. But notwith-
 standing all his Letters, (which are printed in the second Volume of *Acts*
 and *Monum. Edit. 1641.*) yet he continued a Prisoner till the Parliament was
 over, and then by the *Act* of Pardon he was set at liberty. This was much
 censured as an invasion of Liberty; and it was said these at Court durst
 not suffer him to come to the House, lest he had confounded them in all they
 did. And the explaining Justification with so much nicety in Homilies
 that

that were to be read to the People, was thought a needless subtilty. But the former abuses of trusting to the Acts of Charity that Men did, by which they fancied they bought Heaven, made *Cranmer* judge it necessary to express the matter so nicely; though the expounding those Places of *St. Paul*, was, as many thought, rather according to the strain of the *Germans*, than to the meaning of these Epistles. And upon the whole matter, they knew *Gardiners* haughty temper, and that it was necessary to mortifie him a little, though the pretence on which they did it seemed too slight for such severities. But it is ordinary, when a thing is once resolved on, to make use of the first occasion that offers for effecting it. The Party that opposed the Reformation, finding these attempts so unsuccessful, engaged the Lady *Mary* to appear for them. She therefore wrote to the *Protector*, that she thought all changes of Religion till the King came to be of Age, were very much contrary to the respect they owed the memory of her Father, if they went about to shake what he had settled; and against their duty to their young Master, to hazard the Peace of his Kingdom, and engage his Authority in such Points before he was capable of judging them. I gather this to have been the substance of her Letter, from the Answer which the *Protector* wrote, which is in the *Collection*. In it he wrote, "That he believed her Letter flowed not immediately from her self, but from the instigation of some malicious Persons. He protests they had no other design, but the Glory of God, and the Honour and safety of the King; and that what they done was so well considered, that all good Subjects ought rather to rejoice at it than find fault with it. And whereas she had said, That her Father had brought Religion to a godly order and quietness, to which both Spirituality and Temporality did without compulsion give their assent; he remembers her what opposition the stiff-necked Papists gave him; and what Rebellions they raised against him; which he wonders how she came so soon to forget: Adding, that death had prevented him before he had finished these Godly Orders which he had designed; and that no kind of Religion was perfected at his death, but all was left so uncertain, that it must inevitably bring on great disorders, if God did not help them; and that himself and many others could witness what regret their late Master had, when he saw he must die before he had finished what he intended. He wondered that she, who had been well bred, and was learned, should esteem true Religion, and the knowledge of the Scriptures, *Newfangledness*, or *Fantasy*. He desired she would turn the Leaf, and look on the other side, and would wish an humble Spirit, and by the assistance of the Grace of God, consider the matter better.

Thus things went on, till the Parliament next, which was summoned to meet the fourth of *November*. The day before it met, the *Protector* gave to publick an instance how much his prosperous success had lifted him up. For by a Patent under the Great Seal, he was warranted to sit in Parliament on the Right Hand of the Throne under the Cloath of State; and was to have all the Honours and Priviledges that at any time any of the Uncles of the Kings of *England*, whether by the Fathers or Mothers side had enjoyed; with a *Non obstante* to the Statute of Precedence. The Lord *Rick* had been made Lord Chancellor on the 24th. of *October*; but whether the *Protector*, or he opened the Parliament

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ment meets.
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by

1547.

10.

Dec.

An Act repealing
the formerIn Cor. Ch.
Coll. Cham.
among Ray-
ner's papers.

by any Speech, does not appear from the *Journal* of the Lords House. On the 10th. of *Decemb.* a Bill was brought in for the repealing several Statutes. It was read the second time on the 12th, and the third time on the 16th day. On the 19th some Provisoos were added to it, and it was sent down to the Commons, who sent it up the 23d of *December*, to which the Royal Assent was given. The Commons had formed a new Bill for repealing these Statutes, which upon some Conferences they were willing to let fall; only some Provisoos were added to the old one; upon which, the Bishops of *London, Duresme, Ely, Hereford, and Chickester*, dissented. The Preamble of it sets forth, "That nothing made a Government happier than when the Prince governed with much clemency, and the Subjects obeyed out of love. Yet the late King and some of his Progenitors, being provoked by the unruliness of some of their People, had made severe Laws; but they judging it necessary now to recommend the Kings Government to the affections of the People, repealed all Laws that made any thing to be Treason, but what was in the Act of 25 *Edm.* the 3d, as also two of the Statutes about Lollardies, together with the Act of the six Articles, and the other Acts that followed in explanation of that. All Acts in King *Henry* the 8th's time declaring any thing to be Felony that was not so declared before, were also repealed, together with the Acts that made the Kings Proclamations of equal authority with Acts of Parliament. It was also Enacted, That all who denied the Kings Supremacy, or asserted the Popes, in words, should for the first offence forfeit their Goods and Chattels, and suffer Imprisonment during pleasure; For the second offence should incur the pain of *Præmunire*; and for the third offence be attainted of Treason. But if any did in Writing, Printing, or by any overt Act or Deed, endeavour to deprive the King of his Estate, or Titles, particularly of his Supremacy; or to confer them on any other, after the first of *March* next, he was to be adjudged guilty of High Treason: and if any of the Heirs of the Crown should usurp upon another, or did endeavour to break the Succession of the Crown, it was declared high Treason, in them, their Aiders and Abettors. And all were to enjoy the benefit of Clergy, and the Priviledge of Sanctuary, as they had it before King *Henry* the 8th's Reign; excepting only such as were guilty of Murder, Poisoning, Burglary, Robbing on the High-way, the stealing of Cattel, or stealing out of Churches or Chappels. Poisoners were to suffer as other Murtherers. None were to be accused of Words, but within a Month after they were spoken. And those who called the *French King* by the Title of King of *France*, were not to be esteemed guilty of the Pains of Translating the Kings Authority, or Titles, on any other. This Act was occasioned by a Speech that Arch-bishop *Cranmer* had in Convocation, in which he exhorted the Clergy to give themselves much to the study of the Scripture, and to consider seriously what things were in the Church that needed Reformation, that so they might throw out all the Popish trash, that was not yet cast out. Upon this some intimated to him, that as long as the six Articles stood in force, it was not safe for them to deliver their Opinions. This he reported to the Council, upon which they ordered this Act of Repeal. By it the Subjects were delivered from many fears they were under, and had good hopes of a mild Government, when in stead of procuring new severe Laws,

Law, the old ones were let fall. The Council did also free the Nation of the jealousies they might have of them by such an abridgment of their own Power. But others judged it had been more for the interest of the Government, to have kept up these Laws still in force, but to have restrained the execution of them. This Repeal drew on another, which was sent from the Commons on the 20th. of *December*, and was agreed to by the Lords on the 21st. It was of an Act in the 28th. year of the late King, by which all Laws made while his Son was under 24 years of Age, might be by his Letters Patents, after he attained that Age, annulled as if they had never been. Which they altered thus, That the King, after that Age, might by his Letters Patents void any Act of Parliament for the future; but could not so void it from the beginning, as to annul all things done upon it between the making and annulling of it, which were still to be lawful Deeds. 1547.

The next Bill of a publick nature was concerning the Sacrament. Which was brought in, and read the first time, on the 12th. of *November*; the second time on the 15th, and was twice read on the 17th. And on the 24th. a Bill was brought in for the Communion to be received in both kinds; on the third of *December* it was read the second time, and given to the Protector; on the 5th. read again, and given to two Judges; on the 7th. it was read again, and joyned to the other Bill about the Sacrament. And on the 10th. the whole Bill was agreed to by all the Peers, except the Bishops of *London*, *Hereford*, *Norwich*, *Worcester*, and *Chichester*, and sent down to the Commons. On the 17th. a *Proviso* was sent after it, but was rejected by the Commons, since the Lords had not agreed to it. On the 20th. it was sent up agreed to, and had afterwards the Royal Assent. "By it, first, the value of the Holy Sacrament, commonly called *the Sacrament of the Altar*, and in the Scripture the *Supper and Table of the Lord*, was set forth; together with its first Institution; but it having been of late marvellously abused, some had been thereby brought to a contempt of it, which they had expressed in Sermons, Discourses, and Songs, (*in words not fit to be repeated*;) therefore whosoever should so offend after the first of *May* next was to suffer Fine and Imprisonment at the Kings Pleasure; and the Justices of the Peace were to take Information, and make Presentments of Persons so offending within three Months after the offences so committed, allowing them Writings for their own purgation. And it being more agreeable to Christs first Institution, and the practice of the Church for 500 years after Christ, that the Sacrament should be given in both the kinds of Bread and Wine, rather than in one kind only; Therefore it was Enacted, That it should be commonly given in both kinds, except necessity did otherwise require it. And it being also more agreeable to the first Institution, and the primitive Practice, that the People should receive with the Priest, that that the Priest should receive it alone; therefore the day before every Sacrament, an Exhortation was to be made to the People, to prepare themselves for it, in which the benefits and danger of worthy and unworthy receiving were to be expressed, and the Priests were not without a lawful cause to deny it to any who humbly asked it.

This was an Act of great consequence, since it reformed two abuses that had crept into the Church. The one was the denying the Cup the

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the Laity, the other was the Priests communicating alone. In the first Institution it is plain, that as *Christ* had all drink of the Cup, and his Disciples all drank of it, so *St. Paul* directed every one to *examine himself, that he might eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup*. From thence the Church for many Ages continued this practice: and the Superstition of some who received only in one kind was severely censured, and such were appointed either to receive the whole Sacrament or to abstain wholly. It continued thus till the belief of the Corporal Presence of *Christ* was set up; and then the keeping and carrying about the Cup in Processions, not being so easily done, some began to lay it aside. For a great while the Bread was given dip't in the Cup, to represent a bleeding *Christ*, as it is in the *Greek Church* to this day. In other Places the Laity had the Cup given them, but they were to suck it through Pipes that nothing of it should fall to the ground. But since they believed that *Christ* was in every crumb of Bread, it was thought needless to give the Sacrament in both kinds: So in the Council of *Constance* the Cup was ordered to be denied the Laity, though they acknowledged it to have been instituted and practised otherwise. To this the *Bohemians* would never submit; though to compel them to it much Blood was shed in this Quarrel. And now in the Reformation this was every where one of the first things with which the People were possessed, the opposition of the *Roman Church* herein to the Institution of *Christ* being so manifest.

And all private Masses put down.

At first this Sacrament was also understood to be a Communion of the Body and Blood of *Christ*, of which many were to be partakers: while the fervor of devotion lasted, it was thought a scandalous and censurable thing if any had come unto the Christian Assemblies, and had not stayed to receive these Holy Mysteries: and the denying to give any one the Sacrament was accounted a very great punishment. So sensible were the Christians of their ill condition when they were hindered to participate of it. But afterwards the former Devotion slackening, the good Bishops in the 4th and 5th Centuries complained oft of it, that so few came to receive: yet the Custom being to make Oblations before the Sacrament, out of which the Clergy had been maintained during the poverty of the Church, the Priests had a great mind to keep up the constant use of these Oblations; and so perswaded the Laity to continue them, and to come to the Sacrament, though they did not receive it: and in process of time they were made to believe that the Priest received in behalf of the whole People. And whereas this Sacrament was the Commemoration of *Christ's* Sacrifice on the Cross, and so by a Phrase of Speech was called a *Sacrifice*, they came afterwards to fancy that the Priests consecrating and consuming the Sacrament was an Action of it self expiatory, and that both for the Dead and the Living. And there rose an infinite number of several sorts of Masses; some were for commemorating the Saints, and those were called the Masses of such Saints; others for a particular Blessing, for Rain, Health, &c. and indeed for all the accidents of Humane Life, where the addition or variation of a Collect made the difference: So that all that Trade of Massing was now removed. An Intimation was also made of Exhortations to be read in which they intended next to set about. These abuses in the Mass gave at advantages to those who intended to change it into a Communion. But many in stead of managing them prudently, made unseemly Jest about

about them : and were carried by a lightness of temper to make Songs, and Plays, of the Mass: for now the Press went quick, and many Books were printed this year about matters of Religion ; the greatest number of them being concerning the Mass ; which were not written in so decent and grave a style as the matter required. Against this Act only five Bishops protested. Many of that Order were absent from the Parliament, so the opposition made to it was not considerable.

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The next Bill brought into the House of Lords, was concerning the admission of Bishops to their Sees by the Kings Letters Patents. Which being read, was committed to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury's* care on the fifth of *November*, and was read the second time on the 10th, and committed to some of the Judges, and was read the third time on the 28th. of *November*, and sent down to the Commons on the 5th. of *December*. There was also another Bill brought in, concerning the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the Bishops Courts, on the 17th. of *November*, and passed, and sent down on the 13th. of *December*. But both these Bills were put in one, and sent up by the Commons on the 20th. of that Month, and assented to by the King. By this Act it was set forth, " That the way of choosing Bishops by *Conge d'Eslire* was tedious and expenceful, that there was only a shadow of Election in it, and that therefore Bishops should thereafter be made by the Kings Letters Patents, upon which they were to be consecrated : And whereas the Bishops did exercise their Authority, and carry on Processes, in their own Names, as they were wont to do in the time of Popery ; and since all Jurisdiction both Spiritual and Temporal was derived from the King, that therefore their Courts and all Processes should be from henceforth carried on in the Kings Name, and be sealed by the Kings Seal, as it was in the other Courts of Common-Law, after the first of *July* next ; excepting only the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury's* Courts, and all Collations, Presentations, or Letters of Orders, which were to pass under the Bishops proper Seals as formerly. Upon this Act great advantages were taken to disparage the Reformation, as subjecting the Bishops wholly to the pleasure of the Court.

An Act about the Admission of Bishops.

At first, Bishops were chosen and ordained by the other Bishops in the Countries where they lived. The Apostles, by that Spirit of discerning, which was one of the extraordinary gifts they were endued with, did ordain the first Fruits of their Labours ; and never left the Election of Pastors to the discretion of the People : Indeed when they were to ordain Deacons, who were to be trusted with the distribution of the public Alms, they appointed such as the People made choice of ; but when St. Paul gave directions to *Timothy* and *Titus* about the choice of Pastors, all that depended on the People by them was that they should be blameless and of good report. But afterwards, the poverty of the Church being such, that Church-men lived only by the free bounty of the People, it was necessary to consider them much ; so that in many Places the choice began among the People ; and in all Places it was done by their approbation and good liking. But great disorders followed upon this, as soon as by the Emperors turning Christians, the Wealth of Church-benefices made the Pastoral Charge more desirable ; and the vast number of those who turned Christians with the Title, brought in great Multitudes to have their Votes in these Elections. The inconvenience of this was

The ancient ways of electing Bishops.

early

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early in *Phrygia*, where the Council of *Laodicea* made a Canon against these Popular Elections. Yet in other parts of *Asia*, and at *Rome*, there were great and often Contests about it. In some of these many Men were killed. In many Places the inferior Clergy chose their Bishops. But in most Places the Bishops of the Province made the choice, yet so as to obtain the consent of the Clergy and People. The Emperors by their Laws made it necessary that it should be confirmed by the Metropolitans: They reserved the Elections of the great Sees to themselves, or at least the Confirmation of them. Thus it continued till *Charles* the Great's time. But then the nature of Church-employments came to be much altered. For though the Church had Predial Lands with the other Rights that belonged to them by the *Roman* Law, yet he first gave Bishops and Abbots great Territories, with some branches of Royal Jurisdiction in them, who held these Lands of him, according to the *Fewdal* Laws. This, as it carried Church-men off from the humility and abstraction from the World which became their Function, so it subjected them much to the Humours and Interests of those Princes on whom they had their dependance. The Popes, who had made themselves Heads of the Hierarchy, could not but be glad to see Church-men grow rich and powerful in the World; but they were not so well pleased to see them made so much the more dependent on their Princes: and no doubt by some of those Princes that were thus become Patrons of Churches, the Bishopricks were either given for Money, or charged with reserved Pensions. Upon this the Popes filled the World with the complaints of Simony, and of enslaving Church-men to court Interests; and so would not suffer them to accept of Investitures from their Princes; but set up for free Elections, as they called them, which they said were to be confirmed by the See-Apostolick. So the Canons Secular or Regular in Cathedral Churches were to choose the Bishops, and their Election was to be confirmed at *Rome*: yet Princes in most Places got some hold of those Elections, so that still they went as they had a mind they should. Which was oft complained of as a great slavery on the Church; and would have been more universally condemned, if the World had not been convinced that the matter would not be much the better, if there should have been set up either the Popular or Synodical Elections, in which Faction was like to sway all. King *Henry* had continued the old way of the Elections by the Clergy, but so, as that it seemed to be little more than a mockery; but now it was thought a more ingenuous way of proceeding, to have the thing done directly by the King, rather than under the thin covert of an involuntary Election.

For the other Branch about Ecclesiastical Courts, The Causes before them concerning Wills and Marriages, being matters of a mixed nature, and which only belong to these by the Laws of the Land, and being no parts of the Sacred Functions; it was thought no invasion of the Sacred Offices to have these tried in the Kings Name. But the Collation of Benefices, and giving of Orders, which are the chief parts of the Episcopal Function, were to be performed still by the Bishops in their own Names. Only Excommunication, by a fatal neglect, continued to be the punishment for contempts of these Courts; which belonging only to Spiritual Cognisance, ought to have been reserved for the Bishop with assistance of his Clergy. But the Canonists had so confounded all
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the Ancient Rules about the Government of the Church, that the Reformers being called away by Considerations that were more obvious and pressing, there was not that care taken in this that the thing required. And these errors or oversights in the first concoction have by a continuance grown since into so formed a strength, that it is easier to see what is amiss, than to know how to rectifie it.

On the 29th. of November the Bill against Vagabonds was brought in. By this it was Enacted, "That all that should any where loiter without work, or without offering themselves to work, three days together; or that should run away from work, and resolve to live idly, should be seized on, and whosoever should present them to a Justice of Peace, was to have them adjudged to be his Slaves for two years; and they were to be marked with the Letter V. imprinted with a hot Iron on their Breast. A great many Proviso's follow concerning Clerks so convict, which shew that this Act was chiefly levelled at the idle Monks and Friars, who went about the Country, and would betake themselves to no employment; but finding the People apt to have compassion on them, they continued in that course of life. Which was of very ill consequence to the State. For these Vagrants did every where alienate the Peoples Minds from the Government, and perswaded them that things would never be well settled, till they were again restored to their Houses. Some of these came often to London, on pretence of suing for their Pensions; but really to practise up and down through the Country: To prevent this, there was a Proclamation set out on the 18th. of September, requiring them to stay in the Places where they lived, and to send up a Certificate where they were, to the Court of Augmentations; who should thereupon give order for their constant payment. Some thought this Law against Vagabonds was too severe, and contrary to that common liberty, of which the English Nation has been always very sensible, both in their own, and their Neighbours particulars. Yet it could not be denied but extream Diseases required extream Remedies: and perhaps there is no punishment too severe for Persons that are in health, and yet prefer a loitering course of life to an honest employment. There followed in the Act many excellent Rules for providing for the truly poor and indigent in the several Places where they were born, and had their abode. Of which this can only be said, That as no Nation has laid down more effectual Rules for the supplying the Poor, than England, so that indeed none can be in absolute want; so the neglect of these Laws is a just and great reproach on those who are charged with the execution of them, when such numbers of poor Vagabonds swarm every where without the due restraints that the Laws have appointed.

On the 6th. of December the Bill for giving the Chantries to the King was brought into the House of Lords. It was read the second time on the 12th, the third time on the 13th, and the fourth time on the 14th. of that Month. It was much opposed, both by *Cromwell* on the one hand, and the Popish Bishops on the other. The late Kings Executors saw they could not pay his Debts, nor satisfy themselves in their own pretensions formerly mentioned, out of the Kings Revenue, and so intended to have these to be divided among them. *Cromwell* opposed it long. For the Clergy being much impoverished by the Sale of the impropriated Tithes, that ought in all respects to have been reserved for the Church, but

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Vagabonds.An Act giving
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upon the dissolution of the Abbies were all sold among the Laity; he saw no probable way remaining for their supply, but to save these Endowments till the King were of Age, being confident he was so piously disposed, that they should easily perswade him to convert them all to the bettering of the Condition of the poor Clergy that were now brought into extream misery. And therefore he was for reforming and preserving these Foundations, till the Kings full Age. The Popish Bishops liked these Endowments so well, that upon far different Motives, they were for continuing them in the state they were in. But those who were to gain by it were so many that the Act passed; the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Duresme*, *Ely*, *Norwich*, *Hereford*, *Worcester*, and *Chichester*, dissenting. So it being sent down to the House of Commons, was there much opposed by some Burgessees; who represented that the Boroughs, for which they served, could not maintain their Churches, and other publick Works of the Guilds and Fraternities, if the Rents belonging to them were given to the King, for these were likewise in the Act. This was chiefly done by the Burgessees of *Linn*, and *Coventry*; who were so active, that the whole House was much set against that part of the Bill for the Guild-Lands. Therefore those who managed that House for the Court, took these off by an assurance that their Guild-Lands should be restored to them. And so they desisted from their opposition, and the Bill passed on the promise given to them, which was afterwards made good by the Protector. In the Preamble of the Act it is set forth, "That the great superstition of Christians, rising out of their ignorance of the true way of Salvation by the death of Christ; in stead of which they had set up the vain conceits of Purgatory, and Masses satisfactory; was much supported by Trentals and Chantries. And since the converting these to godly uses, such as the endowing of Schools, Provisions for the Poor, and the augmenting of Places in the Universities, could not be done by Parliament; they therefore committed it to the care of the King. And then reciting the Act made in the 37th. year of his Fathers Reign, they give the King all such Chantries, Colledges, and Chappels, as were not possessed by the late King, and all that had been in being any time these five years last past: as also all Revenues belonging to any Church, for Anniversaries, Obits, and Lights; together with all Guild-Lands, which any Fraternity of Men enjoyed, for Obits, or the like: and appoint these to be converted to the maintenance of Grammar-Schools, or Preachers, and for the increase of Vicarages. After this followed the Act giving the King the Customs known by the Name of Tonnage and Poundage, besides some other Laws, of Matters that are not needful to be remembered in this History. Last of all came the Kings general Pardon; with the common Exceptions, among which, one was of these who were then Prisoners in the Tower of *London*, in which the Duke of *Norfolk* was included. So all business being ended, the Parliament was Prorogued from the 24th. of *December* to the 20th. of *April* following.

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But having given this account of these Bills that were passed, I shall not esteem it an unfruitful piece of History to show what other Bills were assigned. There were put into the House of Lords, two Bills that were tried. The one was, for the use of the Scriptures, which came not to a second reading. The other was a Bill for creating a new Court of
Chancery

Chancery for Ecclesiastical and Civil Causes, which was committed to some Bishops and Temporal Lords, but never more mentioned. The Commons sent up also some Bills, which the Lords did not agree to. One was about Benefices with Cure, and Residence. It was committed, but never reported. Another was for the Reformation of divers Laws, and of the Courts of Common-Law; and a third was, that married Men might be Priests, and have Benefices. To this the Commons did so readily agree, that it being put in on the 19th. of *December*, and read then for the first time, it was read twice the next day, and sent up to the Lords on the 21st. But being read there once, it was like to have raised such debates, that, it being resolved to end the Session before *Christmas*, the Lords laid it aside.

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But while the Parliament was sitting, they were not idle in the Convocation; though the Popish Party was yet so prevalent in both Houses, that *Cranmer* had no hopes of doing any thing, till they were freed of the trouble which some of the great Bishops gave them. The most important thing they did, was the carrying up four Petitions to the Bishops, which will be found in the *Collection*. 1. That according to the Statute made in the Reign of the late King there might be Persons empow'ed for reforming the Ecclesiastical Laws. The second, That according to the ancient Custom of the Nation, and the Tenor of the Bishops Writ to the Parliament, the inferior Clergy might be admitted again to sit in the House of Commons, or that no Acts concerning matters of Religion might pass without the sight and assent of the Clergy. The third, That since divers Prelates, and other Divines, had been in the late Kings time appointed to alter the Service of the Church; and had made some progress in it, that this might be brought to its full perfection. The fourth, That some consideration might be had for the maintenance of the Clergy, the first year they came into their Livings, in which they were charged with the First-fruits; to which they added, a desire to know whether they might safely speak their minds about Religion, without the danger of any Law. For the first of these four Petitions, an account of it shall be given hereafter. As to the second it was a thing of great consequence, and deserves to be farther considered in this place.

The lower House made some Petitions

Anciently, all the free Men of *England*, or at least those that held of the Crown *in chief*, came to Parliament; and then the Inferior Clergy had Writs as well as the Superior, and the first of the three Estates of the Kingdom were the Bishops, the other Prelates and the Inferior Clergy. But when the Parliament was divided into two Houses, then the Clergy made likewise a Body of their own, and sat in Convocation, which was the third Estate. But the Bishops having a double capacity, the one of Ecclesiastical Prelature, the other of being the Kings Barons, they had a Right to sit with the Lords as a part of their Estate, as well as in the Convocation. And though by parity of reason it might seem that the rest of the Clergy, being Freeholders as well as Clerks, had an equal Right to choose, or be chosen, into the House of Commons; yet whether they were ever in possession of it, or whether according to the Clause *Premoventes* in the Bishops Writ, they were ever a part of the House of Commons, is a just doubt. For besides this assertion in the Petition that is mentioned, and a more large one in the second Petition, which is presented to the House, which is likewise in the *Collection*, I have never

The Inferior Clergy desire to be admitted to have Representation in the House of Commons.

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never met with any good reason to satisfy me in it. There was a general Tradition in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, that the Inferior Clergy departed from their Right of being in the House of Commons; when they were all brought into the *Premunire* upon Cardinal *Wolsey's* Legatine Power, and made their submission to the King. But that is not credible; for as there is no footstep of it, which in a time of so much writing and printing must have remained, if so great a change had been then made; so it cannot be thought, that those who made this Address but 17 years after that Submission, (many being alive in this, who were of that Convocation, *Polidore Virgil* in particular, a curious observer since he was maintained here to write the History of *England*) none of them should have remembered a thing that was so fresh, but have appealed to Writs and ancient Practices. But though this design of bringing the Inferior Clergy into the House of Commons did not take at this time, yet it was again set on foot, in the end of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and Reasons were offered to persuade her to set it forward. Which not being then successful, these same Reasons were again offered to King *James*, to induce him to endeavour it. The Paper that discovers this was communicated to me by Dr. *Borlace* the Worthy Author of the History of the *Irish* Rebellion. It is corrected in many places by the Hand of Bishop *Ravis*, then Bishop of *London*, a Man of great Worth. This, for the affinity of the matter, and the curiosity of the thing, I have put into the *Collection*, with a large Marginal Note, as it was designed to be transcribed for King *James*. But whether this Matter was ever much considered, or lightly laid aside, as a thing unfit and unpracticable, does not appear; certain it is, that it came to nothing. Upon the whole matter it is not certain what was the Power or Right of these Proctors of the Clergy in former times: Some are of opinion, that they were only assistants to the Bishops, but had no Voice in either House of Parliament. This is much confirmed by an Act pass'd in the Parliament of *Ireland*, in the 28th. Year of the former Reign, which sets forth in the Preamble, "That though the Proctors of the Clergy were always summoned to Parliament, yet they were no part of it; nor had they any right to Vote in it; but were only Assistants in case Matters of Controversie or Learning came before them, as the Convocation was in *England*, which had been determined by the Judges of *England* after much enquiry made about it. But the Proctors were then pretending to so high an Authority, that nothing could pass without their consents; and it was presumed they were set on to it by the Bishops, whose Chaplains they were for the most part. Therefore they were by that Act declared to have no right to Vote.

From this some infer, they were no other in *England*, and that they were only the Bishops Assistants and Council. But as the Clause *Premunientes* in the Writ, seems to make them a part of the Parliament; so these Petitions suppose that they sat in the House of Commons anciently, where it cannot be imagined they could sit, if they came only to be Assistants to the Bishops, for then they must have sat in the House of Lords rather; as the Judges, the Masters of *Chancery*, and the Kings Council do. Nor is it reasonable to think they had no Voice: for then their sitting in Parliament had been so insignificant a thing, that it is not likely they would have used such endeavours to be restored to it since their

their coming to Parliament, upon such an account must have been only a charge to them.

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There is against this Opinion an Objection of great force from the Acts pass'd in the 21st. Year of *Richard the second's* Reign. In the second Act of that Parliament it is said. "That it was first prayed by the Commons, and that the Lords Spiritual, and the Proctors of the Clergy, did assent to it, upon which the King, by the assent of all the Lords and Commons, did enact it. The 12th. Act of that Parliament was a Repeal of the whole Parliament that was held in the 11th. Year of that Reign; and concerning it, it is expressed, "That the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the Proctors of the Clergy, and the Commons, being severally examined, did all agree to it. From hence it appears, that these Proctors were then not only a part of the Parliament, but were a distinct Body of Men that did severally from all the rest deliver their Opinions. It may seem strange, that if they were then considered as a part of either House of Parliament, this should be the only time in which they should be mentioned as bearing their share in the Legislative Power. In a matter that is so perplexed and dark, I shall presume to offer a Conjecture which will not appear perhaps improbable. In the 129th. Page of the former part, I gave the Reasons that made me think the lower House of Convocation consisted at first only of the Proctors of the Clergy. So that by the Proctors of the Clergy, both in the Statute of *Ireland*, and in those made by *Richard the second*, is perhaps to be understood, the lower House of Convocation: and it is not unreasonable to think, that upon so great an occasion as the annulling a whole Parliament, to make it pass the better, in an Age in which the People payed so blind a Submission to the Clergy, the concurrence of the whole Representative of the Church might have been thought necessary. It is generally believed, that the whole Parliament sate together in one House before *Edward the thirds* time, and then the inferior Clergy were a part of that Body without question. But when the Lords and Commons sate a-part, the Clergy likewise sate in two Houses, and granted Subsidies as well as the Temporality. It may pass for no unlikely conjecture that the Clause *Premonentes* was first put in the Bishops Writ for the summoning of the lower House of Convocation, consisting of these Proctors, and afterwards, though there was a special Writ for the Convocation, yet this might at first have been continued in the Bishops Writ by the neglect of a Clerk, and from thence be still used. So that it seems to me most probable, that the Proctors of the Clergy were both in *England* and *Ireland* the lower House of Convocation. Now before the Submission which the Clergy made to King *Henry*, as the Convocation gave the King great Subsidies, so the whole business of Religion lay within their Sphere. But after the Submission they were cut off from meddling with it, except as they were authorized by the King. So having now so little Power left them, it is no wonder they desired to be put in the state they had been in before the Convocation was separated from the Parliament: or at least that matters of Religion should not be determined till they had been consulted, and had reported their Opinions and Reasons. The extreme of raising the Ecclesiastical Power too high in the Time of Popery, had now produced a number of degenerate and corrupt. The 21st. Year of *Richard the second* was the Counterpoise

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so justly ballanced, that Extremes are reduced to a well-tempered Mediocrity.

For the third Petition, it was resolved that many Bishops and Divines should be sent to *Windſor* to labour in the Matter of the Church Service. But that required so much consideration, that they could not enter on it during a Session of Parliament. And for the fourth, what Answer was given to it doth not appear.

On the 29th of *November* a Declaration was sent down from the Bishops concerning the Sacraments being to be received in both kinds. To which, *Jo. Tyler* the *Prolocutor*, and several others set their Hands; and being again brought before them, it was agreed to by all without a contradictory Vote: 64 being present, among whom I find *Polidore Virgil* was one. And on the 17th of *December* the Proposition concerning the Marriage of the Clergy was also sent to them, and subscribed, by 35 affirmatively, and by 14 negatively: so it was ordered, that a Bill should be drawn concerning it. I shall not here digress to give an account of what was alledged for, or against this, reserving that to its proper place, when the thing was finally settled.

And this is all the account I could recover of this Convocation. I have chiefly gathered it from some Notes, and other Papers, of the then *Dr. Parker*, (afterwards Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*) which are carefully preserved with his other MSS. in *Corpus Christi Colledge Library*, at *Cambridge*. To which Library I had free access by the favour of the most learned Master *Dr. Spencer*, with the other Worthy Fellows of that House: and from thence I collected many remarkable things in this History.

The Parliament being brought to so good a Conclusion, the Protector took out a new Commission, in which all the Addition that is made to that Authority he formerly had, is, that in his absence he is impow'ed to substitute another to whom he might delegate his Power.

The state of
Affairs in
Germany.

And thus this Year ended in *England*, but as they were carrying on the Reformation here, it was declining apace in *Germany*. The Duke of *Saxe* and the Landgrave were this Year to command their Armies apart. The Duke of *Saxe* kept within his own Country, but having there unfortunately divided his Forces, the Emperor overtook him near the *Alb* at *Mulberg*; where the Emperors Soldiers crossing the River, and pursuing him with great fury, after some resistance, in which he himself performed all that could be expected from so great a Captain, was taken Prisoner, and his Country all possessed by *Maurice*, who was now to be invested with the Electoral Dignity. He bore his misfortunes with a greatness and equality of mind that is scarce to be parrallel'd in History. Neither could the insolence with which the Emperor treated him, nor the fears of death to which he adjudged him, nor that tedious imprisonment which he suffered so long, ever shake or disorder a Mind that was raised so far above the inconstancies of Humane Affairs. And though he was forced to submit to the hardest Conditions possible, of renouncing his Dignity and Dominions, some few Places being only reserved for his Family; yet no Entreaties nor Fears could ever bring him to yield any thing in Matters of Religion. He made the Bible his chief Companion and comfort in his sharp Afflictions; which he bore so, as if

1547. Apr 24.
Duke of Saxe
taken.

he had been raised up to that end, to let the World see how much he was above it. It seemed unimitable; and therefore engaged *Thuanus*, with the other excellent Writers of that Age, to set it out with all the advantages that so unusual a temper of mind deserved. Yet had those Writers lived in our Age, and seen a great King, not overpow'ed by a Superior Prince, but by the meanest of his own People, and treated with equal degrees of malice and scorn, and at last put to death openly, with the Pageantry of Justice; and bearing all this with such invincible Patience, Heroical Courage, and most Christian Submission to God, they had yet found a nobler Subject for their eloquent Pens: but he saved the World the labour of giving a just Representation of his behaviour in his Sufferings, having left his own Portraiture drawn by himself in such lively and lasting Colours.

The Landgrave of *Hesse* saw he could not long withstand the Emperors Army, now so lifted up with success; and therefore was willing to submit to him on the best terms that his Sons-in-law the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and *Maurice* of *Saxe*, could obtain for him. Which were very hard, only he was to enjoy his Liberty, without any Imprisonment, and to preserve his Dominions. But the Emperors Ministers dealt most unfaithfully with him in this: For in the *German* Language there was but one Letters difference, and that only inverted, between perpetual Imprisonment and any Imprisonment, (*Ewig* for *Emig*) so by this base Artifice, he was, when he came and submitted to the Emperor, detained a Prisoner. He had not the Duke of *Saxen* temper, but was out of measure impatient, and did exclaim of his ill usage: but there was no remedy, for the Emperor was now absolute. All the Towns of *Germany*, *Magdeburg* and *Breme* only excepted, submitted to him, and redeemed his favour by great Sums of Money, and many Pieces of Ordnance. And the *Bohemians* were also forced to implore his Brothers mercy, who before he would receive them into his Hands, got his Revenue to be raised vastly. And now the Empire was wholly at the Emperors mercy. Nothing could withstand him who had in one year turned out two Electors. For *Herman* Bishop of *Colen*, as he was before condemned by the Pope, so was also degraded from that Dignity by the Emperor; and *Adolph*, whom he had procured to be made his Coadjutor, was declared Elector. Many of his Subjects and Neighbour Princes offered their Service, if he would stand to his own defence; but he was very old, and of so meek a temper, that he would suffer no Blood to be shed on his account; and therefore withdrew peaceably to a retirement in which he lived four years till his death. His Brother that was Bishop of *Munster* and Dean of *Bonne*, who had gone along with him in his Reformation, was also turned out; and *Gropper* was made Dean, who was esteemed one of the learnedest and best Men of the Clergy at this time. He is said to have expressed a generous contempt of the highest Dignity the See of *Rome* could bestow on him, for he refused a Cardinals Hat when it was offered him: yet in this matter he had not behaved himself as became so good a Man, and so Learned a Divine. For he had consented to the Changes had been made, and was in a correspondence with *Martin Bucer*, whom *Herman* brought to *Colen*: (as will appear by an excellent Letter of *Bucers* to him, which will be found in the *Collection* concerning that matter) by which it is plain he went along with them from the beginning. But it

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1546. Apr. 16.
Herman ex-
communicated at Rome.

Nov. 4.
Herman re-
signed.

1547.

seems he did it covertly and fearfully, and was afterwards drawn off either by the love of the World, or the fears of the Cross; of which it appears *Bucer* had then some apprehensions, though he expressed them very modestly, *Groppers* Memory being in such high esteem, and this Letter being found among *Bucers* Papers, I thought the publishing of it would not be unacceptable, though it be of a Foreign Matter.

Germany being thus under the Power and Dread of the Emperor, a Diet was summoned to *Ausburg*: Where the chief Church was taken from the Protestants, and put into the Cardinal of *Ausburg's* Hands, to have the Mass set up again in it, though the Town was so much Protestant that they could find none that would come to it, but some poor People who were hired. The Emperor, among other Propositions he put in to the Diet, pressed this, That all differences in Religion, which had so distracted *Germany*, might be removed. The Ecclesiastical Princes answered, That the only way to effect that, was to submit to the General Council that was at *Trent*: Those that were for the *Ausburg* Confession, said, they could submit to no Council where the Pope Presided, and where the Bishops were sworn to obey him; but would submit to it, if that Oath was dispensed with, and their Divines admitted to defend their Opinions, and all the Decrees that had been made were again considered. In this difference of Opinion, the Emperor thought that if the whole matter should be left to his discretion, to which all should be bound to submit, he would then be able to determine it as he pleased. So he dealt privately with the Electors *Palatine*, and *Saxe*; and as they published it afterwards, gave them secret assurances about the freedom of their Religion, and that he only desired this to put him in a capacity of dealing on other terms with the Pope. Upon which, they contented to a Decree, referring the Matter of Religion wholly to his care. But the Deputies from the Cities, who looked on this as a giving up of their Religion, could not be wrought to do it, without Conditions, which they put into another Writing, as explanatory of the Submission: But the Emperor took no notice of that, and only thanked them for their confidence in him, and so the Decree was published. All this was in some sort necessary for the Emperor, who was then in very ill terms with the Pope about the business of *Placenzia*. For the Popes Natural Son *Petrus Aloisius* being killed by a Conspiracy, the Governour of *Millain* had seized on *Placenzia*, which made the Pope believe the Emperour was accessory to it: for which the Reader is referred to the *Italian* Historians. The Pope saw the Emperor in one Summer delivered of a War, which he had hoped would have entangled him his whole life; and though in decency he could not but seem to rejoyce, and did so no doubt, at the ruine of those whom he called Hereticks, yet he was not a little grieved to see the Emperor so much exalted.

1547. Sept. 10.
Petrus Aloisius
killed.

The Proceedings at *Trent*.

At *Trent* the Legates had been oft threatened and affronted by the Emperours Ambassadors and Bishops, who were much set on reforming abuses, and lessening the Power of the See of *Rome*. So they had a mind to break up the Council; but that would have been so scandalous a thing, and so relented by the Emperor, that they resolved rather on a Translation into some Town of the Popes, to which it was not likely the Imperialists would follow them, and so at least the Council would be suspended, if not dissolved. For this Remove, they held hold on the first colour

lour they could find. One dying of a malignant Feaver, it was given out and certified by Physicians, that he died of the Plague; so in all hast they translated the Council to *Bologna*. The Imperialists protested against it; but in vain, for thither they went. The Emperor was thereby quite disappointed of his chief design, which was to force the *Germans* to submit to a Council held in *Germany*: and therefore no Plague appearing at *Trent*, he pressed the return of the Council thither. But the Pope said, it was the Councils act, and not his; and that their Honour was to be kept up; that therefore such as stayed at *Trent* were to go first to *Bologna*, and acknowledge the Council, and they should then consider what was to be done. So that now all the hope the *Germans* had, was, that this difference between the Pope and Emperor might give them some breathing; and time might bring them out of these extremities into which they were then driven. Upon these disorders the Forreign Reformers, who generally made *Germany* their Sanctuary were now forced to seek it elsewhere. So *Peter Martyr*, in the end of *November* this Year, was brought over to *England*, by the Invitation which the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* sent him in the Kings Name. He was born in *Florence*, where he had been an *Augustinian*-Monk. He was learned in the *Greek*, and the *Hebrew*, which drew on him the envy of the rest of his Order, whose Manners he inveighed oft against. So he left them, and went to *Naples*, where he gathered an Assembly of those who loved to Worship God more purely. This being made known, he was forced to leave that Place, and went next to *Lucca*, where he lived in society with *Tremellius* and *Zanchius*. But being also in danger there, he went to *Zurick* with *Bernardinus Ochinus*, that had been one of the most celebrated Preachers of *Italy*, and now forsook his former Superstitions. From *Zurick* he went to *Basil*; and from thence by *Martin Bucers* means he was brought to *Strasburg*; where *Cranmers* Letter found both him and *Ochinus*. The latter was made a Canon of *Canterbury*, with a Dispensation of Residence; and by other Letters Patents 40 Marks were given yearly to him, and as much to *Peter Martyr*.

1547.

Apr. 21.
The first Session of Bologna.

There had been this Year some differences between the *English* and *French* concerning the Fortifications about *Bulloigne*. The *English* were raising a great Fort by the Harbour there. This being signified to King *Henry* by *Gaspar Coligny*, afterwards the famous Admiral of *France*, then Governour of the neighbouring Parts to *Bulloigne*; it was complained of at the Court of *England*. It was answered, That this was only to make the Harbour more secure, and so the Works were ordered to be vigorously carried on. But this could not satisfy the *French*, who plainly saw it was of another sort than to be intended only for the Sea. The King of *France* came and viewed the Country himself, and ordered *Coligny* to raise a Fort on a high Ground near it, which was called the *Chastillon* Fort, and commanded both the *English* Fort and the harbour. But the Protector had no mind to give the *French* a colour for breaking with the *English*; so there was a Truce and further Cessation agreed on, in the end of *September*. These are all the considerable Forreign Transactions of this Year, in which *England* was concerned. But there was a secret contrivance said at home of a high nature, which though it broke not out till the next Year, yet the beginnings of it were now abroad.

The French quarrel about Bulloigne.

1547.

The Breach
between the
Protector and
the Admiral.

The Protector's Brother, *Thomas Seimour*, was brought to such a share in his Fortunes, that he was made a Baron, and Lord Admiral. But this not satisfying his ambition, he endeavoured to have linked himself into a nearer relation with the Crown, by marrying the King's Sister the Lady *Elizabeth*. But finding he could not compass that, he made his Addresses to the Queen Dowager. Who enjoying now the Honour and Wealth the late King had left her, resolved to satisfy her self in her next Choice; and entertained him a little too early, for they were married so soon after the King's death, that it was charged afterwards on the Admiral, that if she had brought a Child as soon as might have been after the Marriage, it had given cause to doubt whether it had not been by the late King: which might have raised great disturbance afterwards. But being thus married to the Queen, he concealed it for some time, till he procured a Letter from the King, recommending him to her for a Husband: upon which they declared their Marriage, with which the Protector was much offended. Being thus possessed of great Wealth, and being Husband to the Queen Dowager, he studied to engage all that were about the King to be his Friends: and he corrupted some of them by his Presents, and forced one on Sir *John Cheek*. That which he designed, was, That whereas in former times, the Infant Kings of *England* had had Governours of their Persons, distinct from the Protectors of their Realms; which Trusts were divided between their Uncles; it being judged too much to joyn both in one Person, who was thereby too great, whereas a Governour of the King's Person might be a check on the Protector; he would therefore himself be made Governour of the King's Person, alledging, that since he was the King's Uncle as well as his Brother, he ought to have a proportioned share with him in the Government. About *Easter* this Year he first set about this design; and corrupted some about the King who should bring him sometimes privately through the Gallery to the Queen's Lodgings, and he desired they would let him know when the King had occasion for Money, and that they should not always trouble the Treasury, for he would be ready to furnish him, and he thought a young Knight might be taken with this. So it happened that the first time *Latimer* preached at Court, the King sent to him to know what Present he should make him: *Seimour* sent him 40 *l.* but said, he thought 20 enough to give *Latimer*, and the King might dispose of the rest as he pleased. Thus he gained ground with the King, whose sweet nature exposed him to be easily won by such Artifices.

It is generally said, that all this difference between the Brothers was begun by their Wives, and that the Protector's Lady, being offended that the younger Brother's Wife had the precedence of her, which she thought belonged to her self, did thereupon raise and inflame the differences. But in all the Letters that I have seen concerning this Breach, I could never find any such thing once mentioned. Nor is it reasonable to imagine that the Dutchess of *Somerset* should be so foolish as to think that she ought to have the precedence of the Queen Dowager. Therefore I look upon this Story as a meer Fiction, though it is probable enough there might upon some other accounts have been some Animosities between the two high-spirited Ladies, which might have afterwards be thought to have occasioned their Husbands quarrel.

It is plain in the whole thread of this Affair, that the Protector was at first very easie to be reconciled to his Brother; and was only assaulted by him; but bore the trouble he gave him with much patience for a great while, though in the end, seeing his factious temper was incurable, he laid off Nature too much, when he consented to his Execution. Yet all along till then, he had rather too much encouraged his Brother to go on, by his readiness to be after every breach reconciled to him. When the Protector was in *Scotland*, the Admiral then began to act more avowedly, and was making a party for himself; of which *Paget* took notice, and charged him with it in plain terms. He asked him, why he would go about to reverse that, which himself and others had consented to under their Hands? Their Family was now so great, that nothing but their mutual quarrelling could do them any prejudice: But there would not be wanting officious Men to inflame them, if they once divided among themselves; and the Breaches among near Friends commonly turn to the most irreconcilable Quarrels. Yet all was ineffectual; for the Admiral was resolved to go on, and either get himself advanced higher, or to perish in the Attempt. It was the knowledge of this which forced the Protector to return from *Scotland* so abruptly and disadvantageously, for the securing of his Interest with the King on whom his Brothers Artifices had made some impression. Whether there was any reconciliation made between them before the Parliament met, is not certain. But during the Session, the Admiral got the King to write with his own Hand a Message to the House of Commons, for the making of him the Governor of his Person; and he intended to have gone with it to the House, and had a Party there, by whose means he was confident to have carried his business. He dealt also with many of the Lords and Counsellors to assist him in it. When this was known, before he had gone with it to the House, some were sent to him in his Brothers Name to see if they could prevail with him to proceed no further. He refused to hearken to them; and said, That if he were cross'd in his attempt, he would make this the blackest Parliament that ever was in *England*. Upon that, he was sent for by Order from the Council, but refused to come. Then they threatned him severely, and told him the Kings Writing was nothing in Law, but that he who had procured it, was punishable for doing an Act of such a nature, to the disturbance of the Government, and for engaging the young King in it. So they resolved to have sent him to the Tower, and to have turned him out of all his Offices. But he submitted himself to the Protector and Council: and his Brother and he seemed to be perfectly reconciled. Yet as the Protector had reason to have a watchful Eye over him, so it was too soon visible that he had not laid down but only put off his high Projects, till a fitter conjuncture. For he began the next *Christmas* to deal Money again among the Kings Servants, and was on all occasions infusing into the King a dislike of every thing that was done, and did often perswade him to assume the Government himself. But the sequel of this Quarrel proved fatal to him, as shall be told in its proper place. And thus ended the Year 1547.

1547.

On the 8th of *Jan.* next year, *Gardiner* was brought before the Council; where it was told him, that his former Offences being included in the Kings general Pardon, he was thereupon discharged; a grave admonition was

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Jan. 2.

given

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given him to carry himself reverently and obediently, and he was desired to declare whether he would receive the *Injunctions* and *Homilies*, and the Doctrine to be set forth from time to time by the King and Clergy of the Realm. He answered, he would conform himself as the other Bishops did, and only excepted to the *Homily of Justification*, and desired four or five dayes to consider of it. What he did at the end of that time does not appear from the Council-Book, no farther mention being made of this matter; for the Clerks of Council did not then enter every thing with that exactness that is since used. He went home to his Diocess, where there still appeared in his whole behaviour great malignity to *Cranmer*, and to all motions for Reformation; yet he gave such outward compliance, that it was not easie to find any advantage against him, especially now since the Councils great Power was so much abridged.

Force for
Adultery.

In the end of Jan. the Council made an Order concerning the Marquess of *Northampton*, which will oblige me to look back a little for the clear account of it. This Lord, who was Brother to the Queen Dowager, had married *Anne Bouchier*, Daughter to the Earl of *Essex*, the last of that Name. But she being convicted of Adultery, he was divorced from her; which according to the Law of the Ecclesiastical Courts was only a separation from Bed and Board. Upon which Divorce, it was proposed in King *Henry's* time to consider what might be done in favour of the Innocent Person, when the other was convicted of Adultery. So in the beginning of King *Edward's* Reign, on the 7th. of May, a Commission was granted to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Duresme* and *Rocheſter*, (this was *Holbeack*, who was not then translated to *Lincoln*) to Dr. *Ridley*, and six more, ten in all, of whom six were a *Quorum*, to try whether the Lady *Anne* was not by the Word of God so lawfully divorced, that she was no more his Wife, and whether thereupon he might not marry another Wife. This being a new Case, and of great importance, *Cranmer* resolved to examine it with his ordinary diligence, and searched into the Opinions of the Fathers and Doctors, so copiously, that his *Collections* about it grew into a large Book, (the Original whereof I have perused;) the greatest part of it being either written, or marked, and interlined, with his own Hand. This required a longer time, than the Marquess of *Northampton* could wait; and therefore presuming on his great Power, without waiting for consent, he solemnly married *Eliz.* Daughter to *Brooke Lord Cobham*. On the 28th of Jan. Information was brought to the Council, which gave great scandal, since his first Marriage stood yet firm. So he being put to answer for himself, said, he thought that by the Word of God he was discharged of his tye to his former Wife; and that making Marriages indissoluble was but a part of the Popish Law, by which it was reckoned a Sacrament; and yet the Popes, knowing that the World would not easily come under such a Yoke, had by the help of *Canonists* invented such distinctions, that it was no uneasie thing to have a Marriage void among them: and that the condition of this Case was very hard, if upon Adulteries, the innocent must either live with the Guilty, or be exposed to temptations to the like sins, if a separation was only allowed, but the bond of the Marriage continued undissolved. But since he had proceeded so far before the Delegates had given sentence, it was Ordered, that he and his new Wife should be parted;

Ex MSS. P.^o
Stillington.

that she should be put into his Sister the Queen Dowagers keeping, till the matter were tried, whether it was according to the Word of God, or not; and that then further order should be given in it. Upon this the Delegates made haste, and gathered their Arguments together, Of which I shall give an Abstract, both for the clearing of this matter, (concerning which not many years ago there were great debates in Parliament) and also to shew the exactness of the Proceedings in that time.

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Christ condemned all Marriages upon Divorces, *except in the case of* ^{The Grounds on which he was suffered to marry} *Adultery*; which seemed manifestly to allow them in that Case. And though this is not mentioned by *St. Mark*, and *St. Luke*, yet it is enough that *St. Matthew* has it. Christ also defined the state of Marriage, to be that in which *two are one flesh*; so that when either of the two hath broken that Union, by becoming one with another Person, then the Marriage is dissolved. And it is oft repeated in the Gospel, That married Persons have *power over one anothers Bodies*, and that they are to give *due benevolence* to each other; which is plainly contrary to this way of separation without dissolving the Bond. *St. Paul* putting the case of an Unbeliever departing from the Partner in Marriage, says, *The Believing Party, whether Brother or Sister, is not under Bondage* in such a case: which seems a discharge of the Bond in case of Desertion: and certainly Adultery is yet of a higher nature. But against this was alledged on the other side, That our Saviours allowing Divorce in the Case of Adultery was only for the *Jews*, to whom it was spoken, to mitigate the cruelty of their Law, by which the Adulterers was to be put to death; and therefore he yielded Divorce in that Case, to mitigate the severity of the other Law. But the Apostle writing to the *Gentile Christians*, at *Rome*, and *Corinth*, said, The Wife was *tied by the Law to the Husband, as long as he lived*. And that other general Rule, *Whom God has joyued together let no Man put asunder*, seems against the dissolving the Bond. To this it was answered, That it is against separating as well as dissolving: that the Wife is *tied to her Husband*; but if he ceaseth to be her Husband, that tie is at an end: That our Saviour left the Wife at liberty to divorce her Husband for Adultery, though the Law of *Moses* had only provided, That the Adulterous Wife, and he who defiled her, were to die, but the Husband who committed Adultery was not so punishable; therefore our Saviour had by that Provision declared the Marriage to be clearly dissolved by Adultery.

From hence they went to examine the Authorities of the Fathers, *Hermes* was for putting away the Adulterers, but so as to receive her again upon repentance. *Origen* thought the Wife could not marry again after divorce. *Tertullian* allowed Divorce, and though it dissolved the Marriage as much as Death did. *Epiphanius* did also allow it. And *Ambrose* in one Place allows the Husband to marry after divorce for adultery, though he condemns it always in the Wife. *Basil* allowed it on either side upon Adultery. *Jerome*, who condemns the Wife's marrying, though her Husband were guilty of Adultery; and who disliked the Husbands marrying again, though he allowed him to divorce upon Adultery, or the suspicion of it; yet when his Friend *Fabius* had married after a Divorce, he excuses it, saying it was better for him to marry than to burn. *Chrysostom* allowed a second Marriage after Divorce. And

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And so did *Chrysostome*, though he condemned them in Women so divorcing. *St. Austin* was sometimes for a Divorce, but against Marriage upon it; yet in his *Retractions*, he writ doubtfully of his former Opinion. In the *Civil Law*, the Christian Emperors allowed the power of Divorcing both to Husband and Wife, with the right of marrying afterwards. Nor did they restrain the Grounds of Divorce only to Adultery, but permitted it in many other Cases; as if the Wife were guilty of Treason, had treated for another Husband, had procured an Abortion, had been whole nights abroad, or had gone to see the publick Plays without leave from her Husband; besides many other Particulars. Against which, none of the *Fathers* had writ, nor endeavoured to get them repealed. All these Laws were confirmed by *Justinian*, when he gathered the Laws into a Body, and added to it where they were defective. In the *Canon Law*, it is provided, that he whose Wife is defiled must not be denied lawful Marriage. Pope *Gregory* denied a second Marriage to the guilty Person, but allowed it to the Innocent after Divorce. Pope *Zachary* allowed the Wife of an Incestuous Adulterer to be married, if she could not contain. In the *Canon Law*, the Council of *Tribury* is cited, for allowing the like Priviledge to the Husbands. By the Council of *Elvira*, a Man that finds that his Wife intends to kill him, may put her away, and marry another; but she must never marry. The Council of *Arles* recommended it to Husbands, whose Wives were found in Adultery, not to marry during their Lives. And that at *Elvira* denied the Sacrament, to a Wife who left an Adulterous Husband, and married another; but she might have the Communion when her first Husband died: So the second Marriage was accounted good, but only indecent. But the Council of *Milevi* forbids both Man and Wife to marry after Divorce. All these were collected by *Cranmer*, with several very important Reflections on most of the Quotations out of the Fathers. With these, there is another Paper, given in by one who was against the dissolving the Bond, in which there are many Quotations brought both from the *Canon Law*, and the Fathers, for the contrary Opinion. But most of the Fathers there cited are of the latter Ages; in which the State of Cœlibate had been so exalted by the Monks, that, in all doubtful Cases, they were resolved still to prefer that Opinion which denied Liberty for further Marriages. In conclusion, this whole Question was divided into eight Queries, which were put to some learned Men; (who these were does not appear) and they returned their Answer in favour of the second Marriage, which will be found in the *Collection*. In the end Sentence was given, allowing the second Marriage in that Case, and by consequence confirming the Marquess of *Northampton's* Marriage to his second Wife, who upon that was suffered to cohabit with him. Yet four years after, he was advised to have a special act of Parliament for confirming this Sentence; of which mention shall be made in its due time and Place.

Number 20.

Some further
advance in the
Reformation.

The next thing that came under consideration, was the great contradiction that was in most of the Sermons over *England*. Some were very earnest to justify and maintain all the old Rites that yet remained; and others were no less hot to have them laid aside. So that in *London* especially, the People were wonderfully distracted by this variety among their Teachers. The Ceremonies of *Candlemass*, and their observance

of

of *Lent*, with the Rites used on *Palm-Sunday*, *Good-Friday*, and *Easter*, were now approaching. Those that were against them, condemned them as superstitious Additions to the Worship of God, invented in the dark Ages, when an outward Pageantry had been the chief thing that was looked after. But others set out the good use that might be made of these things, and taught that, till they were abolished by the Kings Authority, they ought to be still observed. In a Visitation that had been made, (when I cannot learn, only it seems to have been about the end of King *Henry's* Reign) it had been declared that Fasting in *Lent* was only a Positive Law. Several Directions were also given about the use of the Ceremonies, and some hints as if they were not to be long continued: and all Wakes, and Plough-Mondays, were suppressed, since they drew great Assemblies of People together, which ended in drinking and quarrelling. These I have also inserted in the *Collection*, having had a Copy of the Articles left at the Visitation of the Deanary of *Doncaster*, communicated to me by the favour of a most learned Physician, and curious Antiquary, Dr. *Nathaniel Johnston*, who sent me this with several other Papers out of his generous zeal for contributing every thing in his power to the perfecting of this Work.

The Country People generally loved all these Shews, Processions, and Assemblies, as things of diversion: and judged it a dull business, only to come to Church for Divine Worship, and the hearing of Sermons: therefore they were much delighted with the gayity and cheerfulness of those Rites. But others, observing that they kept up all these things, just as the Heathens did their Plays and Festivities for their Gods, judged them contrary to the gravity and simplicity of the Christian Religion, and therefore were earnest to have them removed. This was so effectually represented to the Council, by *Cranmer*, that an Order was sent to him about it. He sent it to *Bonner*, who, being Dean of the Colledge of Bishops in the Province of *Canterbury*, was to transmit, all such Orders over the whole Province. By it, the carrying of Candles on *Candlemas* day, of Ashes on *Ash-Wednesday*, and Palms on *Palm-Sunday*, were forbidden to be used any longer. And this was signified by *Bonner*, to *Thirleby* Bishop of *Westminster*, on the 28th. of *June*, as appears by the Register.

After this, on the 6th. of *February*, a Proclamation was issued out against such as should on the other hand rashly innovate, or perswade the People from the old accustomed Rites, under the Pains of Imprisonment, and other Punishments at the Kings pleasure; excepting only the formerly mentioned Rites; to which are added, the creeping to the Cross on *Good-Friday*, taking Holy Bread and Water, and any other that should be afterwards at any time certified by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to the other Bishops in the Kings Name to be laid aside. And for preventing the mischiefs occasioned by rash Preachers, none were to preach without Licence from the King or his Visitors, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, or the Bishop of the Diocese, where they lived; excepting only Incumbents preaching in their own Parishes. Those who preached otherwise were to be imprisoned till Order were given for their punishment: and the inferiour Magistrates were required to see to the execution of these Orders. This Proclamation, which is in the *Collection*, was necessary for giving Authority to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

1548.

A Proclamation
on against
those who in-
novated with-
out Authority.

Number 22.

Letters

1548.

Letters which were censured as a great presumption for him without any publick Order to appoint changes in Sacred Rites. Some observed, that the Council went on making Proclamations with arbitrary Punishments, though the Act was repealed that had formerly given so great Authority to them. To this it was answered, That the King by his Supremacy might still in matters of Religion make new Orders, and add Punishments upon the Transgressors; yet this was much questioned, though universally submitted to.

The general
taking away
of all Images.
March 22.

Processionale
in Feste Inno-
centium.

On the 11th. of Feb. there was a Letter sent from the Council to the Arch-bishop for a more considerable Change. There were every where great Heats about the removing of Images which had been abused to superstition: Some affirming, and others denying, that their Images had been so abused. There were in the Churches some Images of so strange a nature, that it could not be denied that they had been abused. Such was the Image of the Blessed Trinity, which was to be censured, on the day of the *Innocents*, by him that was made the Bishop of the Children: This shews it was used on other days, in which it is like it was censured by the Bishop where he was present. How this Image was made, can only be gathered from the Prints that were of it at that time: In which the Father is represented sitting on the one Hand as an old Man with a Triple Crown and Rayes about him, the Son on the other hand as a young Man with a Crown and Rayes, and the Blessed Virgin between them, and the Emblem of the Holy Ghost a Dove spread over her Head. So it is represented in a fair Book of the Hours according to the use of *Sarum*, printed *Anno* 1526. The impiety of this did raise horror in most Mens Minds, when that unconceivable Mystery was so grossly expressed. Besides, the taking the Virgin into it, was done in pursuance to what had been said by some blasphemous Friars, of her being assumed into the Trinity. In another Edition of these it is represented by three Faces formed in one Head. These things had not been set up by any publick Warrant; but having been so long in practice, they stood upon the general Plea that was for keeping the Traditions of the Church: for it was said, that the Promises made to the Church were the same in all Ages, and that therefore every Age of the Church had an equal Right to them. But for the other Images, it was urged against them, that they had been all consecrated with such Rites and Prayers, that it was certain they were every one of them superstitious; since it was prayed, that they might be so blessed and consecrated, that whosoever worshipped them might by the Saints Prayers and Aid, whom they represented, obtain every thing that he desired. So they resolved on an entire removal of all Images. And the Protector with the Council wrote to *Cranmer*, that for putting an end to all these Contests, and that the living Images of Christ might not quarrel about the dead ones, it was concluded they should all of them be taken down: and he was to give order to see this executed in his own Diocess, and to transmit it to the other Bishops to be in like manner executed by them. There were also Orders given, That all rich Shrines, with all the Plate belonging to them should be brought in to the Kings use, and that the Cloaths that covered them should be converted to the use of the Poor. This gave *Gardner*, and those of his Party; a new affliction. For in his Diocess he had been always on their side that were for keeping up the Images. But they all submitted, and

to the Churches were emptied of all these Pictures and Statues which had been for divers Ages the chief Objects of the Peoples Worship.

1548.

And now the greatest care of the Reformers was, to find the best Men they could, who should be licensed by the Kings Authority to preach. To whom the Council sent a Letter in the beginning of May, intimating, that by the restraint put on preaching, they only intended to put an end to the rash contentions of indiscreet Men, and not to extinguish the lively preaching of the pure Word of God, made after such sort, as the Holy Ghost should for the time put in the Preachers mind: They are therefore charged to preach sincerely, and with that caution and moderation, that the time and Place shall require: and particularly that they should not set on the People to make Innovations, or to run before those whom they should obey; but should perswade them to amend their Lives, and keep the Commandments of God, and to forsake all their old Superstitions. And for the things not yet changed, they ought to wait patiently, and to conclude that the Prince did either allow, or suffer them: and in delivering things to the People, they were ordered to have a special regard to what they could bear.

Some Re-
straints put
on Preachers.
May 4.

Number.

But this temper was not observed. Some plainly condemned it as a political patching, and said, Why should not all these Superstitions be swept away at once? To this it was answered by others, That as Christ forbade the pulling up of the Tares, lest with them they should pull up good Wheat; so if they went too forwardly to the changing of things, they might in that haste change much for the worse: and great care was to be had not to provoke the People too much, lest in the infancy of the King, or in some ill conjuncture of Affairs, they might be disposed to make Commotions. And the compliances that both Christ and his Apostles gave to the *Jews*, when they were to abrogate the Mosaical Law, were often insisted on. It was said, if they who were cloathed with a Power of Miracles, for the more effectual conviction of the World, condescended so far; it was much more reasonable for them, who had not that Authority over Mens Consciences, and had no immediate signs to shew from Heaven, to perswade the People rather by degrees to forsake their old mistakes, and not to precipitate things by an over hast.

This Winter there was a Committee of selected Bishops and Divines appointed for examining all the Offices of the Church, and for reforming them. Some had been in King *Henry's* time employed in the same business, in which they had made a good progress, which was now to be brought to a full perfection. Therefore the Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Bishops of *London*, *Duresme*, *Worcester*, *Norwich*, *Salisbury*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Carlisle*, *Bristol*, *St. Davids*, *Ely*, *Lincoln*, *Chichester*, *Hereford*, *Westminster*, and *Rocheſter*, with Doctors *Cox*, *May*, *Taylor*, *Heins*, *Robertſon*, and *Redmayn*, were appointed to examine all the Offices of the Church, and to consider how far any of them needed amendment.

Bishops and
Divines exa-
mine the Of-
fices of the
Church.

The thing they first examined was the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*; which being the chief Symbole of Christian Communion, was thought to deserve their chief care. And here they managed their Enquiries in the same manner that was used in the former Reign; in which when any thing was considered in order to a Change, it was put into several Que-
ries,

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Number 25.

The Corruptions in the Office of the Communion examined.

It is certain there was no part of Worship more corrupted than this Sacrament was. The first Institution was so plain and Simple, that, except in the Words, *This is my Body*, there is nothing which could give a colour to the corruptions that were afterwards brought in. The Heathens had their Mysteries, which the Priests concealed with hard and dark words, and dressed up with much Pomp; and thereby supported their own esteem with the People; since they looked on these to be of so high a nature, that all those who had the ordering of them were accounted Sacred Persons. The Primitive Christians retained the first simplicity of Divine Institutions for some Ages. But afterwards, as their number encreased, they made use of some things not unlike those the Heathens had practised, to draw the *Gentiles* more easily into their belief; since external shews make deep impressions in the Vulgar. And those that were thus brought over, might afterwards come to like these things for their own sakes, which were at first made use of only to gain the World. Others finding some advantage in such Services, that were easie, and yet appeared very pompous, that they might cover great faults by countenancing and complying with the follies that were in vogue contributed liberally to the improvement of them. And after the *Roman* Emperors turned Christian, much of that vast Wealth, of which they and their People were Masters, was brought into the Church, and applied

applied to these Superstitions. Yet it became not so universally corrupted, till by the Invasion of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and other barbarous Nations, the *Roman* Empire was broken and divided into many Kingdoms. These new Conquerors were rude and ignorant, wholly given to sensible things, and Learning being universally extinguish'd, gross Superstition took place; for more refined Superstitions would not serve the turn of darker Ages: But as they grew in Ignorance they continued in the Belief and Practice of more absurd things.

The high opinion they justly had of this Sacrament being much raised by the Belief of the Corporal Presence of Christ in it, which came in afterwards, then the dull Wits of the Priests, and the Wealth of the People, were employed to magnifie it with all the pomp possible. All the Vessels and Garments belonging to it were consecrated and anointed with much devotion; the whole Office was in an unknown Tongue. A great part of it was to be secretly whispered, to make it appear the more wonderful charm. But chiefly the words of Consecration were by no means to be heard by the People; it being fabled, that when the words were spoken aloud, some Shepherds had repeated them over their Bread, which was thereupon presently turned into Flesh. Besides that it was but suitable that a Change which was not to be seen, should be made by words not to be heard. The Priest was not to approach it, but after so many Bowings, Crossings, and Kissings of the Altar; and all the while he went through with the Office, the People were only now and then blessed by a short Blessing, *The Lord be with you*, and even that in *Latin*. Then after Consecration, the Bread was lifted up, and all the People worshipped it, as if Christ had appeared in the Clouds. It was oft exposed on the Altar, and carried about in Processions, with the Ceremonies of carrying *Flambeaux* before it, which the greatest Persons accounted it an Honour to do; the Priest that carried it all the while going pompously under a rich Canopy.

This was also thought most effectual for all the accidents of life. And whereas it was first only intended to be a Commemoration and Communion of the Death of Christ; that seemed almost forgotten, but it was applied to all other ends imaginable. That which brought in most Custom was, *Trentals*, which was a Method of delivering Souls out of Purgatory, by saying 30 Masses a year for them. And whereas it was observed, that Men on the Anniversaries of their Birth-days, Wedding, or other happy accidents of their Lives, were commonly in better humour; so that favours were more easily obtained; they seemed to have had the same opinion of God and Christ. So they ordered it, that three of these should be said on *Christmas* day, three on *Epiphany*, three on the *Purification* of the Blessed Virgin, three on the *Annunciation*, three on the *Resurrection*, three on the *Ascension*, three on *Whit-Sunday*, three on *Trinity-Sunday*, three on the *Assumption* of the Blessed Virgin, and three on her *Birth-day*; hoping that these days would be the *Mellia tempora*, when God and Christ, or the Blessed Virgin, would be of easier access, and more ready to grant their desires. Yet the most unaccountable part of all, was the Masses on the Saints days, praying that the intercession of the Saint might make the Sacrifice acceptable, that the Saint, for whose Honour these Oblations were solemnly offered, would by his Merits procure them to be accepted, and that the Sacrifice might bring

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to them a greater Indulgence, being offered up by the Suffrages of the Saint. If the Sacrifice was of Jesus Christ, and was of its own Nature expiatory, how this should be done in honour to a Saint, and become of greater virtue by his Intercession, was a thing very hard to be understood. There were many Pieces of ridiculous Pageantry also used in it, as the laying the Host in the Sepulchre they made for Christ on *Good Friday*; and that not only the Candles that were to burn at the *Easter Celebration*, but the very Fire that was to kindle them, was particularly consecrated on *Easter Eve*. Some Masses were believed to have a peculiar Virtue in them. For in the Mass-Book printed at *London, Anno 1550.* there is a Mass for avoiding sudden death; which Pope *Clement* made in the Colledge with all his Cardinals, and granted to all who heard it 270 days of Indulgence, charging them that they should hold in their Hand a burning Candle all the while it was saying, and for five days after should likewise hold a Candle, kneeling during the whole Mass: and to those that did so, sudden death should do no harm. And it is added, that this was certain, and approved, in *Avignion*, and all the neighbouring Places. All this I have opened the more largely, to let the Reader plainly understand, what things were then in this Sacrament that required Reformation: and I have gathered these things out of the Mass-Book, then most used in *England*, and best known by the Name of the *Missal after the use of Sarum*.

A new Office
for the Com-
munion set
out.

The first step these deputed Bishops and Divines made, was to reform this. But they did not at once mend every thing that required it, but left the Office of the Mass as it was, only adding to it that which made it a Communion. It began first with an Exhortation, to be used the day before, which differs not much from that now used. Only after the advice given concerning Confession, it is added, That such as desired to make auricular Confession, should not censure those who were satisfied with a general Confession to God, and that those who used only Confession to God and to the Church should not be offended with those who used auricular Confession to a Priest; but that all should keep the Rule of civility, every man being satisfied to follow his own Conscience, and not troubling another Man in things not appointed by God. After the Priest received the Sacrament, he was to turn to the People and read an Exhortation to them; the same we now use, only a little varied in words. After that, followed a Denunciation against Sinners, requiring them to be such, and had not repented, to withdraw, lest the Devil enter into them as he did into *Judas*. Then after a little pause, if any would withdraw; there was to follow a short exhortation to a Confession of sins, and Absolution, the very same which we detain. Then those Texts of Scripture were read, which we now follow with the Prayer, *We do not presume*, &c. After this the Sacrament was to be given in both kinds; first to the Ministers present, and then to all the People, with these words, *The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy Body unto Everlasting Life*; and, *The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee, preserve thy Soul unto Everlasting Life*. When all was done, the Congregation was to be dismissed with a Blessing. The Bread which had been formerly used, and every one of the Breads so consecrated was to be broken in two or more pieces; and the People were

taught that there was no difference in the quantity they received, whether it were small, or great, but that in each of them they received the whole Body of Christ. If the Wine, that was at first consecrated, did not serve, the Priest was to consecrate more; but all to be without any Elevation. This Office, being thus finished, was set forth with a Proclamation, reciting, That whereas the Parliament had Enacted that the Communion should be given in both kinds to all the Kings Subjects, it was now ordered to be given in the Form here set forth, and all were required to receive it with due reverence, and Christian behaviour, and with such uniformity as might encourage the King to go on in the setting forth godly Orders for Reformation, which he intended most earnestly to bring to effect by the help of God: Willing his Subjects, not to run before his direction, and so by their rashness to hinder such things; assuring them of the earnest zeal he had to set them forth, hoping they would quietly and reverently tarry for it.

This was published on the 8th. of March, and on the 13th. Books were sent to all the Bishops of England, requiring them to send them to every Parish in their Diocese, that the Curates might have time, both to instruct themselves about it, and to acquaint their People with it; so that by the next Easter it might be universally received in all the Churches of the Nation. This was variously censured. Those that were for the old Superstition, were much troubled to have Confession thus left indifferent, and a general Confession of sins to be used, with which they apprehended the People would for the most part content themselves. In the Scripture there was a Power of Binding and Loosing sins given to the Apostles. And St. James exhorted those to whom he wrote, to confess their faults to one another. Afterwards Penitents came to be reconciled to the Church, when they had given publick scandal, either by their Apostacy, or ill Life, by an open Confession of their sins; and after some time of separation from the other pure Christians in Worship, and an abstinence from the Sacrament, they were admitted again to their share of all the Privileges that were given in common to Christians. But according to the nature of their sins, they were, besides the publick Confession, put under such Rules as might be most proper for curing these ill Inclinations in them; and according to the several Ranks of sins the time and degrees of this Penitence was proportioned. And the Councils that met in the fourth and fifth Centuries made the regulating these penitentiary Canons the chief Subject of their Consultations. In many Churches, there were penitentiary Priests, who were more expert in the knowledge of these Rules, and gave directions about them; which were taken away in Constantinople upon the indiscretion of which one of them had been guilty. For secret sins, there was no obligation to confess, since all the Canons were about publick scandals: yet for these, the devout People generally went to their Priests for their Counsel, but were not obliged to it; and so went to them for the distempers of their Minds, as they did to Physicians for the Diseases of their Bodies.

About the end of the 5th. Century, they began in some Places to have secret Penances; either within Monasteries, or other Places which the Priests had appointed: and upon a secret Confession, and performing the Penance imposed, Absolution was also given secretly: whereas in former times, Confession and Absolution had been performed openly in the Church.

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It is variously censured.

Chiefly that Auricular Confession was laid down.

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Church. In the 7th. Century it was every where practised, that there should be secret Penance for secret sins: which *Theodore* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* did first bring into a Method, and under Rules. But about the end of the 8th. Century, the commutation of Penance, and exchanging it for Money, or other Services to the Church, came to be practised: and then began Pilgrimages to Holy Places, and afterwards the going to the Holy War: and all the severities of Penance were dispensed with to such as undertook these. This brought on a great Relaxation of all ecclesiastical Discipline. Afterwards, Croisadoes came in use, against such Princes as were deposed by Popes: and to these was likewise added, to encourage all to enter into them, that all Rules of Penitence were dispensed with to such as put on that Cross. But Penitence being now no more publick, but only private, the Priests managed it as they pleased, and so by Confession entred into all Mens secrets, and by Absolution had their Consciences so intirely in their Power, that the People were generally governed by them. Yet because the Secular Priests were commonly very ignorant, and were not put under such an association as was needful to manage those designs, for which this was thought an excellent Engine; therefore the Friars were employed every where to hear Confessions, and to give Absolutions. And to bring in Customers to them, two new things were invented. The one was, a Reserving of certain Cases, in which such as were guilty of them could not be absolved but by the Popes, or those deputed by them: and the Friars had faculties in the Popes Name to absolve in these Cases. The other was on some occasion the use of certain new Secrets, by which Men were to obtain great Indulgences; either by saying such Prayers, or performing such Impositions; and these were all trusted to the Friars, who were to trade with them, and bring all the Money they could gather by that means to *Rome*. They being bred up to a voluntary Poverty, and expecting great Rewards for their Industry, sold those Secrets with as much cunning, as Mountebanks use in selling their Tricks: only here was the difference, that the ineffectualness of the Mountebanks Medicines was soon discovered, so their Trade must be but short in one Place; whereas the other could not be so easily found out; the chief Piece of the Religion of those Ages being to believe all that their Priests taught them. Of this sort the Reader will find in the *Collection* an Essay of Indulgences as they were printed in the *Hours* after the use of *Sarum*, which were set down in *English*, though the Prayers be all *Latin*, that so all the People might know the value of such Ware. Those had been all by degrees brought from *Rome*, and put into Peoples Hands, and afterwards laid together in their Offices. By them, Indulgences of many years, Hundreds, Thousands, and Millions of years, and of all sins whatsoever, were granted to such as devoutly said such Collects: but it was always understood that they must confess and be absolved, which is the meaning of those Expressions concerning their being in a *state of Grace*. And so the whole business was a Cheat.

Collection.
Number 26.

And now all this Trade was laid aside, and Confession of secret sins was left to all Mens free choice: since it was certain that the Confession to a Priest was no where enjoined in the Scriptures. It was a reasonable Objection, that as secret Confession and Private Penance had worn out the primitive practice of the publick censuring of scandalous Persons,

so it had been well if the reviving of that Discipline had driven out these later Abuses: but to let that lie unrestored, and yet to let Confession wear out, was to discharge the world of all outward restraints, and to leave them to their full liberty, and so to throw up that Power of Binding and Loosing, which ought to take place, chiefly, in admitting them to the Sacrament. This was confessed to be a great defect, and effectual endeavours were used to retrieve it, though without success: and it was openly declared to be a thing which they would study to repair: But the total disuse of all publick censure had made the Nation so unacquainted with it, that without the effectual concurrence of the Civil Authority, they could not compass it. And though it was acknowledged to be a great disorder in the Church, yet as they could not keep up the necessity of private Confession, since it was not commanded in the Gospel; so the generality of the Clergy being superstitious Men, whose chief influence on the People was by those secret Practices in Confession, they judged it necessary to leave that free to all People, and to represent it as a thing to which they were not obliged, and in the place of that ordered the general Confession to be made in the Church, with the Absolution added to it. For the Power of Binding and Loosing, it was by many thought to be only Declarative; and so to be exercised, when the Gospel was preached, and a General Absolution granted, according to the Ancient Forms. In which Forms, the Absolution was a Prayer that God would absolve; and so it had been still used in the Absolution which was given on *Maundy-Thursdai*: but the Formal Absolution given by the Priest in his own Name, *I absolve thee*, was a late invention to raise their Authority higher, and signified nothing distinct from those other Forms that were anciently used in the Church.

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Others censured the Words in distributing the two kinds in the Lords Supper: the *Body* being given for the preserving the *Body*, and the *Blood* of Christ for preserving the *Soul*. This was thought done on design to possess the People with an high value of the Chalice, as that which preserved their *Souls*; whereas the Bread was only for the preservation of their *Bodies*. But *Cranmer* being ready to change any thing for which he saw good reason, did afterwards so alter it, that in both it was said, *Preserve thy Body and Soul*. And yet it stands so in the Prayer, *We do not presume*, &c. On all this I have digressed so long, because of the importance of the matter, and for satisfying the Scruples that many still have upon the laying aside of Confession in our Reformation.

Commissions were next given to examine the state of the Chantry and Guildable Lands. The Instruction about them will be found in the *Collection*, of which I need give no abstract here, for they were only about the Methods of enquiring into their value, and how they were possessed, or what Alienations had been made of them. Collection Number 27.

The Protector and Council were now in much trouble. The War with Scotland they found was like to grow chargable, since they saw it was supported from France. There was a Rebellion also broke out in Ireland, and the King was much indebted, nor could they expect any Subsidies from the Parliament; in which it had been said that they gave the Chantry Lands that they might be delivered from all Subsidies. Therefore the Parliament was prorogued. Upon this the whole

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Gardiner falls
into new
Troubles.

whole Council did on the 17th. of April unanimously resolve, that it was necessary to sell 5000 l. a year of *Chantry Lands* for raising such a Sum as the Kings occasions required, and Sir *Hen. Mildmay* was appointed to treat about the Sale of them.

The new Communion-Book was received over *England* without any opposition. Only complaints were brought of *Gardiner*, that he did secretly detract from the Kings Proceedings. Upon which the Council took occasion to reflect on all his former behaviour. And here it was remembered, how at first upon his refusing to receive the Kings *Injunctions*, he had been put in the *Fleet*; where he had been as well used, as if it had been his own House; (which is far contrary to his Letters to the Protector, of which mention has been already made) and that he upon promise of Conformity had been discharged. But when he was come home, being forgetful of his Promises; he had raised much strife and contention, and had caused all his Servants to be secretly armed and harnessed, and had put publick affronts on those whom the Council sent down to preach in his Diocess; for in some Places, to disgrace them, he went into the Pulpit before them, and warned the People to beware of such Teachers, and to receive no other Doctrine but what he had taught them. Upon this he had been sent for a second time, but again upon his Promise of Conformity was discharged, and ordered to stay at his own House in *London*. That there he had continued still to meddle in publick Matters, of which being again admonished, he desired that he might be suffered to clear himself of all misrepresentations that had been made of him, in a *Sermon* which he should preach before the King, in which he should openly declare how well he was satisfied with his Proceedings: yet it is added, That in his *Sermon*, where there was a wonderful Audience, he did most arrogantly meddle with some Matters that were contrary to an express command given him both by word of Mouth and by Letters; and in other Matters used such words as had almost raised a great Tumult in the very time, and had spoken very seditiously concerning the Policy of the Kingdom. So they saw that Clemency wrought no good effect on him; and it seeming necessary to terrifie others by their Proceedings with him, he was sent to the *Tower*, and the door of his Closet was sealed up. Thus it is entred in the Council-Book, Signed *E. Somerset, T. Cantuarien. W. St. Johns, J. Russel, and T. Cheyney*. Yet it seems this Order was not Signed when it was made, but some years after. For the Lord *Russel* Signed first *Bedford*, but remembering that at the time when this Order was made he had not that Title, therefore he dashed it out, (but so as it still appears) and Signed, *J. Russel*.

Fox's Acts and
Monuments.

The account that *Gardiner* himself gives of this Business, is, That being discharged upon the Act of Pardon, he was desired to promise that he would set forth the *Homilies*; and a Form was given him to which he should set his Hand; but he, considering of it a fortnight, returned, and said he could not subscribe it: so he was confined to his House. Then *Ridley* and Mr. *Cecil*, (afterwards the great Lord *Burleigh*, Lord Treasurer to Queen *Eliz.* at that time Secretary to the Protector) were sent to him, and so prevailed, that he did set his Hand to it. But upon some Complaints that were made of him, he was sent for after *Whit-Sunday*, and accused, that he had carried Palms, had crept to the Cross, and had a Sepulchre

Sepulchre on *Good-Friday*, which was contrary to the Kings Proclamations: all which he denied, and said, he had and would still give obedience to what the King should command. That of affronting the Kings Preachers was objected to him, to which he answered telling matter of fact how it was done, but he does not in his Writing set it down. Then it was complained, that in a *Sermon* he had said, The Apostles came away rejoycing from *the Council, the Council, the Council*, repeating it thus, to make it seem applicable to himself. This he denied. Then it was objected, That he preached the *Real Presence* in the Sacrament, the Word *Real* not being in Scripture, and so it was not the setting forth the pure Word of God: He said he had not used the Word *Real*, only he had asserted the Presence of Christ, in such words as he had heard the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* dispute for it against *Lambert*, that had been burnt. He was commanded to tarry in *London*; but he desired, that since he was not an Offender, he might be at his liberty. He complained much of the *Songs* made of him, and of the Books written against him, and particularly of one *Philpot* in *Westminster*, whom he accounted a mad Man.

Then he relates, That *Cecil* came to him, and proposed to him to preach before the King, and that he should write his *Sermon*; and also brought him some Notes which he wished him to put in his *Sermon*: he said he was willing to preach, but would not write it, for that was to preach as an Offender: nor would he make use of Notes prepared by other Men. Then he was privately brought to the Protector, none but the Lord *St. John* being present, who shewed him a Paper containing the opinion of some Lawyers, of the Kings Power, and of a Bishops Authority, and of the Punishment of disobeying the King: but he desired to speak with those Lawyers, and said, no subscription of theirs should oblige him to preach otherwise than as he was convinced. The Protector said, he should either do that, or do worse. Secretary *Smith* came to him to press him further in some Points, but what they were is not mentioned. Yet by the other Papers in that Business it appears, they related to the Kings Authority when under Age, and for justifying the Kings proceedings in what had been done about the Ceremonies, and that Auricular Confession was indifferent. So the Contest between him and the Protector ended; and there was no writing required of him; but he left the whole matter to him, so that he should treat plainly of those things mentioned to him by *Cecil*. He chose *St. Peters* day, because the Gospel agreed to his purpose. *Cecil* shewed him some Notes, written with the Kings Hand, of the *Sermons* preached before him; especially what was said of the Duty of a King; and warned him, that when ever he named the King he should add, *and his Council*. To this he made no Answer; for though he thought it wisely done of a King to use his Council, yet being to speak of the Kings Power according to Scripture, he did not think it necessary to add any thing of his Council: and hearing by a confused report some secret matter, he resolved not to meddle with it. Two days before he preached, the Protector sent him a Message, not to meddle with those Questions about the Sacrament; that were yet in controversy among Learned Men; and that therefore he was resolved there should be no publick determination made of them before-hand in the Pulpit. He said, he could not forbear to speak of the *Mistake* for he looked on it as

1548. the chief foundation of Christian Religion: but he doubted not that he should so speak of it, as to give them all content. So the day following the Protector writ to him, (as will be found in the *Collection*) requiring him in the Kings Name, not to meddle with these points, but to preach concerning the Articles given him, and about Obedience, and good Life, which would afford him matter enough for a long *Sermon*, since the other points were to be reserved to a publick Consultation. The Protector added, That he held it a great part of his Duty under the King, not to suffer wilful Persons to dissuade the People from receiving such Truths as should be set forth by others. But *Gardiner* pretended that there was no Controversie about the Presence of Christ. And so the next day he took his Text out of the Gospel for the day, *Thou art Christ*, &c. In his *Sermon* (of which I have seen large Notes) he expressed himself very fully concerning the Popes Supremacy as justly abolished, and the Suppression of Monasteries and Chantries; he approved of the Kings Proceedings; he thought Images might have been well used, but yet they might be well taken away. He approved of the Sacrament in both kinds, and the taking away that great number of Masses satisfactory, and liked well the new Order for the Communion. But he asserted largely the Presence of Christs Flesh and Blood in the Sacrament: Upon which many of the Assembly, that were indiscreetly hot on both sides, cried out, some approving, and others disliking it. Of the Kings Authority under Age, and of the Power of the Council in that Case, he said not a word: and upon that he was imprisoned.

He preached
before the
King.

The occasion of this was, the Popish Clergy began generally to have it spread among them, that though they had acknowledged the Kings Supremacy, yet they had never owned the Councils Supremacy. That the Council could only see to the execution of the Laws and Orders that had been made, but could not make new ones; and that therefore the Supremacy could not be exercised, till the King, in whose Person it was vested, came to be of Age to consider of Matters himself. Upon this, the Lawyers were consulted; who did unanimously resolve, that the Supremacy being annexed to the Regal Dignity, was the same in a King under Age, when it was executed by the Council, that it was in a King at full Age; and therefore, things ordered by the Council now, had the same Authority in Law that they could have when the King did act himself. But this did not satisfy the greater part of the Clergy. Some of whom, by the high Flatteries that had been given to Kings in King *Henry's* time, seemed to fancy that there were degrees of Divine Illumination derived unto Princes, by the anointing them at the Coronation: and these not exerting themselves till a King attained to a ripeness of understanding, they thought the Supremacy was to lie dormant while he was so young. The Protector and Council endeavoured to have got *Gardiner* to declare against this, but he would not meddle in it. How far he might set forward the other Opinion, I do not know. These Proceedings against him were thought too severe, and without Law; but he being generally hated, they were not so much censured, as they had been, if they had fallen on a more acceptable Man.

And thus were the Orders made by the Council generally obeyed; many being terrified with the usage *Gardiner* met with, from which others inferred what they might look for, if they were refractory when so great a Bishop was so treated.

The

The next thing *Cranmer* set about, was the compiling of a *Catechism* 1548. or large instruction of young Persons in the Grounds of the Christian Religion. In it, he reckons the two first Commandments but one; though, he says, many of the Ancients divided them in two. But the division was of no great consequence, so no part of the Decalogue were suppressed by the Church. He shewed that the excuses the Papists had for Images, were no other than what the Heathens brought for their *idolatry*; who also said, they did not worship the Image, but that only which was represented by it. He particularly takes notice of the Image of the Trinity. He shews how St. *Peter* would not suffer *Cornelius*, and the Angel would not suffer St. *John* to worship them. The believing that there is a vertue in one Image more than in another, he accounts plain Idolatry. *Ezekias* broke the Brazen Serpent, when abused, though it was a Type or Image of Christ, made by Gods command, to which a miraculous Vertue had been once given. So now there was good reason to break Images, when they had been so abused to superstition and Idolatry; and when they gave such scandal to *Jews* and *Mahometans*, who generally accounted the *Christians* Idolaters on that account. He asserts, besides the two Sacraments, of Baptism, and the Lords Supper, the power of reconciling Sinners to God, as a third; and fully owns the Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests; and wishes that the Canons and Rites of it publick Penence were again restored; and exhorts much to Confession, and the Peoples dealing with their Pastors about their Consciences, that so they might, upon knowledge, bind and loose according to the Gospel. Having finished this easie, but most useful work, he dedicated it to the King. And in his *Epistle* to him, complains of the great neglect, that had been in former times, of *Catechising*; and that *Confirmation* had not been rightly administred, since it ought to be given only to these of Age, who understood the Principles of the Christian Doctrine, and did upon knowledge, and with sincere minds, renew their Baptismal Vow. From this it will appear, that from the beginning of this Reformation, the practice of the *Roman* Church in the matter of Images was held Idolatrous. *Cranmer's* zeal for restoring the Penitentiary Canons is also clear: and it is plain, that he had now quite laid aside those singular opinions which he formerly held of the Ecclesiastical Functions; for now, in a Work which was wholly his own, without the concurrence of any others, he fully sets forth their Divine Institution.

A Collection of all the Offices of the Church is set about.

All these things made way for a greater Work, which these selected Bishops and Divines, who had laboured in the setting forth of the Office of the Communion, were now preparing; which was the entire Reformation of the whole Service of the Church. In order to this, they brought together all the Offices used in *England*. In the *Southern* Parts, those after the use of *Sarum* were universally received, which were believed to have been compiled by *Osfund* Bishop of *Sarum*. In the *North* of *England*, they had other Offices, after the use of *York*. In *South-Wales* they had them after the use of *Hereford*. In *North-Wales* after the use of *Bangor*. And in *Lincoln*, another sort of an Office proper to that See.

In the primitive Church, when the extraordinary is ceased, the Bishops of the several Churches put their Offices and Rites into such a Method,

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Method, as was nearest to what they had heard or remembered from the Apostles. And these *Liturgies* were called by the Apostles Names from whose Forms they had been composed; as that at *Jerusalem* carried the Name of St. *James*, and that of *Alexandria* the Name of St. *Mark*; though those Books that we have now under these Names are certainly so interpolated, that they are of no great Authority: But in the fourth *Century* we have these *Liturgies* first mentioned. The Council of *Laodicea* appointed the same Office of Prayers to be used in the Mornings and Evenings. The Bishops continued to draw up new Additions, and to put old Forms into other Methods. But this was left to every Bishops care, nor was it made the Subject of any publick Consultation, till St. *Austins* time; when in their dealings with Hereticks, they found they took advantages from some of the Prayers that were in some Churches. Upon this he tells us, it was ordered, that there should be no Prayers used in the Church, but upon common advice: after that the *Liturgies* came to be more carefully considered. Formerly the Worship of God was a pure and simple thing, and so it continued, till Superstition had so infected the Church that those Forms were thought too naked, unless they were put under more Artificial Rules, and dressed up with much Ceremony. *Gregory* the Great was the first that took much care to make the Church Musick very regular, and he did also put the *Liturgies* in another Method than had been formerly used. Yet he had no such fondness of his own composures; but left it to *Austin* the Monk, whom he sent over into *England*, when he consulted him in it, either to use the *Roman* or *French* Rituals, or any other, as he should find they were most likely to edifie the People. After this, in most Sees there were great variations; for as any Prelate came to be Canonized, or held in high esteem by the People, some private *Collets* or particular Forms that he had used, were practised in his, or perhaps, as his Fame spread in the neighbouring Dioceses. In every Age there were notable Additions made: and all the Writers almost, in the 8th. and 9th. *Centuries*, employed their Fancies to find out mystical significations for every Rite that was then used; and so, as a new Rite was added, it was no hard matter to add some Mystery to it. This had made the Offices swell out of measure, and there was a great variety of them, *Missals*, *Breviaries*, *Rituals*, *Pontificals*, *Portoises*, *Pies*, *Graduals*, *Antiphonals*, *Psalteries*, *Flours*, and a great many more. Every Religious Order had likewise their peculiar Rites, with the Saints days that belonged to their Order, and Services for them; and the understanding how to officiate was become so hard a piece of the Trade, that it was not easie to learn it exactly, without a long practice in it. So now it was resolved to correct and examine these.

It was resolved there should be a new Liturgy.

I do not find it was ever brought under consideration, whether they should compose a Form for all the Parts of Divine Worship, or leave it to the sudden and extemporary heats of those who were to officiate, which ~~some~~ have called since that time, The worshipping by the Spirit: Of this way of serving God, they did not then dream; much less that the appointing of Forms of Prayer was an encroaching on the Kingly Office of Christ, but thought, what ever praying in the Spirit might have been in the Apostles time, (where yet every man brought his Psalms, which are a sort of Prayers, as well as Praises, and these look like some
written

written Composures, as St. Paul expresses it) that now to pray with warm affection and sincere devotion was Spiritual Worship: and that where it was the same thing that was to be daily asked of God, the using the same expressions, was the sign of a steady devotion, that was fixed on the thing prayed for; whereas the heat that new words raised, looked rather like a warmth in the fancy. Nor could it agree with the Principles of a Reformation, that was to devest the Church-men of that unlimited Authority which they had formerly exercised over Mens Consciences, to leave them at liberty to make the People pray after them, as they pleased; this being as great a resignation of the People, when their devotion depended on the sudden heats of their Pastors, as the former Superstition had made of their Faith and Conscience to them. So it being resolved to bring the whole Worship of God under set Forms, they set one General Rule to themselves, (which they afterwards declared) of changing nothing for novelties sake, or meerly because it had been formerly used. They resolved to retain such things as the Primitive Church had practised, cutting off such abuses as the later ages had grafted on them, and to continue the use of such other things, which, though they had been brought in not so early, yet were of good use to beget devotion; and were so much recommended to the People by the practice of them, that the laying these aside would perhaps have alienated them from the other changes they made. And therefore they resolved to make no change without very good and weighty reasons. In which they considered the practice of our Saviour; who did not only comply with the Rites of Judaism himself, but even the Prayer he gave to his Disciples, was framed according to their Forms; and his two great Institutions of Baptism, and the Eucharist, did consist of Rites that had been used among the Jews. And since he who was delivering a new Religion, and was authorized in the highest manner that ever any was, did yet so far comply with received Practices, as from them to take those which he sanctified for the use of his Church; it seemed much fitter for those who had no such extraordinary warrant to give them Authority in what they did, when they were reforming abuses, to let the World see, they did it not from the wanton desire of change, or any affectation of novelty: and with those resolutions they entred on their Work.

In the search of the former Offices, they found an infinite deal of superstition, in the Consecrations, of Water, Salt, Bread, Incense, Candles, Fire, Bells, Churches, Images, Altars, Crosses, Vessels, Garments, Palms, Flowers; all looked like the Rites of *Heathenism*, and seemed to spring from the same Fountain. When the Water or Salt were blessed, it was expressed to be to this end, that they might be health both to Soul and Body, and Devils (who might well laugh at these tricks which they had taught them) were adjured not to come to any place where they were sprinkled: and the Holy Bread was blessed, to be a defence against all Diseases, and snares of the Devil: and the Holy Incense, that Devils might not come near the smoak of it, but that all who smelt at it might perceive the Vertue of the Holy Ghost: and the Ashes were blessed so, that all who were covered with them, might deserve to obtain the remission of their sins. All those things had drawn the People to such confidence in them, that they generally thought that without those harder terms of true holiness, they might upon such conversations

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observances be sure of Heaven. So all these they resolved to cast out, as things which had no warrant in Scripture, and were vain devices to draw Men away from a lively application to God through Christ, according to the method of the Gospel. Then the many Rites in Sacramental Actions were considered, all which had swelled up to an infinite heap. And as some of these, which had no foundation in Scripture, were thrown out; so the others were brought back to a greater simplicity. In no part of Religion was the corruption of the former Offices more remarkable, than in the Priests granting Absolution to the Living, and the Dead. To such as confessed, the Absolution was thus granted; *I absolve thee in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. To which this was added. And I grant to thee that all the Indulgences, given, or to be given thee, by any Prelate, with the Blessings of them, all the Sprinklings of Holy Water, all the Devout Beatings of thy Breast, the Contritions of thy Heart, this Confession, and all thy other devout Confessions, all thy Fastings, Abstinencies, Almsgivings, Watchings, Disciplines, Prayers, and Pilgrimages, and all the good thou hast done, or shall do, and all the evils thou hast suffered, or shall suffer, for God; the Passions of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Merits of the Glorious and Blessed Virgin Mary, and of all other Saints, and the suffrages of all the Holy Catholick Church, turn to thee for the remission of these, and all other thy sins, the increase of thy Merits, and the attainment, of Everlasting Rewards.* When Extream Unction was gived to dying Persons, they applied it to the Ears, Lips, Nose, and other Parts, with this Prayer; *By this Holy Unction, and his own most tender Mercy, and by the Intercession of the Blessed Virgin, and all the Saints, may God pardon thee whatever thou hast sinned, by thy Hearing, Speaking, or Smelling, and so in the other Parts.* And when the dead Body was laid in the Grave, this Absolution was said over it; *The Lord Jesus Christ, who gave to St. Peter and his other Disciples power to bind and loose, absolve thee from all the guilt of thy sins; and in so far as is committed to my weakness, be thou absolved before the Tribunal of our Lord, and may thou have Eternal Life, and live for evermore.* This was thought the highest abuse possible; when in giving the hopes of Heaven, and the pardon of sins, which were of all the other parts of Religion the most important, there were such mixtures: and that which the Scriptures had taught could be only attained by *Jesus Christ*, and that upon the sincere belief and obedience of his Gospel, was now ascribed to so many other procuring Causes. These things had possessed the World with that conceit that there was a trick for saving Souls, besides that plain method which Christ had taught; and that the Priests had the secret of it in their Hands; so that those who would not come under the Yoak of Christ, and be saved that way, needed only to apply themselves to Priests, and purchase their favour, and the business would be done.

There were two other changes, which run through the whole Offices. The one was, The translating them into a Vulgar Tongue. The Jewish Worship was either in *Hebrew*, or, after the Captivity, in the *Syriack*, the Vulgar Tongues of *Palestine*. The Apostles always officiated in the Tongues that were best understood: So that *St. Paul* did copiously censure those who in Prayers or Psalms, used any Language that was not understood. And, *Origen*, *Basil*, with all the Fathers that had occasion to mention this,

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this, took notice, that every one in their own Tongue worshipped God. After the renting of the *Roman Empire* by the *Goths*, and other barbarous Nations, the *Roman Tongue* did slowly mix with their Tongues, till it was much changed, and altered from it self by degrees; yet it was so long a doing that, that it was not thought necessary to translate the Liturgy into their Languages. But in the ninth Century, when the *Slavons* were converted, it being desired that they might have Divine Offices in their own Language; while some opposed it, a Voice was said to be heard, *Let every Tongue praise God*; Upon which, *Pope John the 8th.* writ to *Methodius* their Bishop, that it might be granted, and founded it on *St. Pauls Epist.* to the *Cor.* and on these words of *David*, *Let every Tongue praise the Lord.* And in the fourth Council of *Lateran* it was decreed, that Bishops who lived in Places where they were mixed with *Greeks*, should provide fit Priests for performing Divine Offices according to the Rites and Language of those to whom they ministered. But the *Roman Church*, though so merciful to the *Greeks*, and *Slavons*, was more cruel to the rest of *Europe*; and since only *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*, had been written on the Cross of Christ by *Pilate*, they argued that these Languages were thereby consecrated: though it is not easie to apprehend what Holiness could be derived into these Tongues by *Pilate*, who ordered these Inscriptions. It was also pretended, that it was a part of the Communion of Saints, that every where the Worship should be in the same Tongue. But the truth was, they had a mind to raise the value of the Priestly Function, by keeping all Divine Offices in a Tongue not understood; which in People otherwise well seasoned with superstition, might have that effect; but it did very much alienate the rest of the World from them. There was also a vast number of Holy-days, formerly observed, with so many Prayers and Hymns belonging to them, and so many Lessons that were to be read; which were many of them such impudent Forgeries, that the whole *Breviary* and *Missal* being full of these, a great deal was to be left out. There is in the whole *Breviary* scarce one Saint, but the Lessons concerning him contain some ridiculous Legend, such as indeed could not be well read in a Vulgar Tongue without the scorn and laughter of the Hearers; and for almost part the Prayers and Hymns do relate to these lying Stories. Many of the Prayers and Hymns were also in such a Style, that the pardon of Sin, Grace, and Heaven, were immediately desired from the Saints; as if these things had come from their Bounty, or by their Merits; or were given by them only, of which the Reader shall have a little tast in the *Collection*, in some of the Addresses made to them.

Collection.
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The Reformers having thus considered the corruptions of the former Offices, were thereby better prepared to frame new ones. But the Priests had officiated in some Garments, which were appropriated to that use as Surplices, Copes, and other Vestments; and it was long under consideration whether these should continue. It was objected, that these Garments had been parts of the Vestment of the Mass, and had been superstitiously abused, only to serve out with the more pomp. On the other hand it was argued, That as White was anciently the colour of the Priests Garment, so the Mitre and crozier, which was used in the *African Churches* in the fourth century, and in which was a natural expression of the sun and moon, were used by the *Eastern* besides the

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Clergy were then generally extream poor, so that they could scarce afford themselves decent Cloaths; the People also running from the other Extream of submitting too much to the Clergy, were now as much enclined to despise them, and to make light of the Holy Function; so that if they should officiate in their own mean Garments, it might make the Divine Offices grow also into contempt. And therefore, it was resolved to continue the use of them; and it was said, that their being blessed, and used superstitiously, gave as strong an Argument against the use of Churches, and Bells; but that St. Paul had said, *That every Creature of God was good*, and even the Meat of the Sacrifice offered to an Idol, than which there could be no greater abuse, might lawfully be eaten; therefore they saw no necessity because of a former abuse to throw away Habits, that had so much decency in them, and had been formerly in use.

In the compiling the Offices, they began with Morning and Evening Prayer. These were put in the same Form they are now; only there was no Confession nor Absolution; the Office beginning with the Lords Prayer. In the Communion Service, the Ten Commandments were not said, as they are now; but in other things, it was very near what it is now. All that had been in the Order of the Communion formerly mentioned was put into it. The Offertory was to be made of Bread and Wine mixed with Water. Then was said the Prayer for the state of Christs Church, in which they gave thanks to God for his wonderful Grace declared in his Saints, in the blessed Virgin, the Patriarchs, Apostles, Prophets, and Martyrs; and they commended the Saints departed to Gods Mercy and Peace, that at the day of the Resurrection we with them might be set on Christs Right Hand. To this, the consecratory Prayer which we now use, was joyned as a part of it; only with these words that are since left out, *With thy Holy Spirit vouchsafe to Bless, and Sancttifie, these thy Gifts and Creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son, &c.* To the Consecration was also joyned the Prayer of Thanksgiving now used. After the Consecration, all Elevation was forbidden, which had been first used as a Rite expressing how Christ was lifted up on the Cross; but was, after the belief of the Corporal Presence, made use of to shew the Sacrament, that the People might all fall down and worship it. And it was ordered, That the whole Office of the Communion, except the Consecratory Prayer, should be used on all Holy-days, when there was no Communion, to put People in mind of it, and of the Sufferings of Christ. The Bread was to be unleavened, round, but no print on it, and somewhat thicker than it was formerly. And though it was anciently put in the Peoples Hands, yet because some might carry it away, and apply it to superstitious uses, it was ordered to be put by the Priest into their Mouths. It is clear that Christ delivered it into the Hands of the Apostles, and it so continued for many Ages, as appears by several remarkable Stories of Holy Men carrying it with them in their Journeys. In the Greek Church where the Bread and Wine were mingled together, some began to think it more decent to receive it in little Spoons of Gold, than in their Hands; but that was condemned by the Council in Trullo: Yet soon after they began in the Latin Church to appoint Men to receive it with their Hands, but Women to take it in a Linnen

Linnen Cloth, which was called their *Dominical*. But when the belief of the Corporeal Presence was received, then a new way of receiving was invented among other things to support it: the People were now no more to touch that which was conceived to be the Flesh of their Saviour, and therefore the Priests Thumb and Fingers were particularly anointed, as a necessary disposition for so holy a Contact, and so it was by them put into the Mouths of the People. A *Letany* was also gathered, consisting of many short Petitions, interrupted by Suffrage between them: and was the same that we still use, only they had one Suffrage that we have not, to be delivered from the tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome*, and all his detestable enormities.

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In Baptism there was, besides the Forms which we still retain, a Cross at first made on the Childs Forehead, and Breast, with an adjuration of the Devil to go out of him, and come at him no more. Then the Priest was to take the Child by the Right Hand, and to place him within the Font: there he was to be dipt thrice, once on the right side, once on the left, and once on the Breast; which was to be discreetly done, but if the Child were weak, it was sufficient to sprinkle Water on his Face. Then was the Priest to put a White Vestment or Chrysome on him, for a token of Innocence, and to anoint him on the Head, with a Prayer for the Unction of the Holy Ghost. In Confirmation, those that came, were to be Catechised, which having in it a formal engagement to make good the Baptismal Vow, was all that was asked: (The *Catechism* then was the same that is now, only there is since added an Explanation of the Sacraments :) This being said, the Bishop was to Sign them with the Cross, and to lay his Hands on them, and say, *I Sign thee with the Sign of the Cross, and lay my Hands on thee, in the Name of the Father, &c.* The Sick, who desired to be anointed, might have the Unction on their Forehead, or their Breast only; with a Prayer, that as their Body was outwardly anointed with Oyl, so they might receive the Holy Ghost, with Health, and victory over Sin, and Death. At Funerals, they recommended the Soul departed to Gods Mercy, and prayed that his sins might be pardoned, that he might be delivered from Hell, and carried to Heaven, and that his Body might be raised at the last day.

They also took care that those who could not come, or be brought to Church, should not therefore be deprived of the use of the Sacraments. The Church of *Rome* had raised the belief of the indispensable necessity of the Sacraments so high, that they taught they did *ex opere operato* by the very action it self without inward acts, justify and confer Grace, unless there were a barr put to it by the Receiver: and the first rise of the Questions about Justification seems to have come from this: For that Church teaching that Men were justified by Sacramental Actions, the Reformers opposed this, and thought Men were justified by the Internal Acts of the Mind: If they had held at this, the Controversie might have been managed with much greater advantages; which they lost in a great measure by descending to some minuter subtleties. In the Church of *Rome* pursuant to their belief concerning the necessity of the Sacraments, Women were allowed in extream Cases to Baptize: and the Midwives commonly did it; which might be the beginning of their being licensed by Bishops to exercise that Calling. And they also believed that a simple attrition with the Sacraments was sufficient for Salvation in those

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In the Primitive Church they sent Portions of the Sacrament to those who were sick, or in Prison: and did it not only without Pomp or Processions, but sent it often by the hands of Boys and other Laicks, as appears from the famed Story of *Scrapion*: which as it shews they did not then believe it was the very Flesh and blood of Christ; so when that Doctrine was received it was a natural effect of that belief, to have the Sacrament carried by the Priest himself with some Pomp and Adoration. The Ancients thought it more decent and fitable to the Communion of Saints, to consecrate the Elements only in the Church, and to send Portions to the Sick, thereby expressing their Communion with the rest. The Reformers considering these things steered a middle course: They judged the Sacraments necessary, where they could be had; as appointments instituted by Christ: and though they thought it more expedient to have all Baptisms done in the Church at the Fonts, than in private Houses; thereby signifying that the Baptized were admitted to the Fellowship of that Church; yet since our Saviour had said, *That where two or three are gathered together he will be in the midst of them*: they thought it favoured too much of a Substitution to the Walls or Fonts of Churches, to tie this Action so to these, that where Children, either through infirmity, or the sharpness of Weather, could not be, without danger, carried to Church, they should be denied Baptism. But still they thought publick Baptism more expressive of the Communion of the Saints, so that they recommended it much, and only permitted the other in Cases of necessity. This has since grown to a great abuse; many thinking it a piece of state to have their Children Baptized in their Houses; and so bringing their pride with them even into the most Sacred Performances. There may be also a fault in the Ministers, who are too easily brought to do it. But it is now become so universal, that all the endeavours of some of our Bishops have not been able to bring it back, to the first design of not Baptizing in private Houses; excepting only where there was some visible danger in carrying the Children to Church.

As for the other Sacrament, it was thought by our Reformers, that according to the mind of the Primitive Church, none should be denied it in their extremities: it never being more necessary, than at that time to use all means that might strengthen the faith, and quicken the devotion of dying persons; it being also most expedient that they should then profess their lying in the Faith, and with a good Conscience, and in Charity with all Men; Therefore they ordered the Communion to be given to the Sick, and that before it was so given, the Priest should examine their Consciences; and upon the sincere profession of their sins, and the Confession of such sins as oppressed their Consciences, with the doing of all that was then in their power, for the compleating of their Repentance, as the forgiving injuries, and dealing justly with all People, he should give them the Peace of the Church in a formal Absolution, and the Holy Communion. But that they might avoid the popish vain Processions on the one hand, and the indecencies of sending the Sacrament by common Hands on the other, they thought it better to gather the Congregation about the Sick Person, and there to consecrate and

give the Sacrament to that small Assembly: where, as Christs Promise, *of being in the midst of two or three that were gathered together in his Name*, should have put an end to the weak exceptions some have made to these private Communions; so on the other hand it is to be feared, that the greater part retain still too much of the Superstition of Popery; as if the Priests Absolution with the Sacrament, and some slight sorrow for sin, would be a sure pass-port for their admittance to Heaven: which it is certain can only be had, upon so true a Faith as carries a sincere Repentance with a change of Heart and Life along with it: for to such only the Mercies of God through the Merits of Jesus Christ are applied in all ordinary Cases.

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To all this they prefixed a Preface concerning Ceremonies, the same that is still before the Common-Prayer-Book. In which Preface they make a difference between those Ceremonies that were brought in with a good intent, and were afterwards abused; and others that had been brought in out of a vanity and superstition at first, and grew to be more abused: The one they had quite rejected, the other they had reformed, and retained, for decency and edification. Some were so set on their old forms, that they thought it a great matter to depart from any of them; others were desirous to innovate in every thing; between both which they had kept a mean. The burthen of Ceremonies in St. Austins days was such that he complained of them, then as intollerable, by which the state of Christians was worse than that of the Jews; but these were swelled to a far greater number since his days, which did indeed darken Religion and had brought Christians under a heavy Yoke. Therefore they had only reserved such as were decent, and apt to stir up Mens Minds with some good signification. Many Ceremonies had been so abused by superstition and avarice, that it was necessary to take them quite away: But since it was fit to retain some, for decency and order, it seemed better to keep those which were old, than to seek new ones. But these that were kept, were not thought equal with Gods Law, and so were upon just causes to be altered: they were also plain, and easie to be understood, and not very subject to be abused. Nor did they in retaining these, condemn other Nations, or prescribe to any but their own People. And thus was this Book made ready against the next meeting of Parliament.

The Preface
to the Book
of Common
Prayer.

In it, the use of the Cross was retained, since it had been used by the ancient Christians, as a publick declaration that they were not ashamed of the Cross of Christ. Though they acknowledged this had been strangely abused in the later Ages, in which the bare use of the Cross was thought to have some Magical Vertue in it: and this had gone so far, that in the *Roman Pontifical* it was declared, that the Crozier Staff was to be worshiped with that supream degree of Adoration, called *Latria*. But it was thought fit to retain it in some parts of Worship; and the rather, because it was made use of among the People to defame the Reformers; that they had no Veneration for the Cross of Christ. And therefore as an outward expression of that, in the Sacrament of Baptism, and in the Office of Confirmation, and in the consecration of the Sacramental Elements, it was ordered to be retained, but with this difference, that the Sign of the Cross was not made with the intention of any vertue or efficacy in it, nor against evil Spirits, nor as a defence against one of dark

Reflections
made on the
new Liturgy.

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gers, which were thought Vertues that followed the use of it in the *Roman* Church; for in Baptism, as they used the Sign of the Cross, they added an Adjuration to the *evil Spirit not to violate it*, and in the making it said, *Receive the Sign of the Cross both in thy Forehead and in thy Heart, and take the Faith of the Heavenly Precepts*. Thus a Sacramental Vertue was pretended to be affixed to it; which the Reformers thought could not be done without a Warrant from a Divine Institution, of which it is plain there was none in Scripture. But they thought the use of it only as an Expression of the Belief of the Church, and as a Badge of Christianity, with such words added to it as could import no more, was liable to no exception. This seems more necessary to be well explained, by reason of the Scruples that many have since raised against significant Ceremonies, as if it were too great a presumption in any Church to appoint such; since these seem to be of the nature of Sacraments. Ceremonies that signify the Conveyance of a Divine Grace, and Vertue, are indeed Sacraments, and ought not to be used without an express Institution in Scripture: but Ceremonies that only signify the sense we have, which is sometimes expressed as significantly in dumb shows as in words, are of another kind; and it is as much within the power of the Church to appoint such to be used, as it is to order Collects or Prayers, words and signs being but different ways of expressing our thoughts. The belief of Christs Corporal Presence was yet under consideration. And they observing wisely how the *Germans* had broken, by their running too soon into Contests about that, resolved to keep up still the old general Expressions, of the Sacraments being the whole and true Body of Christ, without coming to a more particular explanation of it. The use of Oyl on so many occasions, was taken from the Ancient Christians, who, as *Theophilus* says, began early to be anointed; and understood those words of *St. Paul*, of *Gods anointing and sealing*, literally. It was also anciently applied to the receiving of Penitents. But it was not used about the Sick, from the Apostles times till about the 10th. Century. And then, from what *St. James* writ to those in the Dispersion, of sending for the Elders to come to such as were sick, who should anoint them with Oyl, and their sins should be forgiven them, and they should recover; they came to give it to those that were dying; but not while there was any hope of Life left in them. Though it is clear, that what *St. James* writ, related to that extraordinary Gift of Healing, by imposition of Hands, and anointing with Oyl, which yet continued in the Church when he writ that *Epistle*. And it is plain, that this Passage in *St. James* was not so understood by the Ancients, as it is now in the *Roman* Church; since the Ancients, though they used Oyl on many other occasions, yet applied it not at all to the Sick, till after so many Ages, that gross Superstition had so disposed the World to new Rites, that there could be no discovery or invention more acceptable, than the addition of a new Ceremony; though they were then much oppressed with the old ones.

The Changes that were made, and those that were designed to be made, occasioned great heats every where. And the Parties generally contending with one another; to restrain that clashing power of granting Licences to Preach, was taken from the Bishops of each Diocess, so that none might give them, but the King and the Archbishop

of *Canterbury*. Yet that not proving an effectual restraint, on the 23^d. of *September* a Proclamation is said to have come out, setting forth, That whereas according to former Proclamations none was to preach, but such as had obtained Licenses from the King or the Arch bishop; yet some of those that were so licensed, had abused that permission, and had carried themselves irreverently contrary to the Instructions that were sent them. Therefore the King intending to have shortly an uniform Order over all the Kingdom, and to put an end to all Controversies in Religion; about which some Bishops and other Learned Men were then assembled; and though many of the Preachers so licensed had carried themselves wisely, to the Honour of God, and the Kings great contentation; yet till the Order now preparing should be set forth, he did inhibit all manner of Persons to preach in any publick Audience; to the intent that the Clergy might apply themselves to Prayer, for a Blessing on what the King was then about to do: not doubting but the People would be employed likewise in Prayer, and hearing the *Homilies* read in their Churches, and be ready to receive that uniform Order that was to be set forth: and the inferior Magistrates were required to see to the execution of this. I never met with any footstep of this Proclamation, neither in Records, nor in Letters, nor in any Book written at that time. But Mr. *Fuller* has printed it, and Dr. *Heylin* has given an Abstract of it from him. If *Fuller* had told how he came by it, it might have been further examined. But we know not whether he saw the printed Proclamation, or only a Copy of it. And if he saw but a Copy, we have reason to doubt of it; for that might have been only the Essay of some projecting Man's Pen. But because I found it in those Authors, I thought best to set it down as it is, and leave the Reader to judge of it.

1548.
All Preaching
was for a time
restrained.

Having thus given an account of the Progress of the Reformation this Summer, I shall now turn to transactions of State, and shall first look towards *Scotland*. The *Scots* gaining time the last Winter, and being in daily expectation of Succours from *France*, were resolved to carry on the War. The Governour began the Year with the Siege of *Broughty Castle*, a little below *Dundee*. But the *English* that were in it defended themselves so well, that after they had been besieged three Months, the Siege was raised, and only so many were left about it as might cover the Country from their excursions. The *English* on the other side had taken, and fortified, *Haddingtoun*; and were at work also at *Lauder*, to make it strong. The former of these, lying in a Plain, and in one of the most fruitful Counties of *Scotland*, within twelve Miles of *Edenburgh*, was a very fit Place to be kept as a Curb upon the Country. About the end of *May* 6000 Men were sent from *France* under the Command of *Desse*: 3000 of these were *Germans*, commanded by the *Rhingrave*; 2000 of them were *French*, and a Thousand were of other Nations. They landed at *Lieth*; and the Governour having gathered 8000 *Scots* to joyn with them, they laid down before *Haddingtoun*; and here the *Scottish* Nobility entered into a long Consultation about their Affairs.

The Affairs in
Scotland this
Year.

The Protector had sent a Proposition to them, that there might be a Truce for Ten Years. (But whether he offered to remove the Garisons does not appear.) This he was forced to upon many accounts. He saw the War was like to last long and to draw on great expence, and would certainly end in another War with *France*: he durst not any more go from Court.

1548.

Court, and march himself at the Head of the Army, and leave the King to the Practices of his Brother : There were also great discontents in *England*, many were offended with the Changes made in Religion ; the Commons complained generally of oppression, and of the enclosing of Grounds, of which the sad effects broke out next Year : He began to labour under the envy of the Nobility ; the Clergy were almost all displeased with him ; and the state of Affairs in *Germany* made it necessary to joyn with the King of *France* against the *Emperour*. All this made him very desirous of such a Peace with *Scotland*, as might at least preserve the Queen from being disposed of, for Ten Years. In that time, by Treaty and Pensions, they might hope to gain their ends ; more certainly than by a War, which only inflamed the *Scots* against them ; according to the witty Saying of one of the *Scots*, who being asked what he thought of the Match with *England*, said, he knew not how he should like the Marriage, but he was sure he did not like the way of wooing. On the other hand, the *French* pressed the *Scots* to send their young Queen into *France*, in the Ships that had brought over their Forces ; who should be married to the *Dolphin*, and then they might depend on the Protection of *France*. Many were for accepting the Proposition from *England*, (particularly all those who secretly favoured the Reformation) they thought it would give them present quiet, and free them from all the distractions, which they either felt, or might apprehend, from a lasting War with so powerful an Enemy : whereas the sending away of their Queen would put them out of a capacity of obtaining a Peace, if the War this year proved as unsuccessful as it was the last ; and the defence they had from *France* was almost as bad as the Invasions of the *English*, for the *French* were very insolent, and committed great disorders. But all the Clergy were so apprehensive of their ruine by the Marriage with *England*, that they never judged themselves safe till the thing was out of their power, by the sending their Queen into *France*. And it was said, that when once the *English* saw the hopes of the Marriage irrecoverably lost, they would soon grow weary of the War : for then the King of *France* would engage in the defence of *Scotland* with his whole Force, so that nothing would keep up the War so much as having their Queen still among them. To this many of the Nobility yielded, being corrupted by Money from *France* ; and the Governour consented to it, for which he was to be made Duke of *Chastelherault* in *France*, and to have an Estate of 12000 Livres a year. And so it was agreed to send their Queen away. This being gained, the *French* Ships set sail to Sea, as if they had been to return to *France* ; but sailed round *Scotland* by the Isles of *Orkney*, and came into *Dunbriton* Frith, near to which the Queen was kept in *Dunbriton* Castle ; and receiving her from thence, with an Honourable Convoy that was sent to attend her, they carried her over to *Britaigne* in *France*, and so by easie Journeys she was brought to Court, where her Uncles received her with great joy, hoping by her means to raise and establish their Fortunes in *France*.

The Scottish
Queen is sent
to France.

The Siege of
Haddington.

In the mean time the Siege of *Haddington* was carried on with great valour, on both sides. The *French* were astonished at the courage, the nimbleness (and labours, of the *Scotch* Highlanders ; who were half naked ; but capable of great hardships, and used to run on with marvellous

swiftness. In one Sally which the Besieged made, one of those got an *English* Man on his Shoulders, and carried him away, with that quickness that nothing could stop him: and though the *English* Man bit him so in the Neck, that as soon as he had brought him into the Camp, he himself fell down as dead, yet he carried him off; for which he was nobly rewarded by *Dessie*. The *English* defended themselves no less courageously; and though a Recruit of about 1000 Foot and 300 Horse, that was sent from *Berwick*, led by Sir Robert Bowes, and Sir *Thos. Palmer*, was so fatally intercepted, that they were almost all to a Man killed, yet they lost no Heart. Another Party, of about 300, escaped the Ambush laid for them, and got into the Town, with a great deal of Ammunition and Provisions, of which the Besieged were come to be in want. But at the same time both *Home* Castle and *Fascastle* were lost. The former was taken by treachery: for some coming in as deserters, seeming to be very zealous for the *English* quarrel, and being too much trusted by the Governour, and going often out to bring intelligence, gave the Lord *Home* notice, that on that side where the Rock was, the *English* kept no good Watches, trusting to the steepness of the Place; so they agreed that some should come and climb the Rock, to whom they should give assistance; which was accordingly done, and so it was surprized in the night. The Governour of *Fascastle* had summoned the Country People to bring him in Provisions; upon which (by a common Stratagem) Soldiers, coming as Country-men, threw down their Carriages at the Gates, and fell on the Sentinels: and so the Signal being given, some, that lay concealed near at hand, came in time to assist them, and took the Castle.

The Protector, till the Army was gathered together, sent a Fleet of Ships to disturb the *Scots*, by the descents they should make in divers places: and his Brother being Admiral, he commanded him to go to his charge. He landed first in *Fife*, at *St. Minins*, but there the Queens natural Brother, *James*, afterwards Earl of *Murray*, and Regent of *Scotland*, gathered the Country People together, and made Head against them. The *English* were 1200, and had brought their Cannon to Land; but the *Scots* charged them so home, that they forced them to their Ships: Many were drowned, and many killed; the *Scots* reckoned the number of the slain to be 600, and a hundred Prisoners taken. The next descent they made was no more prosperous to them. For landing in the night at *Mountross*, *Her skin* of *Dun* gathered the Country together, and divided them in three Bodies, ordering one to appear soon after the former had engaged: the Enemy, seeing a second, and a third Body come against them, apprehending greater numbers, run back to their Ships; but with so much loss, that of 800 who had landed, the third Man got not safe to the Ships again. So the Admiral returned, having got nothing but loss and disgrace by the Expedition.

But now the *English* Army came into *Scotland*, commanded by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*: though both the *Scotch* Writers and *Shuanus* say, the Earl of *Lennox* had the chief command; but he only came with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, as knowing the Country and People best, and so being the fitter both to get intelligence, and to negotiate, if there was room for it. The *Scots* were by this time gone home for the most part; and the Nobility with *Dessie* agreed that it was not fit to put all

1548.

A Fleet sent
against *Scots*
Land.But was not
successful.

to

1548.

Aug. 20.
The Siege of
Haddingtoun
rais'd.

to hazard, and therefore rais'd the Siege of *Haddingtoun*, and marched back to *Edenburgh*. The Lord Gray with a great part of the *English* Army followed him in the Rear, but did not engage him into any great Action : by which a good opportunity was lost, for the *French* were in great disorder. The *English* Army came into *Haddingtoun*. They consisted of about 17000 Men: of which Number 7000 were Horses, and 2000 of the Foot were *German Landsknights*, whom the Protector had entertained in his Service. These *Germans* were some of the broken Troops of the Protestant Army, who, seeing the state of their own Country desperate, offered their Service to the Protector. He too easily entertained them; reckoning, that being Protestants, they would be sure to him, and would depend wholly on himself. But this proved a fatal Counsel to him; the *English* having been always jealous of a standing, but much more of a Foreign Force about their Prince: so there was great occasion given by this to those who traded in sowing Jealousies among the People. The *English*, having victualled *Haddingtoun*, and repaired the Fortifications, returned back into their own Country. But had they gone on to *Edenburgh*, they had found things there in great confusion. For *Deffie*, when he got thither, having lost 500 of his Men in the Retreat, went to quarter his Soldiers in the Town; but the Provost, (so is the chief Magistrate there called) opposed it. The *French* broke in with force, and killed him and his Son, with all they found in the Streets, Men, Women, and Children: and as a Spie, whom the *English* had in *Edenburgh*, gave them notice, the *Scots* were now more alienated from the *French* than from the *English*. The *French* had carried it very gently till the *Queen* was sent away; but reckoned *Scotland* now a Conquered Country, and a Province to *France*. So the *Scots* began, though too late, to repent the sending away of the *Queen*. But it seems the *English* had orders not to venture too far; for the hopes of the Marriage were now gone, and the Protector had no mind to engage in a War with *France*. These things happened in the beginning of *October*. *Deffie*, apprehending that at *Haddingtoun* they were now secure, the Siege being so lately rais'd, resolv'd to try if he could carry the Place by surprize. The *English* from thence had made Excursions as far as *Edenburgh*; in one of which the *French* fell on them, pursued them, and killed about 200, and took sixscore Prisoners, almost within their Works. Soon after, *Deffie* march'd in the night, and surprized one of their Out-works, and was come to the Gates; where the Place had been certainly lost, if it had not been for a *French* Defter, who knew, if he were taken, what he was to expect. He therefore fired one of the great Cannon, which being discharged amongst the thickest of the *French*, killed so many, and put the rest in such disorder, that *Deffie* was forced to quit the Attempt. From thence he went, and fortified *Lieth*, which was then but a mean Village; but the situation of the Place being recommended by the security it now had, it soon came to be one of the best Peopled Towns in *Scotland*. From thence he intended to have gone on, to take *Broughty Castle* and to recover *Dundee*, which were then in the Hands of the *English*; but he was ordered by the *Queen* Regent to make an Inroad into *England*. There, after some slight Engagements, in which the *English* had the worst, the *Scots* and *French* came in as far as *Newcastle*, and were laden with Spoil: which the *French* divided among them-

themselves, allowing the *Scots* no share of it. An *English* Priest was taken, who bore that disgrace of his Country so heavily, that he threw himself on the ground, and would not eat, nor so much as open his Eyes, but lay thus prostrate till he died. This the *French*, who seldom let their misfortunes afflict them, look'd on with much astonishment. But at that time, the *English* had fortified *Inch-keith*, an Island in the *Firth*, and put 800 Men in it. Seventeen days after that, *Deffie* brought his Forces from *Lith*, and recovered it; having killed 400 *English*, and forced the rest to surrender.

Thus ended this Year, and with it *Deffie's* Power in *Scotland*. For the Queen Mother and the Governour had made great complaints of him at the Court of *France*, that he put the Nation to vast charge to little purpose; so that he was more uneasie to his Friends than his Enemies: and his last disorder at *Edenburgh*, had on the one hand so raised the insolence of the *French* Soldiers, and on the other hand so alienated and inflamed the People, that unless another were sent to command, who should govern more mildly, there might be great danger of a defection of a whole Kingdom. For now, the Seeds of their distast of the *French* Government were so sown, that Men came generally to condemn their sending the Queen away; and to hate the Governour for consenting to it, but chiefly, to abhor the Clergy, who had wrought it for their own ends.

Monsieur de Thormes was sent over to command; and *Monluc* Bishop of *Valence* came with him to govern the Councils, and be Chancellor of the Kingdom. He had lately returned from his Ambassy at *Constantinople*. He was one of the wisest Men of that time, and was always for moderate Councils in Matters of Religion: which made him be sometime suspected of heresie. And indeed the whole sequel of his life declared him to be one of the greatest Men of that Age: only his being so long, and so firmly, united to Queen *Katharine Medici's* Interest, takes off a great deal of the high Character which the rest of his Life has given of him. But he was at this time unknown, and ill represented, in *Scotland*; where they that looked for advantages from their alliance with *France*, took it ill to see a *French* Man sent over to enjoy the best Office in the Kingdom. The Queen Mother her self was afraid of him: So to avoid new grounds of discontent, he left the Kingdom, and returned into *France*.

Thus ended the War between *Scotland* and *England* this Year, in almost an equal mixture of good and bad success. The *English* had preserved *Haddingtoun*, which was the chief matter of this Years Action. But they had been at great charge in the War, in which they were only on the defensive: they had lost other Places, and been unsuccessful at Sea: and which was worst of all, they had now lost all hopes of the Marriage, and were almost engaged in a War with *France*, which was like to fall on the King, when his Affairs were in an ill condition, his People being divided and discontented at home, and his Treasure much exhausted by this War.

The state of *Germany* was at this time most deplorable: The *Pope* and *Emperor* continued their quarrelling about the translation of the Council. *Mendoza* at *Rome*, and *Vesilco* at *Salerna*, disagreed in the *Emperors* Name, that a Council being called by his great long endeavours

1548.

Discontents in Scotland.

Monsieur de Thormes sent thither to be Lord Chancellor.

But was not well received.

The Affairs of Germany.

1548

Heavours for the quieting of *Germany*, and he being engaged in a War to get it to be received; and having procured a submission of the Empire to the Council, it was, upon frivolous and feigned causes, removed out of *Germany*, to one of the Popes Towns: by which the *Germans* thought themselves disengaged of their promise, which was to submit to a Council in *Germany*: and therefore that he protested against it, as an unlawful Meeting, to whose Decrees he would not submit; and that if they did not return to *Trent*, he would take care of settling Religion some other way. But the *Pope*, being encouraged by the *French King*, was not ill pleased to see the *Emperor* anew embroil himself with the *Germans*: and therefore intended the Council should be continued at

Bologna. Upon this the *Emperor* ordered three Divines, *Julius Flugius* Bishop of *Naumburg*, *Michael Sidonius*, and *Islebius Agricola*, to draw a form of Religion. The two former had been always Papists, and the

latter was formerly a Protestant, but was believed to be now corrupted by r, that the Name of one of the *Ausburg* Confession might make what they were to set out, pass the more easily. They drew up all the Points of Religion in a Book which was best known by the Name of the *Interim*, because it was to last during that Interval, till a General Council should meet in *Germany*. In it, all the Points of the *Romish* Doctrine were set forth in the smoothest terms possible: only married Men might officiate as Priests, and the Communion was to be given in both kinds. The Book being thus prepared, a Diet was summoned to *Ausburg* in Feb. where the first thing done was the solemn Investiture of *Maurice* in the Electorate of *Saxony*. He had been declared Elector last year by the *Emperor* before *Wittenberg*; but now it was performed with great Ceremony on the 24th. of Feb. which was the *Emperors* Birth-day: *John Frederick* looking on with his usual constancy of mind. All he said, was, "Now they triumph in that Dignity, of which they have against Justice and Equity spoiled me: God grant they may enjoy it peaceably and happily, and may never need any assistance from me or my Posterity. And without expressing any further concern about it, he went to his Studies, which were almost wholly employed in the Scriptures.

The Book of the *Interim* being prepared, the Elector of *Brandenburg* sent for *Martin Bucer*, who was both a learned and moderate Divine; and shewed it him. *Bucer* having read it, plainly told him, that it was nothing but downright Popery, only a little disguised: at which the Elector was much offended, for he was pleased with it; and *Bucer* not without great danger returned back to *Strasburg*. On the 15th. of March, the Book was proposed to the Diet: and the Elector of *Mentz*, without any order, did in all the Princes Names, give the *Emperor* thanks for it; which he interpreted as the assent of the whole Diet; and after that would not hear any that came to him to stop it, but published it as agreed to the Diet.

At *Rome*, and *Bologna*, it was much condemned, as an high attempt in the *Emperor* to meddle with Points of Religion; such as dispensing with the Marriage of Priests, and the Communion in both kinds. Wherefore some of that Church writ against it. And Matters went so high, that wise Men of that side began to fear the Breach between the *Emperor* and them might, before they were aware, be past reconciling: for they

The Emperor
before it

the Council
orders the In-
terim to be
drawn.

Maurice made
Elector of
Saxony

March 15.
The Interim
received in
the Diet

The Papists
offended at it
as well as the
Protestants.

had not forgot that the last Popes stiffness had lost *England*, and they were not a little afraid they might now lose the *Emperor*. But if the *Pope* were offended for the concessions in these two Particulars, the *Protestants* thought they had much greater cause to dislike it; since in all other controverted Points it was against them. So that several of that side writ likewise against it. But the *Emperor* was now so much exalted with his success, that he resolved to go through with it, little regarding the opposition of either hand. The new *Elector* of *Saxony* went some, and offered it to his Subjects. But they refused to receive it, and said. (as Sir *Philip Hobbey*, then Ambassador from *England* at the *Emperors* Court, writ over) that they had it under the *Emperors* Hand and Seal, that he should not meddle with Matters of Religion, but only with reforming the Common-wealth: and that if their Prince would not protect them in this matter, they should find another, who would defend them from such oppression. An Exhortation for the receiving of it was read at *Ausburg*; but they also refused it. Many Towns sent their Addresses to the *Emperor*, desiring him not to oppress their Consciences. But none was of such a nature as that from *Linda*, a little Town near *Constance*, which had declared for the *Emperor* in the former War. They returned answer, That they could not agree to the *Interim*, without incurring Eternal Damnation: but to shew their submission to him in all other things, they should not shut their Gates, nor make resistance, against any he should find, though it were to spoil and destroy their Town. This let the *Emperor* and his Council see how difficult a work it would be to subdue the Consciences of the *Germans*. But his Chancellor *Granvell* pressed him to extream Councils, and to make an example of that Town, who had so peremptorily refused to obey his Commands. Yet he had little reason to hope he should prevail on those who were at liberty, when he could work so little on his Prisoner the Duke of *Saxe*. For he had endeavoured by great offers to perswade him to agree to it: but all was in vain, for he always told them that kept him, that his Person was in their Power, but his Conscience was in his own, and that he would not on any terms depart from the *Ausburg* Confession. Upon this he was severely used, his Chaplain was put from him, with most of his Servants; but he continued still unmoved, and as cheerful as in his greatest Prosperity. The *Lutheran* Divines entred into great disputes how far they might comply. *Melanchthon* thought that the Ceremonies of Popery might be used, since they were of their own nature indifferent. Others, as *Amstorfius*, *Illiricus*, with the greatest part of the *Lutherans*, thought the receiving the Ceremonies would make way for all the errors of Popery; and though they were of their own nature indifferent, yet they ceased to be so, when they were enjoined as things necessary to Salvation. But the *Emperor* going on resolutely, many Divines were driven away; some concealed themselves in *Germany*, others fled into *Switzerland*, and some came over into *England*.

When the news of the Changes that were made here in *England* were carried beyond Sea, and after *Peter Martyr's* Being with *Craumer*, were more copiously written by him to his friends; *Calvin*, and *Martin Bucer*, who began to think the Reformation almost oppressed in *Germany*, now turned their Eyes more upon *England*. *Calvin* writ to the Protector on the 21st of *October*, encouraging him to go on notwithstanding the Wars: as

1548.

Cotton Library
Titus B. 2.Calvin writ to
the Protector.

Heze-

1548.

Hezekias had done in his Reformation. He lamented the heats of some that professed the Gospel, but complained that he heard there were few lively Sermons preached in *England*; and that the Preachers recited their discourses coldly. He much approves a set-form of Prayers, whereby the consent of all the Churches did more manifestly appear. But he advises a more compleat Reformation: he taxed the *Prayers for the Dead*, the *use of Chrisme* and *Extream Unction*, since they were no where recommended in Scripture. He had heard that the reason why they went no further was, because the Times could not bear it; but this was to do the Work of God by Political Maxims; which though they ought to take place in other things, yet should not be followed in Matters in which the Salvation of Souls was concerned. But above all things he complained of the great impieties and vices that were so common in *England*; as *Swearing*, *Drinking*, and *Uncleanness*; and prayed him earnestly that these things might be looked after.

Bucer writ a-
gainst *Gardiner*
1548.

Martin Bucer writ also a Discourse, congratulating the Changes then made in *England*, which was translated into *English* by Sir *Philip Hoby's* Brother. In it he answered the Book that *Gardiner* had written against him; which he had formerly delayed to do, because King *Henry* had desired he would let it alone, till the *English* and *Germans* had conferred about Religion. That Book did chiefly relate to the Marriage of the Clergy: *Bucer* shewed from many Fathers, that they thought every Man had not the Gift of Chastity, which *Gardiner* thought every one might have that pleased. He taxed the open lewdness of the *Romish* Clergy, who being much set against Marriage, which was Gods Ordinance, did gently pass over the impurities which the forbidding it had occasioned among themselves. He particularly taxed *Gardiner* himself, that he had his Rents payed him out of *Stews*. He taxed him also for his state and pompous way of living, and shewed how indecent it was for a Churchman to be sent in Ambassies: and that St. *Ambrose*, though sent to make Peace, was ashamed of it, and thought it unbecoming the Priesthood. Both *Fagius*, and he, being forced to leave *Germany*, upon the business of the *Interim*, *Calvin* invited them over to *England*; and sent them to *Cambridge*, as he had done *Peter Martyr* to *Oxford*. But *Fagius*, not agreeing with this Air, died soon after, a Man greatly learned in the *Oriental* Tongues, and a good Expounder of the Scripture.

Nov. 24.
Parliament
1548.

This being the state of Affairs both abroad and at home, a Session of Parliament was held in *England* on the 24th. of *November*, to which day it had been prorogued from the 15th. of *October*, by reason of the Plague then in *London*. The first Bill that was finished, was that about the Marriage of the Priests. It was brought into the House of *Commons* the 3d. of *December*, read the second time on the 5th, and the third time the 6th. But this Bill being only that married Men might be made Priests, a new Bill was framed, that, besides the former Provision, Priests might marry. This was read the first time the 7th, the second time the 10th, and was fully argued on the 11th, and agreed on the 12th, and sent up to the Lords on the 13th of *December*. In that House it stuck as long, as it had been soon dispatched, by the *Commons*. It lay on the Table till the 9th. of *February*. Then it was read the first time, and the 11th. the second time; on the 15th. it was committed to the *Bishops* of

Ely and Westminster, the Lord Chief Justice, and the Attorney-General: and on the 19th. of Feb. it was agreed to; the Bishops of London, Dunelm, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Bristol, Chichester, and Exeter; and the Lords Morley, Dacres, Windsor, and Wharton, dissenting. It had the Royal Assent, and so became a Law. The Preamble sets forth, "That it were better for Priests and other Ministers of the Church to live chaste and without Marriage; whereby they might better attend to the Ministry of the Gospel, and be less distracted with secular cares, so that it were much to be wished, that they would of themselves abstain. But great filthiness of living, with other inconveniences, had followed on the Laws that compelled Chastity, and prohibited Marriage, so that it was better they should be suffered to marry, than be so restrained. Therefore all Laws and Canons that had been made against it, being only made by humane Authority, are repealed. So that all Spiritual Persons of what degree soever might lawfully marry, providing they married according to the Order of the Church. But a *Proviso* was added, that because many Divorces of Priests had been made after the six Articles were enacted, and that the Women might have thereupon married again, all these Divorces with every thing that had followed on them, should be confirmed. There was no Law that passed in this Reign with more contradiction and censure than this, and therefore the Reader may expect the larger account of this matter.

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An Act about
the Marriage
of the Clergy.

The unmarried state of the Clergy had so much to be said for it, as being a course of life that was more disengaged from secular cares, and pleasures; that it was cast on the Reformers every where as a foul reproach, that they could not restrain their appetites, but engaged in a life that drew after it domestick cares, with many other distractions. This was an Objection so easie to be apprehended, that the People had been more prejudiced against the Marriage of the Clergy, if they had not felt greater inconveniences by the debaucheries of Priests; who being restrained from Marriage, had defiled the Beds, and deflowered the Daughters of their Neighbours, into whose Houses they had free and unsuspected access, and whom under the Cloak of receiving Confessions they could more easily entice. This made them that they were not so much wrought on by the noise of Chastity, (when they saw so much and so plainly to the contrary) as otherwise they would have been, by a thing that sounded so well. But on the other hand, there was no Argument which the Reformers had more considered. There were two things upon which the Question turned: The one was, the Obligation that Priesthood brought with it to live unmarried; the other was, the tie they might be under by any Vow they had made. For the former, they considered, that God having ordained a Race of Men to be Priests under *Moses* Law, who should offer up expiatory Sacrifices for the sins of the Jews, did not only not forbid Marriage, but made it necessary, for that office was to descend by inheritance; so that Priesthood was not inconsistent with that state. In the New Testament some of the qualifications of a Bishop and Deacon are their being the Husband of one Wife, and their having well ordered their House, and brought up their Children: *St. Peter* and other Apostles were married; it was thought *St. Paul* was so likewise, and he was certainly married to *Pollina*, and carried her about with him. *St. Paul*, speaking of the help of an unmarried state, was to the suggestion of

Which was
much enquired
into.

Arguments
for it from
Scripture.

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of God, recommended it equally to all Ranks of Men as they could bear it. St. Paul said, *Let every Man have his own Wife; It is better to marry than to burn; and, Marriage is honourable in all; and the forbidding to marry is reckon'd by him a mark of the Apostacy of the latter times,* so that the matter seemed clear from the Scriptures.

In the first Ages *Saturninus, Basilides, Montanus, Novatus*, and the *Eucratites* condemned Marriage as a state of liberty more than was fit for Christians. Against those was asserted by the Primitive Fathers the lawfulness of Marriage to all Christians without discrimination: and they who entering into Holy Orders forsook their Wives, were severely condemned by the *Apostolical Canons*, and by the Council of *Gangra* in the beginning of fourth, and the Council in *Trullo* in the fifth Age. Many great Bishops in these times lived still with their Wives, and had Children by them, as namely both *Nazianzen's* and *Basil's* Fathers: and *Hilary of Poitiers* when banished to *Phrygia* and very old, writing to his own Daughter *Abra*, bid her ask her Mother the meaning of those things which she by reason of her Age understood not; by which it appears that his Daughter was then very young, and by consequence born to him after he was a Bishop. In the Council of *Nice*, it being proposed that Clergy-men should depart from their Wives, *Paphnutius*, though himself unmarried, opposed it as an unreasonable Yoke. And *Heliodorus* Bishop of *Trica*, the Author of the first of those Love-Fables, now known by the Name of *Romances*, being suspected of too much lasciviousness, and concerned to clear himself of that charge, did first move that Clergy-men should be obliged to live single, which the *Historian* says they were not tied to before, but Bishops as they pleased lived still with their Wives. The Fathers in those times extolled a single life very high, and yet they all thought a Man once married might be a Bishop though his Wife were yet living; they did not allow it indeed to him that had married twice; but for this they had a distinction, that if a Man had been once married before his Baptism, and again after his Baptism, he was to be understood to be in the state of a single Marriage. So that *Jerome*, who writ warmly enough against second Marriages, yet says, *Ad Oceanum*, that the Bishops in his Age who were but once married in that sense were not to be numbred, and ~~therefore~~ there could be reckoned than were at the Council of *Ariminum*, who are said to have been 800 Bishops. It is true that in that Age they began to make *Canons* against the Marriage of those who were in Orders, especially in the *Roman* and *African* Churches; but those were only Positive Laws of the Church, and the frequent repeating of those *Canons* shews that even there, they were not generally obeyed. Of *Synestus* we read, that when he was ordained Priest, he declared that he would not live secretly with his Wife as some did, but that he would dwell publickly with her, and wish that he might have many Children by her. In the *Eastern* Church all their Clergy below the Order of Bishops are usually married before they be ordained, and afterward live with their Wives, and have Children by them, without any kind of Prohibition. In the *Western* Church the Married Clergy are taken notice of in many of the *Spanish* and *Gallican* Synods, and the Bishops and Priests Wives are called *Epyscopæ* and *Presbyteræ*. In most of the Cathedrals of *England* the Clergy were married in the *Saxon* times, but as was shewn, Page 22. of the first Part, because they would not

not quit their Wives they were put out, not of Sacred Orders, but only out of the Seats they were then in, and those were given to the Monks. When Pope *Nicolas* had pressed the Cœlibate of the Clergy in the 9th. century, there was great opposition made to it, chiefly by *Huldericus* Bishop of *Ausburg*, who was held a Saint notwithstanding this opposition. *Reſtitutus* Bishop of *London* lived openly with his Wife: nor was the Cœlibate of the Clergy generally imposed till Pope *Gregory* the 7th's time in the eleventh Century, who projecting to have the Clergy depend wholly on himself, and so to separate them from the Interests of those Princes in whose Dominions they lived, considered that by having Wives and Children they gave Pledges to the State where they lived, and reckoned that if they were free from this incumbrance, then their Persons being Sacred, there would be nothing to hinder, but that they might do as they pleased in obedience to the Popes, and opposition to their own Princes Orders. The Writers near *Gregory* the 7th's time called this a new thing, against the Mind of the Holy Fathers, and full of rashness in him thus to turn out married Priests. *Lanfranc* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* did not impose Cœlibate on the Clergy in the Villages, but only on those that lived in Towns, and on Prebendaries. But *Anselm* carried it further, and simply imposed it on all the Clergy: yet himself laments that *Sodomy* was become then very common, and even publick, which was also the complaint of *Petrus Damiani* in Pope *Gregories* time. *Bernard* said that, that sin was frequent among the Bishops in his time, and that this with many other abominations was the natural effect of prohibiting Marriage. This made Abbot *Panormitan* wish that it were left to Mens liberty to marry if they pleased. And *Pius* the second said there might have been good reasons for imposing Cœlibate on the Clergy, but he believed there were far better Reasons for taking away these Laws that imposed it. Yet even since those Laws have been made, *Petrarch* had a License to marry, and keep his Preferments still. *Boniface* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Richard* Bishop of *Chichester*, and *Geoffrey* Bishop of *Ely* are said to have had Wives; and though there were not so many Instances of Priests marrying after Orders, yet if there were any thing in the nature of Priesthood inconsistent by the Law of God with Marriage, then it was as unlawful for them to continue in their former Marriages as to contract a new one. Some few Instances were also gathered out of Church History of Bishops and Priests marrying after Orders: but as these were few, so there was just reason to controvert them.

Upon the whole matter it was clear that the Cœlibate of the Clergy flowed from no Law of God, nor from any general Law of the Church; but the contrary, of Clergy-mens living with their Wives, was universally received for many Ages. As for Vows, it was much questioned how far they did bind in such Cases. It seemed a great sin to impose such on any, when they were yet young, and did not well know their own dispositions. Nor was it in a Mans power to keep them. For, Continence being none of those Graces that are promised by God to all that ask it, as it was not in a Mans power without extraordinary aids on himself to govern his own constitution of Body, so he had no reason to expect God should interpose when he had provided an ordinary remedy for such Cases. Besides, the promise made by Clergy-men, according to the

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The Vows
and other
Reasons a-
gainst it ex-
amined.

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the Rites of the *Roman Pontifical*, did not oblige them to Coelibate. The words were, *Wilt thou follow Chastity and Sobriety?* to which the Sub-Deacon answered, *I will.* By *Chastity* was not to be understood a total abstinence from all, but only from unlawful embraces; since a Man might live chaste in a state of Marriage, as well as out of it. But whatever might be in this, the *English Clergy* were not concerned in it: for there was no such Question nor Answer made in the Forms of their ordination. So they were not by any Vow precluded from Marriage. And for the Expediency of it, nothing was more evident, than that these Laws had brought in much uncleanness into the Church, and those who pressed them most had been signally noted for these Vices. No Prince in the *English History* lewder than *Edgar* that had so promoted it. The *Legate* that in King *Henry* the second's time got that severe Decree made, that put all the married Clergy from their Livings, was found the very night after (for the credit of Coelibate) in bed with a Whore. On this Subject many undecent Stories were gathered, especially by *Bale* who was a learned Man, but did not write with that temper and discretion that became a Divine. He gathered all the lewd Stories that could be raked together to this purpose; and the many abominable things found in the Monasteries were then fresh in all Mens memories. It was also observed, that the unmarried Clergy had been, as much as the married could be, intent upon the raising Families, and the enriching of their Nephews and Kindred, (and sometimes of their Bastards, witness the present Pope *Paul* the third, and not long before him *Alexander* the 6th.) so that the married Clergy could not be tempted to more covetousness than had appeared in the unmarried. And for the Distraction of Domestic Affairs, the Clergy had formerly given themselves up to such a secular course of Life, that it was thought nothing could encrease it; but if the married Clergy should set themselves to raise more than a decent maintenance for their Children, such as might fit them for Letters or Callings, and should neglect Hospitality, become covetous, and accumulate Livings and Preferments, to make Estates for their Children; this might be justly curbed by new Laws, or rather the renewing of the ancient Canons, by which Clergy-men were declared to be only entrusted with the Goods of the Church for publick ends, and were not to apply them to their own private uses, nor to leave them to their Children and Friends.

Thus had this matter been argued in many Books that were written on this Subject, by *Poinet*, and *Parker*, the one afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*, and the other Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*; also by *Bale* Bishop of *Offory*, with many more. Dr. *Ridley*, Dr. *Taylor*, (afterwards Bishop of *Lincoln*) Dr. *Benson*, and Dr. *Redmayn*, appeared more confidently in it, than many others; being Men that were resolved never to marry themselves; who yet thought it necessary, and therefore pleaded, (according to the Pattern that *Paphnutius* had set them) that all should be left to their liberty in this matter.

The Debate about it was brought into the Convocation, where Dr. *Redmayn's* Authority went a great way. He was a Man of great Learning and Probity, and of so much greater weight, because he did not in all Points agree with the Reformers: but being at this time sick, his opinion was brought under his Hand, which will be found in the *Collection*,

copied

copied from the Original. It was to this purpose, "That though the Scriptures exhorted Priests to live chaste, and out of the cares of the World; yet the Laws forbidding them Marriage, were only Canons and Constitutions of the Church; not founded on the Word of God: and therefore he thought that a Man once married might be a Priest: and he did not find the Priests in the Church of *England* had made any Vow against Marriage; and therefore he thought that the King and the higher Powers of the Church, might take away the Clog of perpetual continence from the Priests, and grant that such as could not or would not contain, might marry once, and not be put from their holy Ministration. It was opposed by many in both Houses, but carried at last by the Major Vote. All this I gather from what is printed concerning it: For I have seen no Remains of this, or of any of the other Convocations that came afterwards in this Reign; the Registers of them being destroyed in the fire of *London*. This Act seemed rather a connivance, and permission of the Clergy to marry, than any direct allowance of it. So the Enemies of that state of life continued to reproach the married Clergy still: and this was much heightened by many undecent Marriages, and other light behaviour of some Priests. But these things made way for a more full Act concerning this matter about three years after.

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The next Act that pass'd in this Parliament was about the publick Service; which was put into the House of *Commons* on the 9th. of *December*, and the next day was also put into the House of *Lords*: It lay long before them, and was not agreed to till the 15th. of *Jan.* The Earl of *Derby*, the Bishops of *London*, *Duresme*, *Norwich*, *Carlisle*, *Hereford*, *Worcester*, *Westminster*, and *Chichester*, and the Lords, *Dacres*, and *Windsor*, protesting. The Preamble of the Act sets forth, "That there had been several Forms of Service, and that of late there had been great difference in the Administration of the Sacraments, and other parts of Divine Worship: and that the most effectual endeavours could not stop the Inclinations of many to depart from the former Customs, which the King had not punished, believing they flowed from a good zeal. But that there might be an uniform way over all the Kingdom, the King, by the advice of the Lord Protector and his Council, had appointed the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, with other learned and discreet Bishops and Divines, to draw an Order of Divine Worship, having respect to the pure Religion of Christ taught in the Scripture, and to the practice of the Primitive Church, which they by the aid of the Holy Ghost, had with one uniform agreement concluded on; wherefore the Parliament having considered the *Book*, and the things that were altered or retained in it, they gave their most humble thanks to the King for his care about it: and did pray that all who had formerly offended in these matters, except such as were in the Tower of *London*, or the Prison of the *Fleet*, should be pardoned; and did Enact, that from the Feast of *Whit-Sunday* next, all Divine Offices should be performed according to it, and that such of the Clergy as should refuse to do it, or continue to officiate in any other manner, should upon their conviction be imprisoned six Months, and forfeit a years profit of their Benefice: For the second offence forfeit all their Church Benefices, and suffer a years imprisonment: And for the third offence should be imprisoned

An Act confirming the Liturgy.

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 "against it, or threaten any Clergy-men for using it, were to be fined in
 "10 l. for the first offence, 20 for the second, and to forfeit all their
 "Goods, and be imprisoned for life, upon a third offence. Only at the
 "Universities they might use it in *Latin* and *Greek*, excepting the Office
 "of the Communion. It was also lawful to use other *Psalms* or *Prayers*
 "taken out of the Bible, so these in the Book were not omitted, This
 Act was variously censured by those who disliked it. Some thought it
 too much, that it was said the Book was drawn by the Aid of the Holy
 Ghost. But others said this was not to be so understood, as if they had
 been inspired by extraordinary assistance; for then there had been no
 room for any correction of what was now done: and therefore it was
 only to be understood in that sense, as all good Motions and Consulta-
 tions are directed or assisted by the secret influences of Gods Holy Spirit;
 which do oft help good Men, even in their imperfect actions, where the
 good that is done is justly ascribed to the Grace of God. Others censu-
 red it, because it was said to be done by uniform agreement, though four
 of the Bishops that were employed in the drawing of it, protested against
 it. These were the Bishops of *Norwich*, *Hereford*, *Chichester*, and *West-*
minster; but these had agreed in the main parts of the Work, though in
 some few Particulars they were not satisfied, which made them dissent
 from the whole.

The Proviso for the *Psalms* and *Prayers* taken out of the Bible, was
 for the *Singing Psalms*, which were translated into Verse, and much sung
 by all who loved the Reformation, and were in many Places used in
 Churches. In the Ancient Church the Christians were much exercised
 in repeating the *Psalms* of *David*: many had them all by heart, and
 used to be reciting them when they went about their Work; and those
 who retired into a Monastical course of life, spent many of their hours
 in repeating the *Psalter*. *Apollinaris* put them in verse, as being easier
 for the memory. Other devout *Hymns* came to be also in use. *Nazian-*
zen among the *Greeks*, and *Prudentius* among the *Latines*, laboured on
 that Argument with the greatest success. There were other *Hymns* that
 were not put in verse, the chief of which were, that most ancient Hymn
 which we use now after the Sacrament, and the Celebrated *Ambrosian*
 Hymn that begins *Te Deum Laudamus*. But as when the Worship of
 the departed Saints came to be dressed up with much pomp, Hymns were
 also made for their honour: and the *Latin* Tongue, as well as *Prose*,
 being then much decayed, these came to be cast into Rithmes, and were
 written generally in a fantastical affected Style: So now at the Reforma-
 tion, some Poets, such as the times afforded, translated *David's* Psalms
 into verse; and it was a sign by which Mens affections to that Work were
 every where measured, whether they used to sing these, or not. But as
 the Poetry then was low, and not raised to that justness to which it is
 since brought, so this Work, which then might pass for a tolerable com-
 posure, has not been since that time so reviewed or changed as perhaps
 the thing required: hence it is that this piece of Divine Worship, by the
 meaner sort of the Verse, has not maintained its due esteem. Another thing,
 that some thought deserved to be considered in such a Work, was, that
 many of the *Psalms*, being such as related more specially to *David's* Vi-
 stories, and contained Passages in them not easily understood, it seemed
 better

better to leave out these, which it was not so easie to sing with Devotion, because the meaning of them either lay hid, or did not at all concern *Christians*. 1548

The Parliament was adjourned from the 22^d. of *December* to the second of *Jan*. On the 7th. of *Jan*. the Commons sent an Address to the Protector to restore *Latimer* to the Bishoprick of *Worcester*; but this took no effect, for that good old Man did choose rather to go about and preach, than to engage in a matter of Government, being now very ancient. A Bill was put in by the Lords for appointing of *Parks*, and agreed to, the Earl of *Arundel* only dissenting; but being sent down to the Commons, it was upon the second reading thrown out, yet not so unanimously but that the House was divided about it. 1549.

On the fourth of *Feb*. a Bill was put in against eating *Flesh* in *Lent*, and on Fasting days; it was committed to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Ely*, *Worcester*, and *Chichester*; and sent to the Commons on the 16th, who sent it up on the 7th. of *March*, with a *Proviso*, to which the Lords agreed. In the *Preamble* it is said, "That though it is clear by the Word of God, that there is no Day, nor kind of Meat, purer than another, but that all are in themselves alike; yet many out of sensuality had contemned such abstinence, as had been formerly used; and since due abstinence was a mean to vertue, and to subdue Mens Bodies to their Soul and Spirit, and was also necessary to encourage the Trade of Fishing, and for saving of *Flesh*; therefore all former Laws about Fasting and Abstinence were to be after the first of *May* repealed, and it was Enacted, That from the first of *May*, none should eat *Flesh* on *Fridays*, *Saturdays*, *Ember-days*, in *Lent*, or any other days that should be declared Fish-days, under several Penalties. A *Proviso* was added for excepting such as should obtain the Kings Licence, or were Sick, or weak, or that none should be indicted but within three Months after the offence. AN ACT

Christ had told his Disciples, that when he should be taken from them, that they should fast. Accordingly the Primitive Christians used to fast oft, more particularly before the Anniversary of the *Passion* of *Christ*, which ended in a high Festivity at *Easter*. Yet this was differently observed, as to the number of days. Some abstained 40 days in imitation of *Christs* Fast, others only that Week, and others had only an entire Fast from the time of *Christs* death till his Resurrection. On these Fasts they eat nothing till the Evening, and then they eat most commonly Herbs and Roots. Afterwards the *Fridays* were kept as Fasts, because on that day *Christ* suffered. *Saturdays* were also added in the *Roman* Church, but not without contradiction. *Ember-weeks* came in afterwards, being some days before those *Sundays*, in which Orders were given. And a General Rule being laid down, that every Christian Festival should be preceded by a Fast, thereupon the Vigils of Holy-days came, though not so soon, into the Number. But this, with the other good Institutions of the Primitive times, became degenerate; even in *St. Austins* time, Religion came to be placed in these observances, and anxious Rules were made about them. Afterwards in the Church of *Rome* they were turned into a Mockery; for, as on Fast-days they dined, which the Ancients did not, so the use of the most delicious Fish, dress'd in the

542. most exquisite manner, with the richest Wines that could be had, w
 lowed, which made it ridiculous. So now they resolved to take c
 severities of the former Laws, and yet to keep up such Laws abou
 sting and Abstinence, as might be agreeable to the true end: which
 subdue the Flesh to the Spirit, and not to gratifie it by a change o
 sort of diet into another, which may be both more delicate, and
 inflaming. So fond a thing is Superstition, that it will help M.
 deceive themselves by the slightest Pretences that can be imagined.

It was much lamented then, and there is as much cause for it still,
 carnal mer have taken advantages from the abuses that were for
 practised, to throw off good and profitable Institutions: since th
 quent use of Fasting, with Prayer and true Devotion joyned to
 perhaps one of the greatest helps that can be devised, to advance
 a spiritual temper of Mind, and to promote a holy course of Life:
 the mockery that is discernable in the way of some Mens Fasting
 very flight excuse for any to lay aside the use of that which the Scri
 have so much recommended.

ie Bills
 e rejected.

There were other *Bills* put in into both Houses, but did not pass.
 was, for declaring it Treason to marry the Kings Sisters without co
 of the King and his Council: but it was thought that King *Henry's*
 disabling them from the Succession in that case, would be a strong
 straint; and so it was laid aside. Another *Bill* was put in for Ec
 frical Jurisdiction. Great Complaints were made of the abound
 Vices and Immorallities, which the Clergy could neither restrain ne
 nish, and so they had nothing left but to preach against them, whic
 done by many with great freedom. In some of these *Sermons*
 Preachers expressed their apprehensions of signal and speedy Judge
 from Heaven, if the People did not repent, but their Sermons h
 great effect, for the Nation grew very corrupt, and this brought on
 severe punishments. The Temporal Lords were so jealous of p
 power in Church-mens hands, especially to correct those vices of
 themselves perhaps were most guilty, that the Bill was laid aside.
 pretence of opposing it, was, that the greatest part of the Bishop
 Clergy were still Papists in their Hearts; so that if Power were pu
 such Mens hands, it was reasonable to expect, they would emp
 chiefly against those who favoured the Reformation, and woul
 them on that score, though with Pretences fetcht from other thing

A desire for
 digesting the
 Common Law
 into a Body.

There was also put into the House of Commons a *Bill* for refo
 of Processes at Common Law, which was sent up by the Comm
 the Lords, but it fell in that House. I have seen a large discourse w
 then upon that Argument; in which it is set forth, that the I
England was a barbarous kind of Study, and did not lead Men
 finer sort of Learning, which made the Common Lawyers to be
 rally so ignorant of Forreign Matters, and so unable to negoti
 them; therefore it was proposed, that the *Common* and *Statute*
 mould be, in imitation of the *Roman* Law, digested into a *Body*
Titles and *Heads*, and put in good *Latin*. But this was too great
 sign to be set on, or finished under an Infant King. If it was th
 casury, it will be readily acknowledged to be much more so now
 Volume of our *Statutes* being so much swell'd since that time; l
 the vast number of *Reports*, and *Cases*, and the *Readings* gr

much longer than formerly: yet whether this is a thing to be much expected or desired, I refer it to the learned and wise Men of that Robe.

The only Act that remains of this Session of Parliament, about which I shall inform the Reader, is the *Attainder* of the *Admiral*. The *Queen Dowager* that had married him died in *September* last, not without suspicion of Poison. She was a good and vertuous Lady, and in her whole Life had done nothing unseemly, but the marrying him so indecently, and so soon after the Kings death. There was found among her Papers a Discourse written by her concerning herself; entituled, *The Lamentation of a Sinner*, which was published by *Cecil*, who writ a Preface to it. In it, she, with great sincerity, acknowledges the sinful course of her Life for many years, in which she, relying on external Performances, such as *Fasts*, and *Pilgrimages*, was all that while a Stranger to the Internal and True Power of Religion: which she came afterwards to feel by the study of the Scripture, and the calling upon God for his Holy Spirit. She explains clearly the Notion she had of Justification by Faith, so that Holiness necessarily followed upon it: but lamented the great scandal given by many Gospellers: So were all these called who were given to the reading of the Scriptures.

She being thus dead, the *Admiral* renewed his Addresses to the Lady *Elizabeth*, but in vain; for as he could not expect that his Brother and the Council would consent to it, so if he had married her without that, the possibility of succeeding to the Crown was cut off by King *Henry's* Will. And this Attempt of his occasioned that Act to be put in, which was formerly mentioned, for declaring the marrying the Kings Sisters, without consent of Council, to be Treason. Seeing he could not compass that design, he resolved to carry away the King to his House of *Helt* in the Country; and so to displace his Brother, and to take the Government into his own hands. For this end, he had laid in Magazines of Arms, and lifted about 10000 Men in several Places: and openly complained, that his Brother intended to enslave the Nation, and make himself Master of all; and had therefore brought over those *German* Soldiers. He had also entered into Treaty with several of the Nobility, that envied his Brothers greatness, and were not ill pleased to see a breach between them, and that grown to be irreconcilable. To these he promised that they should be of the Council, and that he would dispose of the King in Marriage to one of their Daughters: the Person is not named. The *Protector* had often told him of these things, and warned him of the danger into which he would throw himself by such ways; but he persisted still in his designs; though he denied and excused them as long as was possible. Now his restless ambition seeming incurable, he was on the 19th. of *Jan.* sent to the *Tower*. The original Warrant, Signed by all the Privy Council, is in the Council-Book formerly mentioned; where the Earl of *Southampton* Signs with the rest; who was now, in outward appearance, reconciled to the *Protector*. On the day following the *Admiral's* Seal of his Office was sent for, and put into Secretary *Smith's* Hands. And now many things broke out against him; and particularly a Conspiracy of his with Sir *W. Sharrington*, Vice-Treasurer of the Mint at *Bristol*, who was to have furnished him with 10000 *£*. and had already coined about 12000 *£*. filse Money: and had not a great deal more, to

The Admiral
Attainder.

The Queen
Dowager dy-
ing, he court-
ed the Lady

The Admiral
sent to the

the value of 40000 *l.* in all; for which he was attainted by a Process a Common Law, and that was confirmed in Parliament. *Fowler* also, that waited in the Privy Chamber, with some few others, were sent to the *Tower*: Many complaints being usually brought against a sinking *Mar* the *Lord Russel*, the *Earl of Southampton*, and Secretary *Petre*, were ordered to receive their Examinations. And thus the business was let alone till the 28th. of *Feb.* in which time his Brother did again try if it were possible to bring him to a better temper: And as he had, since their first breach, granted him 800 *l.* a year in Land, to gain his friendship; so means were now used to persuade him to submit himself, and to withdraw from Court, and from all employment. But it appeared that nothing could be done to him that could cure his ambition, or the hatred he carried to his Brother. And therefore on the 22^d. of *Feb.* a full report was made to the Council of all the things that were informed against him; consisting not only of the Particulars formerly mentioned, but of many foul misdemeanours in the discharge of the Admiralty: several Pirates being entertained by him, who gave him a share of their Robberies and whom he had protected, notwithstanding the Complaints made by other Princes, by which the King was in danger of a War from the Prince so complaining. The whole Charge consists of 33 Articles, which will be found in the *Collection*. The Particulars, as it is entered in the Council-Book, were so manifestly proved, not only by Witnesses, but by Letters under his own Hand, that it did not seem possible to deny them. Yet he had been sent to, and examined, by some of the Council, but refused to make a direct Answer to them, or to Sign those Answers that he had made. So it was ordered, that the next day, all the Privy Council except the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and Sir *John Baker*, Speaker to the House of Commons, who was engaged to attend in the House, should go to the *Tower*, and examine him. On the 23^d. the Lord Chancellor, with the other Councillors, went to him, and read the Articles of his Charge and earnestly desired him to make plain Answers to them, excusing himself where he could, and submitting himself in other things: and that he would shew no obstinacy of Mind. He answered them, That he expected an open Trial, and his Accusers to be brought face to face. All the Councillors endeavoured to persuade him to be more tractable, but to no purpose. At last the Lord Chancellor required him on his Allegiance to make his Answer. He desired they would leave the Articles with him, and he would consider of them, otherwise he would make no Answer to them. But the Councillors resolved not to leave them with him on those terms. On the 24th. of *Feb.* it was resolved in Council, that the whole Board should after Dinner acquaint the King with the state of the Affair, and desire to know of him whether he would have the Law to take place; and since the thing had been before the Parliament, whether he would leave it to their determination: so tender they were of their young King in a Case that concerned his Uncles Life. But the King had begun to discern his seditious temper, and was now much alienated from him.

Collection
Number 31.

the Council
desired the
King to refer
the Matter
to the Parlia-
ment.

When the Councillors waited on him, the Lord Chancellor opened the Matter to the King, and delivered his Opinion for leaving it to the Parliament. Then every Councillor by himself spake his mind, all to the same purpose. Last of all the *Protector* spake; he protested this was a

mol

most sorrowful business to him, that he had used all the means in his power to keep it from coming to this extremity; but were it Son or Brother, he must prefer his Majesties safety to them, for he weighed his Allegiance more than his Blood: and that therefore he was not against the request that the other Lords had made; and said, if he himself were guilty of such offences, he should not think he were worthy of life; and the rather because he was of all Men the most bound to his Majesty, and therefore he could not refuse Justice. The King answered them in these words. "We perceive that there are great things objected and laid to my Lord *Admiral* my Uncle, and they tend to Treason, and We perceive that you require but Justice to be done. We think it reasonable, and We Will, that you proceed according to your Request. Which words, (as it is marked in the Council-Book) coming so suddenly from his *Graces* Mouth, of his own motion, as the Lords might well perceive, they were marvellously rejoiced, and gave the King most hearty praise and thanks: yet resolved that some of both Houses should be sent to the *Admiral*, before the Bill should be put in against him, to see what he could or would say. All this was done to try if he could be brought to a Submission. So the Lord *Chancellor*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Warwick*, and *Southampton*, and Sir *John Baker*, Sir *Tho. Cheyney*, and Sir *Anth. Denny*, were sent to him. He was long obstinate, but after much persuasion was brought to give an Answer to the first three Articles, which will be found in the *Collection* at the end of the Articles: and then on a sudden he stopt, and bade them be content, for he would go no further: and no entreaties would work on him, either to answer the rest, or to set his Hand to the Answers he had made.

Who confessed to it.

On the 25th. of Feb. the Bill was put in for attainting him, and the Peers had been so accustomed to agree to such Bills in King *Henry's* time, that they did easily pass it. All the Judges, and the Kings Council, delivered their Opinions, that the Articles were Treason. Then the Evidence was brought, many Lords gave it so fully, that all the rest with one Voice consented to the Bill; only the *Protector*, for natural pities sake, as is in the Council-Book, desired leave to withdraw. On the 27th. the Bill was sent down to the *Commons*, with a Message, That if they desired to proceed as the Lords had done, those Lords that had given their Evidence in their own House, should come down and declare it to the *Commons*. But there was more opposition made in the House of *Commons*. Many argued against *Attainders* in absence, and thought it an odd way that some Peers should rise up in their Places in their own House, and relate somewhat to the slander of another, and that he should be thereupon attainted: therefore it was pressed, that it might be done by a Trial, and that the *Admiral* should be brought to the Barr, and be heard plead for himself. But on the fourth of March a Message was sent from the King, that he thought it was not necessary to send for the *Admiral*: and that the Lords should come down and renew before them the Evidence they had given in their own House. This was done: and so the Bill was agreed to by the *Commons* in a full House, judged about 400, and there were not above ten or twelve that voted in the negative. The Royal assent was given on the 5th. of March. On the 10th. of March, the Council resolved to press the King that Justice might be done on the *Admiral*: and since the Case was so heavy and lamentable,

The Bill passed in both.

1549.

to the *Protector*, (so it is in the Council-Book) though it was also sorrowful to them all, they resolved to proceed in it, so that neither the King, nor he, should be further troubled with it. After Dinner they went to the King, the *Protector* being with them. The King said, he had well observed their Proceedings, and thanked them for their great care of his safety, and commanded them to proceed in it without further molesting him or the *Protector*: and ended, *I pray you my Lords do so*. Upon this they ordered the Bishop of *Ely* to go to the *Admiral*, and to instruct him in the things that related to another Life: and to prepare him to take patiently his deserved Execution. And on the 17th. of *March*, he having made report to them of his Attendance on the *Admiral*, the Council Signed a Warrant for his Execution, which will be found in the *Collection*, to which both the Lord *Protector* and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* set their Hands. And on the 20th. his Head was cut off. What his behaviour was on the Scaffold I do not find.

Collection
Number 32.

March 20.
The Admiral
beheaded.

Censures past
upon it.

Thus fell *Tho. Lord Seimour*, Lord high *Admiral* of *England*, a Man of high thoughts, of great violence of temper, and ambitious out of measure. The *Protector* was much censured for giving way to his Execution, by those who looked only at that relation between them, which they thought should have made him still preserve him. But others, who knew the whole *Series* of the affair, saw it was scarce possible for him to do more for the gaining his Brother than he had done. Yet the other being a popular Notion, that it was against Nature for one Brother to destroy another, was more easily entertain'd by the Multitude, who could not penetrate into the Mysteries of State. But the way of Proceeding was much condemned; since to attain a Man without bringing him to make his own defence, or to object what he could say to the Witnesses that were brought against him, was so illegal and unjust, that it could not be defended. Only this was to be said for it, that it was a little more regular than *Parliamentary Attainders* had been formerly; for here the Evidence upon which it was founded was given before both Houses.

And on Cran-
mers signing
the Warrant
for his Execu-
tion.

One Particular seemed a little odd, that *Cranmer* Signed the Warrant for his Execution; which being in a *Cause of Blood*, was contrary to the *Canon Law*. In the Primitive Times, Church-men had only the Cure of Souls lying on them, together with the reconciling of such differences as might otherwise end in Suits of Law before the Civil Courts, which were made up of Infidels. When the Empire became Christian, these Judgments, which they gave originally on so charitable an account, were by the Imperial Laws made to have great Authority; but further than these, or the care of Widows and Orphans, they were forbid, both by the Council of *Chalcedon*, and other lesser Councils, to meddle in secular Matters. Among the Endowments made to some Churches, there were Lands given, where the Slaves, according to the *Roman Law*, came within the Patrimony of these Churches, and by that Law Masters had Power of Life and Death over their Slaves.

Laws against
Church-mens
meddling in
Matters of
Blood.

In some Churches this Power had been severely exercised, even to maiming and death, which seemed very indecent in a Church-man. Besides, there was an Apprehension that some severe Church-men were but Masters for life, might be more profuse of the Slaves, than those that were to transmit them to their Families.

fore to prevent the wast that should be made in the Churches Patrimony, it was agreed on that Church-men should not proceed capitally against any of their Vassals or Slaves. And in the Confusions that were in Spain, the Princes that prevailed, had appointed Priests to be Judges, to give the greater reputation to their Courts. This being found much to the prejudice of the Church, it was decreed in the fourth Council of Toledo that Priests who were chosen by Christ to the Ministry of Salvation, should not judge in Capital Matters, unless the Prince should swear to them, that he would remit the punishment: and such as did otherwise, were held guilty of Blood-shedding, and were to lose their Degree in the Church. This was soon received over all the *Western Church*, and Arguments were found out afterwards by the *Canonists* to prove the necessity of continuing it; from *Dauids* not being suffered to build the Temple, since he was a *Man of Blood*; and from the qualification required by *St. Paul* in a Bishop, That he should be no *striker*, since he seemed to strike, that did it either in Person, or by one whom he deputed to do it. But when afterwards *Charls* the Great, and all the Christian Princes in the *West*, gave their Bishops great Lands and Dominions; they obliged them to be in all their Councils, and to do them such *Services* as they required of them by vertue of their Tenures. The Popes, designing to set up a Spiritual Empire, and to bring all Church-lands within it; required the Bishops to separate themselves from a dependance on their Princes, as much as it was possible: And these Laws formerly made about Cases of Blood, were judged a Colour good enough why they should not meddle in such Trials: so they procured these Cases to be excepted. But it seems *Cranmer* thought his Conscience was under no tie from those *Canons*, and so judged it not contrary to his Function to Sign that Order.

The *Parliament* was on the 14th. of *March* Prorogued to the 4th. of *Nov.* the Clergy having granted the King a Subsidy of 6 s. in the Pound to be paid in three Years. In the *Preamble* of the *Bill* of Subsidy they acknowledged the great quietness they enjoyed under him, having no Let nor Impediment in the Service of God. But the Laity set out their Subsidy with a much fuller *Preamble*, of the great happiness they had by the true Religion of Christ; declaring that they were ready to forsake all things rather than Christ; as also to assist the King in the Conquest of *Scotland*, which they call a part of his Dominion; therefore they give 12 d. in the Pound of all Mens Personal Estates to be paid in three Years.

Subsidies
granted by the
Clergy and
Laity

But now to look into Matters of Religion, there was, immediately after the Act of *Uniformity* pass'd, a new *Visitation*, which, it is probable went in the same Method that was observed in the former. There were two things much complained of; the one was, that the Priests read the Prayers generally with the same tone of Voice that they had used formerly in the *Latin Service*: so that, it was said, the People did not understand it much better than they had done the *Latin* formerly. This I have seen represented in many Letters; and it was very seriously laid before *Cranmer* by *Martin Bucer*. The course taken in it, was, that in all *Parish Churches* the Service should be read in a plain audible Voice; but that the former way should remain in *Cathedrals*, where they were great *Quires*, who were well acquainted with that tone, and where it agreed better with the *Antiphons* and *Gosps*. Yet even there,



of the

there many thought it no proper way in the *Litany*, where the greatest gravity was more agreeable to such humble Addresses, than such a modulation of the Voice, which to those unacquainted with it seemed light, and for others that were more accustomed to it, it seemed to be rather use that had reconciled them to it, than the natural decency of the thing, or any fineness in it to advance the devotion of their Prayers. But this was a thing judged of less importance: It was said that those who had been accustomed to read in that voice, could not easily alter it: but as those dropt off and died, others would be put in their Places, who would officiate in a plainer Voice. Other Abuses were more important. Some used in the *Communion-Service* many of the old *Rites*, such as kissing the Altar, crossing themselves, lifting the Book from one Place to another, breathing on the Bread, shewing it openly before the distribution, with some other of the old Ceremonies. The People did also continue the use of their praying by *Beads*, which was called an Innovation of *Peter* the Hermite in the 12th. Century. By it, ten *Aves* went for one *Pater Noster*, and the reciting these so oft in *Latin*, had come to be almost all the Devotion of the Vulgar: and therefore the People were ordered to leave that unreasonable way of Praying, it seeming a most unaccountable thing that the reciting the Angels Salutation to the blessed Virgin, should be such a high piece of Divine Worship. And that this should be done ten times, for one Prayer to God, looked so like *preferring the Creature to the Creator*, that it was not easie to defend it from an appearance of Idolatry. The Priests were also ordered to exhort the People to give to the Poor. The Curates were required to preach and declare the *Catechism*, at least every sixth Week. And some Priests continuing secretly the use of *Soul Masses*, in which, for avoiding the censure of the Law, they had one to communicate with them, but had many of these in one day; It was ordered, that there should be no selling of the Communion, in *Trentals*, and that there should be but one Communion in one Church, except on *Easter-day* and *Christmas*; in which the People coming to the Sacrament in greater Numbers, there should be one Sacrament in the Morning, and another near Noon. And there being great abuses in Churches, and Church-yards, in which in the times of Popery, Markets had been held, and Bargains made, that was forbid, chiefly in the time of Divine Service or Sermon.

Collection
No. 33.

These Instructions, which the Reader will find in the *Collection*, were given in charge to the Visitors. *Cranmer* had also a *Visitation* about the same time, in which the Articles he gave out are all drawn according to the Kings Injunctions. By some Questions in them, they seem to have been sent out before the Parliament, because the Book of Service is not mentioned: but the last Question save one, being of such as condemned married Priests, and refused to receive the Sacrament at their hands, I conceive that these were compiled after the *Act* concerning their Marriage was pass'd, but before the Feast of *Whit-Sunday* following, for till then the *Common-Prayer-Book* was not to be received. There were also Orders sent by the Council to the Bishop of *London*, to see that there should be no special Masses in *St. Pauls Church*; which being the Mother Church in the chief City of the Kingdom, would be an example to all the rest; and that therefore there should be only one Communion at the great Altar, and that at the time when the high Mass was wont to be celebrated, unless

some desired a Sacrament in the Morning, and then it was to be celebrated at the high Altar. *Bonner*, who resolved to comply in every thing, sent the Councils Letter to the *Dean* and *Residentaries* of *St. Pauls*, to see it obeyed: and indeed all *England* over the Book was so universally received, that the Visitors did return no complaint from any corner of the whole Kingdom. Only the Lady *Mary* continued to have Mass said in her House, of which the Council being advertised, writ to her to conform her self to the Laws, and not to cast a reproach on the Kings Government; for the nearer she was to him in Blood, she was to give the better example to others: and her disobedience might encourage others to follow her in that contempt of the Kings Authority. So they desired her to send to them, her *Comptroller*, and *Dr. Hopton* her Chaplain, by whom she should be more fully advertised of the King and Councils Pleasure. Upon this she sent one to the *Emperor* to interpose for her, that she might not be forced to any thing against her Conscience.

1540
All received the new Service except the Lady Mary.

At this time there was a Complaint made at the *Emperors* Court, of the *English* Ambassador *Sir Philip Hobby*, for using the new *Common-Prayer-Book* there: To which he answered, He was to be obedient to the Laws of his own Prince and Country; and as the *Emperors* Ambassador had Mass at his Chappel at *London*, without disturbance, though it was contrary to the Law of *England*, so he had the same reason to expect the like liberty. But the *Emperor* espousing the Interest of the Lady *Mary*, both *Paget*, (who was sent over Ambassador Extraordinary to him upon his coming into *Flanders*) and *Hobby* promised in the Kings Name that he should dispense with her, for some time, as they afterwards declared upon their Honours, when the thing was further questioned: though the *Emperor* and his Ministers pretended, that without any Qualification it was promised that she should enjoy the free exercise of her Religion. The *Emperor* was now grown so high with his success in *Germany*, and that at a time when a War was coming on with *France*, that it was not thought advisable to give him any offence. There was likewise a Proposition sent over by him to the *Protector* and *Council*, for the Lady *Mary* to be married to *Alphonso*, Brother to the King of *Portugal*. The Council entertained it: and though the late King had left his Daughters but 10000 *l.* a-piece, yet they offered to give with her 100000 Crowns in Money, and 20000 Crowns worth of Jewels. The *Infant* of *Portugal* was about her own Age, and offered 20000 Crowns Jointure. But this Proposition fell, on what hand I do not know. The Lady *Mary* writ on the 22^{d.} of *June* to the Council, that she could not obey their late Laws; and that she did not esteem them Laws, as made when the King was not of Age, and contrary to those made by her Father, which they were all bound by Oath to maintain. She excused the not sending her *Comptroller*, (*Mr. Arundel*) and her Priest: the one did all her business, so that she could not well be without him; the other was then so ill that he could not travel. Upon this the Council sent a peremptory Command to these, requiring them to come up, and receive their Orders. The Lady *Mary* wrote a second Letter to them on the 27^{th.} of *June*, in which she expostulated the matter with the Council. She said, She was subject to none of them, and would obey none of the Laws they made; but protested great Obedience and Submission to the King. When her ~~business~~ came to Court they were commanded to deliver to the Lady *Mary*.

The Ambassador at the Emperors Court not suffered to use it.

A Treaty of Marriage for the Lady Mary.

Cotton lib. Galba B. 12.

She writ to the Council concerning the new Service.

1549.

Who required
her to obey
as other Sub-
jects did.

Mary, that though the King was young in Person, yet his Authority was now as great as ever: that those who have his Authority and act in his Name are to be obeyed; and though they as single Persons were her humble Servants, yet when they met in Council, they acted in the Kings Name, and so were to be considered by all the Kings Subjects as if they were the King himself: they had indeed sworn to obey the late Kings Laws, but that could bind them no longer than they were in force; and being now repealed, they were no more Laws; other Laws being made in their room: There was no exception in the Laws, all the Kings Subjects were included in them; and for a Reformation of Religion made when a King was under Age, one of the most perfect that was recorded in Scripture was so carried on, when *Josiah* was much younger than their King was: therefore they gave them in charge to perswade her Grace, (for that was her Title) to be a good example of obedience, and not to encourage peevish and obstinate Persons, by her stiffness. But this Business was for some time laid aside.

The manner
of Christs
Presence in
the Sacrament
examined.

And now the Reformation was to be carried on to the establishing of a Form of *Doctrine*, which should contain the chief Points of Religion. In order to which, there was this Year great enquiry made into many particular Opinions, and chiefly concerning the *Presence of Christ* in the *Sacrament*. There was no Opinion, for which the Priests contended more ignorantly and eagerly, and that the People generally believed more blindly and firmly, as if a strong belief were nothing else but winking very hard. The Priests, because they accounted it the chief support now left of their falling Dominion, which being kept up, might in time retrieve all the rest. For while it was believed, that their Character qualified them for so strange and mighty a Performance, they must needs be held in great reverence. The People, because they thought they received the very Flesh of Christ, and so (notwithstanding our Saviours express Declaration to the contrary, that *the Flesh profiteth nothing*) looked on those who went about to perswade them otherwise, as Men that intended to rob them of the greatest Priviledge they had. And therefore it was thought necessary to open this fully, before there should be any change made in the Doctrine of the Church.

The *Lutherans* seemed to agree with that which had been the Doctrine of the *Greek Church*, that in the Sacrament there was both the Substance of Bread and Wine, and Christs Body likewise. Only many of them defended it by an Opinion that was thought a-kin to the *Eutychian Heresie*; that his humane Nature by vertue of the union of the God-head, was every where: though even in this way it did not appear that there was any special Presence in the Sacrament, more than in other things. Those of *Switzerland* had on the other hand, taught that the Sacrament was only an Institution to commemorate the Sufferings of Christ. This, because it was intelligible, was thought by many too low and mean a thing, and not equal to the high expressions that are in the Scripture, of its being *the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ*. The Princes of *Germany* saw what mischief was like to follow on the diversity of Opinions in explaining the *Sacrament*: and as *Luther*, being impatient in his temper, and too much given to dictate, took it very ill to see his Doctrine so rejected; so by the undecent way of writing in matters of Controversie, to which the *Germans* are too much inclined, this difference

turned to a direct breach among them. The *Landgrave of Hesse* laboured much to have these diversities of Opinion laid asleep, since they gave their common Enemies such advantage, as their quarrelling among themselves. *Martin Bucer* was of a moderate temper, and had a middle Opinion in this matter, though not so easie to be understood. He thought there was more than a *Remembrance*, to wit, a *Communion* of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, that in all a *Real Presence* ought to be asserted, and that the way of expressing it ought not to be anxiously enquired into: and with him *Calvin* held, that it was truly the *Body and Blood of Christ*, not figuratively, really present. The advantage of these general Expressions was, hereby they hoped to have silenced the Debates between the *German* and *Helvetian* Divines, whose Doctrine came likewise to be received by many of the *Cities* of the *Empire*, and by the *Electors*. And among *Martin Bucers* Papers, I met with an Original of *Luthers*, (which will be found in the *Collection*) in which he is willing to have that difference thus settled: "Those of the *Ausburg* Confession should declare, that in the Sacrament there was truly Bread and Wine, and those of the *Helvetian* Confession should declare, that its Body was truly present, and so without any further curiosities the way of explaining it, in which Divines might use their liberty, difference should end. But how this came to take no effect, I do not understand. It was also thought that this way of expressing the same would give least offence; for the People were scarce able to hold the Opinion of the Sacraments being only a *Figure*: but wherein a *Real Presence* consisted, was not so easie to be made out. Some explained it more intelligibly in a sense of Law that in the Sacrament there was a real application of the Merit of Christs Death, to those who received it worthily: so that Christ as crucified was really present: and they had this to say for themselves, that the words of the Institution call the Elements simply Christs *Body* and *Blood*, but his *Body* crucified, and his *Blood* shed, and that therefore Christ was really present, as crucified, so that the importance of *Really* was *Effectually*. Others thought all ways of explaining the manner of the Presence were full of curiosities, and apt to beget differences: that therefore the Doctrine was to be established in general words, and to save the labour both in saying and understanding it, it was to be esteemed a Mystery. It seems to have been *Bucers* Opinion, but *Peter Martyr* inclined more to the *Helvetians*.

There were publick Disputations held this Year both at *Oxford* and *Cambridge* upon this Matter. At *Oxford* the Popish Party did so encourage themselves by the Indulgence of the Government, and the gentle-*Cranmers* temper, that they became upon this Head insolent and presumptuous. *Peter Martyr* had read in the Chair concerning the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, which he explained according to the Doctrine of the *Helvetian* Churches: *Dr. Smith* did upon this resolve to contradict him openly in the Schools, and challenge him to dispute on points: and had brought many thither, who should by their Claps and Applauses run him down: yet this was not so secretly laid, that *Friend of P. Martyr* brought him word of it before he had come to the Schools, and persuaded him not to go to the Schools that day, and so

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Collection
Numb. 34.

Publick Disputations about it.

Antiq. Oxon.

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so disappoint *Smith*. But he looked on that as to mean a thing, that he would by no means comply with it. So he went to the Divinity Schools: on his way one brought him a Challenge from *Smith* to dispute with him concerning the Eucharist. He went on and took his place in the Chair, where he behaved himself with an equal measure of courage and discretion: He gravely check'd *Smith's* presumption, and said, he did not decline a dispute; but was resolved to have his Reading that day, nor would he engage in a publick Dispute without leave from the Kings Council. Upon this a Tumult was like to rise; so the Vice-Chancellor sent for them before him: *P. Martyr* said he was ready to defend every thing that he had read in the Chair, in a Dispute: but he would manage it only in Scripture Terms, and not in the Terms of the Schools.

This was the beating the Popish Doctors out of that which was their chief strength; for they had little other Learning, but a slight of tossing some Arguments from hand to hand, with a gibberish kind of Language, that sounded like somewhat that was sublime; but had really nothing under it. By constant practice they were very nimble at this sort of Legerdemain, of which both *Erasmus* and *Sir Thomas More*, with the other learned Men of that Age, had made such sport, that it was become sufficiently ridiculous: and the Protestants laid hold on that advantage which such great Authorities gave them to disparage it. They set up another way of disputing from the original Text of the Scripture in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, which seemed a more proper thing in matters of Divinity, than the Metaphysical Language of the School-men.

This whole Matter being referred to the Privy-Council, they appointed some Delegates to hear and preside in the Disputation: but *Dr. Smith* being brought in some trouble, either for this Tumult, or upon some other account, was forced to put in Sureties for his good behaviour: he desiring that he might be discharged of any further prosecution, made the most humble submission to *Cranmer* that was possible; and being thereupon set at liberty, he fled out of the Kingdom, it is said he went first to *Scotland*, and from thence to *Flanders*. But not long after this *Peter Martyr* had a Disputation before the Commissioners sent by the King, who were the Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Dr. Cox*, then Chancellor of the University, and some others; in which *Tresham*, *Chadsey*, and *Morgan* disputed against those three Propositions: 1. *In the Sacrament of Thanksgiving there is no Transubstantiation of Bread and Wine in the Body and Blood of Christ.* 2. *The Body or Blood of Christ is not Carnally or Corporally in the Bread and Wine, nor as others use to say, under the Bread and Wine.* 3. *The Body and Blood of Christ are united to the Bread and Wine Sacramentally.* *Ridley* was sent also to *Cambridge* with some others of the Kings Commissioners, where, on the 20th, 24th, and 27th. of *June*, there were publick Disputations on these two Propositions.

Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of Scripture; nor can it be necessarily collected from it; nor yet confirmed by the consent of the Ancient Fathers.

"In the Lords Supper there is none other Oblation and Sacrifice, than of a Remembrance of Christs Death, and of Thanksgiving.

Dr. Madew defended these, and *Glyn*, *Langdale*, *Sedgwick*, and *Youny*, disputed against them the first day; and the second day *Glyn* defended the

the contrary Propositions, and *Peru, Grindal, Gess, and Pilkington*, disputed against them. On the third day the dispute went on, and was summed up in a learned *Determination* by *Ridley* against the Corporal Presence. There had been also a long Disputation in the Parliament on the same Subject; but of this we have nothing remaining, but what *King Edward* writ in his *Journal*. *Ridley* had, by reading *Bertrams* Book of the Body and Blood of Christ, been first set on to examine well the old Opinion concerning the Presence of Christs very Flesh and Blood in the Sacrament: and wondering to find that in the *6th. Century* that Opinion was so much controverted, and so learnedly writ against by one of the most esteemed Men of that Age, began to conclude, that it was none of the ancient Doctrines of the Church, but lately Brought in, and not fully received, till after *Bertrams* Age. He communicated the Matter with *Cranmer*, and they set themselves to examine it with more than ordinary care. *Cranmer* afterwards gathered all the Arguments about it into the Book which he writ on that Subject, to which *Gardiner* set out an Answer under the disguised Name of *Marcus Constantius*; and *Cranmer* replied to it, I shall offer the Reader in short, the Substance of what was in these Books, and of the Arguments used in the Disputations, and in many other Books which were at that time written on this Subject.

Christ in the Institution took Bread, and gave it. So that his words, *This is my Body*, could only be meant of the Bread: Now the Bread could not be his Body literally. He himself also calls the Cup, *The Fruit of the Vine*. *St. Paul* calls it, *The Bread that we break*, and *the Cup that we bless*; and speaking of it after it was blessed, calls it, *That Bread and that Cup*. For the reason of that Expression, *This is my Body*; it was considered that the Disciples, to whom Christ spoke thus, were *Jews*; and that they being accustomed to the Mosaical Rites, must needs have understood his words in the same sense they did *Moses's* words, concerning the *Paschal Lamb*, which is called *the Lords Passover*. It was not that literally, for *the Lords Passover* was the Angels passing by the *Israelites* when he smote the first-born of the *Egyptians*; so the *Lamb* was only the *Lords Passover* as it was the Memorial of it: and thus Christ substituting the *Eucharist* to the *Paschal Lamb*, used such an Expression, calling it *his Body*, in the same manner of speaking as the *Lamb* was called *the Lords Passover*. This was plain enough, for his Disciples could not well understand him in any other sense than that to which they had been formerly accustomed. In the Scripture many such Figurative Expressions occur frequently. In Baptism, the other Sacrament instituted by Christ, he is said to Baptize *with the Holy Ghost and with Fire*: and such as are Baptized, are said to *put on Christ*: which were Figurative Expressions: As also in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, the Cup is called *the New Testament in Christs Blood*, which is an Expression full of Figure. Farther it was observed, that *that* Sacrament was instituted for a Remembrance of Christ, and of his death, which implied that he was to be absent at the time when he was to be remembered. Nor was it simply said, that the Elements were his Body and Blood; but that they were his *Body broken*, and his *Blood shed*, that is, they were these as suffering on the Cross; which as they could not be understood literally, for Christ did Institute this Sacrament before he had

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The manner of the Presence explained according to the Scripture.

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suffered on the Cross ; so now Christ must be present in the Sacrament, not as glorified in Heaven, but as suffering on his Cross. From those Places where it is said, that Christ is in Heaven, and that he is to continue there ; they argued, that he was not to be any more upon Earth. And those words in the 6th. of St. John, of *eating Christs Flesh*, and *drinking his Blood*, they said were to be understood not of the Sacrament ; since many receive the Sacrament unworthily, and of them it cannot be said that *they have Eternal Life in them* ; but Christ there said of them that received him in the sense that was meant in that Chapter, that *all that did so eat his Flesh had Eternal Life in them* ; therefore these words can only be understood *Figuratively* of receiving him by Faith, as himself there explains it : And so in the end of that Discourse, finding some were startled at that way of expressing himself, he gave a Key to the whole, when he said *his Words were Spirit and Life*, and that *the Flesh profited nothing, it was the Spirit that quickned*. It was ordinary for him to teach in Parables ; and the receiving of any Doctrine, being oft expressed by the Prophets, by the Figure of *eating and drinking*, he, upon the occasion of the Peoples coming to him after he had fed them with a few Loaves, did discourse of their believing, in these dark Expressions ; which did not seem to relate to the Sacrament, since it was not then Instituted. They also argued from Christs appealing to the Senses of his Hearers, in his Miracles, and especially in his discourses upon his Resurrection, that the Testimony of Sense was to be received, where the Object was duly applied, and the Sense not vitiated. They also alledged natural Reasons against a Bodies being in more Places than one, or being in a Place in the manner of a Spirit, so that the Substance of a compleat Body, could be in a crumb of Bread or drop of Wine : and argued, that since the Elements after Consecration, would nourish, might putrifie, or could be poisoned, these things clearly evinced, That the Substance of Bread and Wine remained in the Sacrament.

And from the
Fathers.

From this they went to examine the Ancient Fathers. Some of them called it *Bread and Wine* ; others said it *nourished the Body*, as *Justin Martyr* ; others, that it was *digested in the Stomach*, and went into the draught, as *Origen*. Some called it a *Figure* of Christs Body, so *Tertullian*, and *St. Austin* ; others called the Elements *Types* and *Signs*, so almost all the Ancient *Liturgies*, and the Greek Fathers generally. In the *Creeds* of the Church it was professed, that Christ still sat on the Right Hand of God ; the *Fathers* argued from thence, that he was in Heaven, and not on Earth. And the *Marcionites*, and other *Hereticks*, denying that Christ had a true Body, or did really suffer ; the *Fathers* appealed in that to the Testimony of Sense, as *Infallible*. And *St. Austin* giving Rules concerning *Figurative Speeches* in Scripture ; one is this, that they must be taken *Figuratively*, where in the literal sense the thing were a Crime ; which he applies to these Words of *eating Christs Flesh*, and *drinking his Blood*. But that on which they put the stress of the whole cause, as to the Doctrine of the Fathers, was the reasoning that they used against the *Eutychians*, who said that Christs Body and Humane Nature was swallowed up by his Divinity. The *Eutychians*, arguing from the *Eucharists* being called Christs Body and Blood, in which they said Christs Presence did convert the Substance of the Bread and Wine into his own Flesh and Blood ; so in like manner, said they, his Godhead had converted the

the Manhood into it self: Against this, *Gelasius* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Theodoret*, one of the learnedest Fathers of his Age, argue in plain words, That the Substance of the Bread and Wine remained, as it was formerly, in its own Nature, and Form; and from their Opinion of the Presence of Christs Body in it without converting the Elements, they turned the Argument to shew how the Divine and Humane Nature can be together in Christ, without the ones being changed by the other. *Peter Martyr* had brought over with him the Copy of a Letter of *St. Chrysostomes*, which he found in a MS. at *Florence*, written to the same purpose, and on the same Argument: which was the more remarkable, because that *Chrysostome* had said higher things in his *Sermons* and *Commentaries* concerning Christs being present in the Sacrament than any of all the Fathers; but it appeared by this Letter, that those high Expressions were no other than Rhetorical Figures of Speech to beget a great reverence to this Institution: and from hence it was reasonable to judge that such were the like Expressions in other Fathers, and that they were nevertheless of *Chrysostomes* mind touching the Presence of Christ in this Sacrament. That *Epistle* of his does lie still unpublished, though a very learned Man now in *France* has procured a Copy of it: but those of that Church know the consequence that the printing of it would have, and so it seems are resolved to suppress it if they can. From all these things it was plain that though the Fathers believed there was an extraordinary Vertue in the Sacrament, and an unaccountable Presence of Christ in it, yet they thought not of Transubstantiation nor any thing like it. But when darkness and ignorance crept into the Church, the People were apt to believe any thing that was incredible: and were willing enough to support such opinions as turned Religion into external Pageantry. The Priests also knowing little of the Scriptures, and being only or chiefly conversant in those Writings of the Ancients that had highly extolled the Sacrament; came generally to take up the Opinion of the Corporal Presence, and being soon apprehensive of the great esteem it would bring to them, cherished it much. In the 9th. Century *Bertram*, *Rabanus Maurus*, *Amalarius*, *Alcuinus*, and *Joannes Scotus*, all writ against it: nor where any of them censured or condemned for these Opinions. It was plainly and strongly contradicted by some *Homilies* that were in the *Saxon* Tongue, in which not a few of *Bertrams* words occur: particularly in that which was to be read in the Churches on *Easter* day. But in the 11th. or 12th. Century it came to be universally received; as indeed any thing would have been that much advanced the Dignity of Priesthood. And it was farther advanced by Pope *Innocent* the third, and so established in the fourth Council of *Lateran*; That same Council, in which the rooting out of Hereticks, and the Popes Power of deposing Heretical Princes, and giving their Dominions to others, were also decreed.

But there was another curious Remark made of the Progress of this Opinion. When the Doctrine of the Corporal Presence was first received in the *Western* Church, they believed that the whole Loaf was turned into one entire Body of Jesus Christ; so that in the distribution one had an Eye, a Nose, or an Ear, another a Tooth, a Finger, or a Toe, a third a Collop, or a piece of Tripe; and this was supported by pretended Miracles in support of that Opinion, for sometimes the Host was
said

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said to bleed, Parts of it were also said to be turned to pieces of Flesh. This continued to be the Doctrine of the Church of Rome for near 300 Years. It appears clearly in the Renunciation which they made *Berengar* swear. But when the School-men began to form the Tenets of that Church by more artificial and subtil Rules; as they thought it an ungentle way of treating Christ to be thus mangling his Body, and eating it up in Gobbets, so the Maxims they set up about the Extension of matter, and of the manner of Spirits filling a space, made them think of a more decent way of explaining this Prodigious Mystery. They taught that Christ was so in the Host and Chalice, that there was one entire Body in every crumb and drop; so that the Body was no more broken, but upon every breaking of the Host, a new whole Body flew off from the other parts, which yet remained an entire Body, notwithstanding that diminution. And then the former Miracles being contrary to this conceit, were laid aside, and new ones invented, fitted for this Explanation, by which Christs body was believed present after the manner of a Spirit. It was given out, that he sometimes appeared as a Child all in Raies upon the Host, sometimes with Angels about him, or sometimes in his Mothers Arms. And that the Senses might give as little contradiction as was possible, in stead of a Loaf they blessed then only Wafers, which are such a shadow of Bread as might more easily agree with their Doctrine of the accidents of Bread being only present: and least a larger measure of Wine might have encouraged the People to have thought it was Wine still, by the sensible effects of it, that came also to be denied them.

This was the Substance of the Arguments that were in those Writings. But an opinion that had been so generally received, was not of a sudden to be altered. Therefore they went on slowly in discussing it, and thereby did the better dispose the People to receive what they intended afterwards to establish concerning it. And this was the state of Religion for this Year.

Proceedings
against Ana-
baptists.

At this time there were many *Anabaptists* in several parts of England. They were generally *Germans*, whom the Revolutions there had forced to change their Seats. Upon *Luthers* first preaching in Germany, there arose many, who building on some of his Principles, carried things much further than he did. The chief Foundation he laid down was, That the Scripture was to be the only Rule of Christians. Upon this many argued, that the Mysteries of the Trinity, and Christs Incarnation and Sufferings, of the Fall of Man, and the Aids of Grace, were indeed Philosophical Subtilties, and only pretended to be deduced from Scripture, as almost all Opinions of Religion were; and therefore they rejected them. Among these, the Baptism of Infants was one. They held that to be no Baptism, and so were re-baptiz'd: but from this, which was most taken notice of, as being a visible thing, they carried all the general name of *Anabaptists*. Of these there were two sorts most remarkable. The one was of those who only thought that Baptism ought not to be given but to those who were of an Age capable of Instruction, and who did earnestly desire it. This Opinion they grounded on the silence of the New Testament about the Baptism of Children; they observed, that our Saviour commanding the Apostles to baptize, did joyn Teaching with it; and they said, the great decay of Christianity flowed from

Of whom
there were
two sorts.

from this way of making Children Christians before they understood what they did. These were called the gentle or moderate *Anabaptists*. But others who carried that Name, denied almost all the Principles of the Christian Doctrine, and were Men of fierce and barbarous tempers. They had broke out into a general revolt over *Germany*, and raised the War called *The Rustick War*: and possessing themselves of *Munster*, made one of their Teachers, *John of Leyden*, their King, under the Title of the *King of the new Jerusalem*. Some of them set up a fantastical unintelligible way of talking of Religion, which they turned all into Allegories: These being joyned in the common Name of *Anabaptists* with the other, brought them also under an ill Character.

On the 12th. of *April* there was a Complaint brought to the Council, that with the Strangers that were come into *England*, some of that Perswasion had come over, and were disseminating their Errors, and making Profelites: So a Commission was ordered for the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Ely*, *Worcester*, *Westminster*, *Chichester*, *Lincoln*, and *Rocheſter*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Tho. Smith*, Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *May*, and some others, three of them being a *Quorum*, to examine and search after all *Anabaptists*, Hereticks, or Contemners of the Common-Prayer. They were to endeavour to reclaim them, to enjoyn them Penance, and give them Absolution: or if they were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the Secular Power to be farther proceeded against. Some Tradesmen in *London* were brought before these Commissioners in *May*, and were perswaded to abjure their former Opinions: which were, "That a Man regenerate could not sin; that though the outward Man sinned, the inward Man sinned not; That there was no Trinity of Persons; that Christ was only a Holy Prophet, and not at all God; That all we had by Christ, was that he taught us the way to Heaven; That he took no Flesh of the Virgin; and that the Baptism of Infants was not profitable. One of those who thus abjured was commanded to carry a Faggot next *Sunday* at *St. Pauls*, where there should be a Sermon setting forth his Heresie. But there was another of these extream obstinate, *Joan Bocher*, commonly called *Joan of Kent*. "She denied that Christ was truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose Flesh being sinful, he could take none of it: but the Word by the consent of the inward Man in the Virgin, took Flesh of her: these were her words. They took much pains about her, and had many Conferences with her; but she was so extravagantly conceited of her own Notions, that she rejected all they said with scorn: whereupon she was adjudged an obstinate Heretick, and so left to the Secular Power: The Sentence against her will be found in the *Collection*. This being returned to the Council, the good King was moved to Sign a Warrant for burning her; but could not be prevailed on to do it: he thought it a piece of cruelty too like that which they had condemned in Papists, to burn any for their Consciences. And in a long Discourse he had with Sir *Jo. Chese* he seemed much confirmed in that Opinion. *Cranmer* was employed to perswade him to Sign the Warrant. He argued from the Law of *Moses*, by which Blasphemers were to be stoned: He told the King he made a great difference between Errors in other Points of Divinity, and those which were directly against the Apostles Creed: that these were impieties against God, which being Gods Deputy, ought to punish;

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An Anabaptist burnt.

as the Kings Deputies were obliged to punish offences, against the Person. These Reasons did rather silence than satisfy the young who still thought it a hard thing (as in truth it was) to proceed, verely in such Cases: so he set his hand to the Warrant, with Te his Eyes, saying to *Cranmer*, That if he did wrong, since it was in mission to his Authority, he should answer for it to God. This the Archbishop with much horror, so that he was very unwilling have the Sentence executed. And both he, and *Ridley*, took the man then in custody to their Houses, to see if they could persuade. But she continued, by jeers and other Insolences, to carry her so contemptuously, that at last the Sentence was executed on her, the 10 of May the next Year, Bishop *Scory* preaching at her burning: she cried her self then as she had done in the former parts of her Process, undecently, and in the end was burnt.

This Action was much censured, as being contrary to the clemency of the Gospel; and was made oft use of by the *Papists*, who said plainly that the Reformers were only against Burning, when they were in fear of it themselves. The Womans carriage made her be look'd on as a frantick Person, fitter for *Bedlam* than a Stake. People had generally believed that all the Statutes for burning Hereticks had been repealed; but now, when the thing was better considered, it was found that the burning of Hereticks was done by the Common Law, so that the Statute made about it were only for making the Conviction more easie, and Repealing the Statutes did not take away that which was grounded on *Writ at Common Law*. To end all this matter at once; two years after this, one *George Van Pare*, a Dutch-man, being accused for saying God the Father was only God, and that Christ was not very God, was dealt with long to abjure: but would not: so on the 6th. of 1551. he was condemned in the same manner that *Joan of Kent* and on the 25th. of April was burnt in *Smithfield*. He suffered great constancy of mind, and kissed the Stake and Faggots, that were to burn him. Of this *Pare* I find a *Popish* Writer saying, That he was a man of most wonderful strict Life, that he used not to eat above once in three days, and before he did eat would lie sometime in his devotion prostrate on the ground. All this they made use of to lessen the credit of those who had suffered formerly; for it was said, they saw now that Men of harmless Lives, might be put to death for Heresie, by the confession of the Reformers themselves: And in all the Books published in Queen Marys days, justifying her severity against the Protestants, these Instances were always made use of: and no part of *Cranmers* Life exposed him more than this did. It was said he had consented both to *Lamberts* and *Askews* death, in the former Reign, who both suffered for Opinions which he himself held now: and he had now procured the death of these two Persons, and when he was brought to suffer himself, it was called a just retaliation on him. One thing was certain, that what he did in this matter flowed from no cruelty of temper in him, no Man being further from that black disposition of Mind than he: it was truly the effect of those Principles by which he governed himself.

Anon burnt.

This was much censured.

Disputes concerning the Baptism of Infants.

For the other sort of *Anabaptists*, who only denied Infants Baptism, I find no severities used to them: but several Books were written against them, to which they wrote some Answers. It was said that *C* allo

owed little Children to be brought to him, and said, of such was the Kingdom of Heaven, and blessed them: Now if they were capable of Kingdom of Heaven, they must be regenerated; for Christ said none such as were born of Water and of the Spirit could enter into it. Paul had also called the Children of believing Parents *Holy*, which seemed to relate to such a consecration of them as was made in Baptism: And Baptism being the Seal of Christians, in the room of Circumcision among the Jews, it was thought the one was as applicable to Children as the other. And one thing was observed, that the whole World in that Age having been baptized in their Infancy, if that Baptism was nothing, then there were none truly baptized in being; but all were in the state of meer Nature: Now it did not seem reasonable that Men who were not baptized themselves should go and baptize others: and therefore the first Heads of that Sect, not being rightly baptized themselves, seemed not to act with any Authority when they went to baptize others. The Practice of the Church, so early begun, and continued without dispute for so many Ages, was at least, a certain confirmation of a thing which had (to speak moderately) so good foundations in Scripture for the lawfulness, though not any peremptory, but only probable Proof for the practice of it.

These are all the Errors in Opinion that I find were taken notice of at this time. There was another sort of People, of whom all the good Men in that Age made great complaints. Some there were called *Gospellers*, or Readers of the Gospel, who were a scandal to the doctrine they professed. In many Sermons I have oft met with severe Expostulations with these, and heavy Denunciations of Judgments against them. But I do not find any thing objected to them, as to their belief; save only that the Doctrine of *Predestination* having been generally taught by the Reformers, many of this Sect began to make strange Inferences from it, reckoning, that since every thing was decreed, and the Decrees of God could not be frustrated, therefore Men were to leave themselves to be carried by these Decrees. This drew some into great impiety of heart, and others into desperation. The Germans soon saw the ill effects of this Doctrine. Luther changed his mind about it, and Melancthon openly writ against it: and since that time the whole stream of the Lutheran Churches has run the other way. But both Calvin and Bucer were still for maintaining the Doctrine of these Decrees; only they warned the People not to think much of them, since they were Secrets which Men could not penetrate into; but they did not so clearly shew how these consequences did not flow from such Opinions. Hooper, and many other good Writers, did often exhort People from entering into these controversies; and a Caveat to that same purpose was put afterwards into the Article of the Church about *Predestination*.

The Doctrine of Predestination much abused.

The ill effect of the dissoluteness of Peoples manners broke out violently this Summer, occasioned by the Inclosing of Lands. While the Inclosures stood, there were great numbers of People maintained in these Houses; their Lands were easily let out, and many were relieved by them. But now, the Numbers of the People increased much, being universally allowed; they also had more time than formerly, by the abrogation of many Holy-days, and the putting down of Processions and Pageants; so that as the Numbers increased, they had

Tumults in England.

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had more time than they knew how to bestow. Those who bought in the Church-Lands, as they every where raised their Rents, of which old *Latimer* made great Complaints in one of his Court Sermons, so they resolved to enclose their Grounds, and turn them to Pasture: for Trade was then rising fast, and Corn brought not in so much Money as Wooll did. Their Flocks also being kept by few Persons in Grounds so enclosed, the Landlords themselves enjoyed the Profit which formerly the Tenants made out of their Estates: and so they intended to force them to serve about them at any such Rates as they would allow. By this means the Commons of *England* saw they were like to be reduced to great misery. This was much complained of, and severall little Books were written about it. Some proposed a sort of *Agrarian Law*, that none might have Farms above a set value, or Flocks above a set number of 2000 Sheep; which Proposal I find the young King was much taken with, as will appear in one of the Discourses he wrote with his own Hand. It was also represented that there was no care taken of the educating of Youth, except of those who were bred for Learning; and many things were proposed to correct this: but in the mean time the Commons saw the Gentry were like to reduce them to a very low condition.

* The *Protector* seemed much concerned for the Commons, and oft spoke against the oppression of Landlords. He was naturally just and compassionate, and so did heartily espouse the Cause of the poor People, which made the Nobility and Gentry hate him much. The former year, the Commons about *Hampton-Court*, petitioned the *Protector* and Council, complaining, that whereas the late King in his Sickness had enclosed a Park there, to divert himself with private easie Game, the Deer of that Park did overlay the Country, and it was a great burden to them; and therefore they desired that it might be disparked. The Council considering that it was so near *Windsor*, and was not useful to the King, but a charge rather, ordered it to be disparked, and the Deer to be carried to *Windsor*; but with this *Proviso*, that if the King when he came of Age desired to have a Park there, what they did should be no prejudice to him. There was also a *Commission* issued out to enquire about Inclosures and Farms, and whether those who had purchased the Abbey-Lands kept Hospitality, to which they were bound by the Grants they had of them, and whether they encouraged Husbandry. But I find no effect of this. And indeed there seemed to have been a general design among the Nobility and Gentry to bring the inferior sort to that low and servile state to which the Peasants in many other Kingdoms are reduced. In the *Parliament* an *Act* was carried in the House of *Lords* for imparking Grounds, but was cast out by the *Commons*: yet Gentlemen went on every where taking their Lands into their own Hands, and enclosing them.

In *May* the Commons did rise first in *Wilt-shire*; where Sir *William Herbert* gathered some resolute Men about him, and dispersed them, and slew some of them. Soon after that, they rose in *Suffex*, *Hampshire*, *Kent*, *Glocester-shire*, *Suffolk*, *Warwick-shire*, *Essex*, *Hartford-shire*, *Leicester-shire*, *Worcester-shire*, and *Rutland-shire*; but by fair negotiations the fury of the People was a little stopt, till the matter was represented to the Council. The *Protector* said, he did not wonder the Commons were in such distempers, they being so oppressed, that it was

Many are easily quieted.

easier

suffer to die once than to perish for want: and therefore he set out a Proclamation, contrary to the mind of the whole Council, against all new Inclosures; with another, indemnifying the People for what was past; & they carried themselves obediently for the future. Commissions were also sent every where, with an unlimited Power to the Commissioners, to hear and determine all Causes about Inclosures, High-ways, and Cottages. The vast Power these Commissioners assumed was much complained of; the *Landlords* said it was an Invasion of their Property, to subject them thus to the pleasure of those who were sent to examine the Matters, without proceeding in the ordinary Courts according to Law. The *Commons* being encouraged by the favour they heard the *Protector* bore them, and not able to govern their heat, or stay for a more peaceable issue, did rise again, but were anew quieted. Yet the *Protector* being opposed much by the *Council*, he was not able to redress this Grievance so fully as the People hoped. So in *Oxford-shire* and *Devon-shire* they rose again, and also in *Norfolk* and *York-shire*. Those in *Oxford-shire* were dissipated by a Force of 1500 Men, led against them by the Lord *Gray*. Some of them were taken and hanged by *Martial Law*, as being in a state of War; the greatest part ran home to their Dwellings.

In *Devon-shire* the Insurrection grew to be better formed; for that County was not only far from the Court, but it was generally inclined to the former superstition, and many of the old Priests run in among them. They came together on the 10th. of June, being *Whit-Sunday*; and in a short time they grew to be 10000 strong. At Court it was hoped this might be as easily dispersed as the other risings were: but the *Protector* was against running into extremities, and so did not move so speedily as the thing required. He, after some days, at last sent the Lord *Russel* with a small Force to stop their Proceedings. And that Lord, remembering well how the Duke of *Norfolk* had with a very small Army broken a formidable Rebellion in the former Reign, hoped that time would likewise weaken and dis-unite these; and therefore he kept at some distance, and offered to receive their complaints, and to send them to the *Council*. But these delays gave advantage and strength to the Rebels; who were now led on by some Gentlemen: *Arundel* of *Cornwall* being in chief Command among them; and in answer to the Lord *Russel*, they agreed on fifteen Articles, the Substance of which was as follows.

1. "That all the General Councils, and the Decrees of their Fore-
fathers, should be observed. Their De-
mands.
2. "That the Act of the *Six Articles* should be again in force.
3. "That the Mass should be in *Latin*, and that the Priests alone
should receive.
4. "That the Sacrament should be hanged up, and worshipped; and
those who refused to do it should suffer as Hereticks.
5. "That the Sacrament should only be given to the People at *Easter*
in one kind.
6. "That Baptism should be done at all times.
7. "That Holy Bread, Holy Water, and Palms be again used;
and that Images be set up, with all the other ancient Ceremo-
nies.

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8. "That the new Service should be laid aside, since it was like a *Christmas Game*: and the old Service again should be used with the *Procession in Latin*.

9. "That all Preachers in their Sermons, and Priests in the Mass, should pray for the Souls in Purgatory.

10. "That the Bible should be called in, since otherwise the Clergy could not easily confound the Hereticks.

11. "That Dr. *Moreman*, and *Crispin*, should be sent to them, and put in their Livings.

12. "That Cardinal *Pool* should be restored, and made of the Kings Council.

13. "That every Gentleman might have only one Servant for every hundred Marks of yearly Rent that belonged to him.

14. "That the half of the Abbey and Church Lands should be taken back, and restored to two of the chief Abbeyes in every County: and all the Church Boxes for seven years should be given to such Houses, that so devout Persons might live in them, who should pray for the King and the Common-wealth.

15. "And that for their particular grievances, they should be redressed, as *Humphrey Arundel* and the *Major of Bodmyn* should inform the King, for whom they desired a safe conduct.

These Articles being sent to the Council, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* was ordered to draw an Answer to them, which I have seen corrected with his own Hand. The Substance of it was, That their Demands were insolent, such as were dictated to them by some seditious Priests: they did not know what General Councils had decreed; nor was there any thing in the Church of *England* contrary to them, though many things had been formerly received which were so: and for the Decrees, they were framed by the Popes to enslave the World, of which he gave several Instances.

*Cranmer drew an Answer to them.
Ex MS. Col.
C. C. Cantab.*

For the *Six Articles*, he says, They had not been carried in Parliament if the late King had not gone thither in Person, and procured that Act; and yet of his own accord he slackened the execution of it.

To the third, it was strange that they did not desire to know in what terms they worshipped God: and for the Mass, the ancient Canons required the People to communicate in it, and the Prayers in the Office of the Mass did still imply that they were to do it.

For the hanging up and adoring the Host, it was but lately set up by Pope *Innocent*, and *Honorius*, and in some Places it had never been received.

For the fifth, the Ancient Church received that Sacrament frequently and in both kinds.

To the sixth, Baptism in Cases of necessity was to be administered at any time: but out of these Cases it was fit to do it solemnly; and in the Ancient Church it was chiefly done on the Eves of *Easter* and *Whitsunday*, of which usages some Footsteps remained still in old Offices.

To the seventh, these were late superstitious devices: Images contrary to the Scriptures, first set up for remembrance, but soon after made Objects of Worship.

To the eighth, The old Service had many ludicrous things in it; the new was simple and grave: if it appeared ridiculous to them, it was as *the Gospel* was long ago, foolishness to the *Greeks*. 1549.

To the ninth, The Scriptures say nothing of it: it was a superstitious Invention derogatory to Christ's death.

To the tenth, The Scriptures are the Word of God, and the readiest way to confound that which is Heresie indeed.

To the eleventh, These were ignorant, superstitious and deceitful Persons.

To the twelfth, *Pool* had been attainted in Parliament for his spiteful Writings and Doings against the late King.

To the thirteenth, It was foolish and unreasonable: one Servant could not do a Man's business; and by this, many Servants would want employment.

To the fourteenth, This was to rob the King, and those who had the Lands of him; and would be a means to make so foul a Rebellion be remembered in their Prayers.

To the fifteenth, These were notorious Traitors, to whom the Kings Council was not to submit themselves.

After this, they grew more moderate, and sent eight Articles: They make new Demands.
 1. Concerning Baptism. 2. About Confirmation. 3. Of the Mass.
 4. For reserving the Host. 5. For Holy Bread and Water. 6. For the old Service. 7. For the single Lives of Priests. 8. For the *Six Articles*: and concluded, *God save the King*, for they were *His, both body and Goods*. To this there was an Answer sent in the Kings Name, on the 8th. of July, (so long did the Treaty with them hold) in which, after Expressions of the Kings affection to his People, he taxes their rising in Arms against him their King as contrary to the Laws of God: He tells them, That they are abused by their Priests, as in the Instance of Baptism, which according to the Book might, necessity requiring it, be done at all times: that the Changes that had been set out, were made after long and great consultation; and the Worship of this Church, by the advice of many Bishops and Learned Men, was reformed, as near to what Christ and his Apostles had taught and done, as could be: and all things had been settled in Parliament. But the most specious thing that misled them being that of the Kings Age, it was shewed them that his Blood, and not his Years, gave him the Crown: and the state of Government requires, that at all times there should be the same Authority in Princes, and the same Obedience in the People. It was all penned in a high threatening Style, and concluded with an earnest Invitation of them to submit to the Kings Mercy, as others that had risen had also done, to whom he had not only shewed Mercy, but granted Redress of their just grievances: otherwise they might expect the utmost severity that Traitors deserved.

Which were also rejected.

But nothing prevailed on this enraged Multitude, whom the Priests inflamed with all the Artifices they could imagine: and among whom the Host was carried about by a Priest on a Cart, that all might see it. But when this Commotion was thus grown to a Head, the Men of *Norfolk* rose the 6th. of July, being led by one *Ket* a Tanner. These pretended nothing of Religion, but only to suppress and destroy the Gentry, and to raise the Commons, and to have new Councillors about the King. The
in
headed
Ket a T.
 They

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They encreased mightily, and became 20000 strong, but had no Order nor Discipline, and committed many horrid outrages. The Sheriff of the County came boldly to them, and required them in the King's Name to disperse, and go home; but had he not been well mounted, they had put him cruelly to death. They came to *Menshold Hill* above *Norwich*, and were much favoured by many in that City. *Parker*, afterwards Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, came among them, and preached very freely to them, of their ill Lives, their Rebellion against the King, and the Robberies they daily committed: by which he was in great danger of his Life. *Ket* assumed to himself the Power of Judicature, and under an old Oak, called from thence *the Oak of Reformation*, did such Justice as might be expected from such a Judge, and in such a Camp. The *Marquess of Northampton* was sent against them, but with Orders to keep at a distance from them, and to cut off their Provisions; for it was hoped that without the shedding much Blood they might come to themselves again. When the news of this Rising came into *York-shire*, the Commons there rose also; being further encouraged by a Prophecy; That there should be no King nor Nobility in *England*, that the Kingdom should be ruled by four Governours chosen by the Commons, who should hold a Parliament, in commotion, to begin at the *South* and *North Seas*. This they applied to the *Devon-shire* Men on the *South Seas*, and themselves on the *North Seas*. They at their first rising fired Beacons, and so gathered the Country, as if it had been for the defence of the Coast; and meeting two Gentlemen, with two others with them, they without any provocation murdered them, and left their naked Bodies unburied. At the same time that *England* was in this Commotion, the News came that the *French King* had sent a great Army into the Territory of *Bulloigne*, so that the Government was put to most extraordinary straits.

A Rising in
York-shire.

The French
fall into the
Bullognese.

A Fast at
Court, where
Cranmer preached.
Ex MS. Col.
G. C. Cantab.

There was a Fast proclaimed in and about *London*. *Cranmer* preached on the Fast-day at Court. I have seen the greatest part of his Sermon under his own Hand: and it is the only Sermon of his I ever saw. It is a very plain unartificial Discourse, no shews of Learning, or conceits of Wit in it, but he severely expostulated in the Name of God with his Hearers, for their ill Lives, their Blasphemies, Adulteries, mutual Hatred, Oppression, and Contempt of the Gospel: and complained of the slackness in punishing these sins, by which the Government became in some sort guilty of them. He set many Passages of the *Jewish* Story before them of the Judgments such sins drew on, and of Gods Mercy in unexpected deliverances they met with upon their true Repentance. But he chiefly lamented the scandal given by many who pretended a zeal for Religion, but used that for a Cloak to disguise their other Vices: He set before them the fresh Example of *Germany*, where People generally went to hear the Gospel, but had not amended their Lives upon it; for which God had now, after many years forbearance, brought them under a severe scourge, and intimated his apprehensions of some signal stroke from Heaven upon the Nation, if they did not repent.

Exeter besieged.

The Rebels in *Devon-shire* went and besieged *Exeter*, where the Citizens resisted them with great courage: they set fire to the Gates of the City, which those within fed with much Fuel, for hindring their entry, till they had raised a Rampart within the Gates, and when the Rebels

came

came to enter, the Fire being spent, they killed many of them. The Rebels also wrought a Mine, but the Citizens Countermined, and pour'd in so much Water as spoiled their Powder. So finding they could do nothing by force, they resolved to lie about the Town, reckoning that the want of Provision would make it soon yield. The Lord *Russel*, having but a small Force with him stayed a while for some Supplies, which Sir *William Herbert* was to bring him from *Bristol*. But being afraid that the Rebels should inclose him, he marched back from *Hennington* where he lay; and finding they had taken a Bridge behind him he beat them from it, killing 600 of them without any loss on his side. By this he understood their strength, and saw they could not stand a brisk Charge, nor rally when once in disorder. So the Lord *Gray*, and *Spinola* that commanded some *Germans*, joyning him, he returned to raise the Siege of *Exeter*, which was much straitned for want of *Vi-ctuals*. The Rebels had now shut up the City twelve dayes, they within had eat their Horses, and endured extream Famine, but resolved to perish rather than fall into the Hands of those Savages; for the Rebels were indeed no better. They had block'd up the Ways, and left 2000 Men to keep a Bridge which the Kings Forces were to pass. But the Lord *Russel* broke thorough them, and killed about 1000 of them; upon that the Rebels raised the Siege, and retired to *Lanceston*. The Lord *Russel* gave the Citizens of *Exeter* great thanks in the Kings Name for their Fidelity and Courage: and pursued the Rebels, who were now going off in Parties, and were killed in great numbers. Some of their Heads, as *Arundel*, and the Major of *Bodmyne*, *Temson*, and *Barret*, two Priests, with six or seven more, were taken and hanged. And so this Rebellion was happily subdued in the *West*, about the beginning of *August*, to the great Honour of the Lord *Russel*; who with a very small Force had saved *Exeter*, and dispersed the Rebels Army, with little or no loss at all.

But is relieved, and the Rebels defeated by the Lord *Russel*.

But the *Marquess* of *Northampton* was not so successful in *Norfolk*. He carried about 1100 Men with him, but did not observe the Orders given him, and so marched on to *Normwich*. The Rebels were glad of an occasion to engage with him, and fell in upon him the next day with great fury, and the Town not being strong, he was forced to quit it, but lost 100 of his Men in that Action, among whom was the Lord *Sheffield*, who was much lamented. The Rebels took about 30 Prisoners, with which they were much lifted up. This being understood at Court, the Earl of *Warwick* was sent against them, with 6000 Foot and 1500 Horse that were prepared for an Expedition to *Scotland*: He came to *Normwich*, but was scarce able to defend it; for the Rebels fell often in upon him, neither was he well assured of the Town. But he cut off their Provisions, so that the Rebels, having wasted all the Country about them, were forced to remove. And then he followed them with his Horse. They turned upon him, but he quickly routed them, and killed 2000 of them, and took *Ket* their Captain, with his Brother, and a great many more. *Ket* was hanged in Chains at *Normwich* next *January*.

Warwick disperses the Rebels.

The Rebels in *Yorkshire* had not become very numerous, not being above 3000 in all: but hearing of the defeating of those in other Parts, they accepted of the offer of Pardon that was sent them: only some few

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few of the chief Ring-leaders continued to make new stirs, and v
ken, and hanged, in *York* the *September* following.

* When these Commotions were thus over, the *Protector* presse
there might be a general and free Pardon speedily proclaimed, fo
ing the Country, and giving their affairs a reputation abroad. T
much opposed by many of the Council, who thought it bette
comply with their several ends, by keeping the People under the la
by so profuse a Mercy: But the *Protector* was resolved on it, j
the state of affairs required it. So he gave out a general parde
that had been done before the 21st. of *August*, excepting only th
whom they had in their hands, and resolved to make publick Ex
Thus was *England* delivered from one of the most threaten
that at any time had broke out in it: in which deliverance the gre
dence and temper of the *Protector* seems to have had no small sha
this whole Matter Advertisement was given to the Forreign Minis
a Letter which will be found in the *Collection*.

A general
Pardon.

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Number 36.

A Visitation
at Cambridge.

There was this Year a Visitation of the University of *Cam*
Ridley was appointed to be one of the Visitors, and to preach
opening of it: he thereupon writ to *May* Dean of *St. Pauls*, to
know what was to be done at it, that so his Sermon might be adju
their business. He received Answer, That it was only to remov
superstitious Practises and Rites, and to make such Statutes as sh
found needful. But when he went to *Cambridge*, he saw the Inst
went further. They were required to procure a resignation o
Colledges, and to unite them with others; and to convert some F
ships appointed for encouraging the Study of Divinity, to the st
the Civil Law. In particular *Clare-Hall* was to be suppressed. A
Master and Fellows would not resign; and after two days labour
perswade them to it, they absolutely refused to do it. Upo
Ridley said he could not with a good Conscience go on any fur
that matter: the Church was already so robbed and stript; that it
there was a design laid down by some, to drive out all Civility,
ing, and Religion out of the Nation: therefore he declared he
not concur in such things, and desired leave to be gone. The
Visitors complained of him to the *Protector*, that he had so tr
them with his barking, (so indecently did they express that stric
Conscience in him) that they could not go on in the Kings Servic
because *Clare-hall* was then full of Northern People, they imputed
willingness to suppress that House, to his partial affection to his Co
men, for he was born in the Bishoprick of *Duresme*. Upon t
Protector writ a chiding Letter to him. To it he writ an Answer
ble to what became a Bishop, who would put all things to hazard
than do any thing against his Conscience, that I thought it might
small right to his Memory to put it with the Answer which the *Pr*
writ to him in the *Collection*. These with many more I found am
Majesties Papers of State, in that Repository of them common
led the *Paper-Office*. To which I had a free access by a Warrant wh
procured to me from the King, by the Right Honourable the Earle
derland, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, who very che
and generously expressed his readiness to assist me in any thing that
complete the History of our Reformation. That Office was first set

Collection
W. and S. 59, 60.

the care of the Earl of *Salisbury*, when he was Secretary of State in King *James's* time: which though it is a copious and certain Repertory for those that are to write our History ever since the Papers of State were laid up there, yet for the former times it contains only such Papers as that great Minister could then gather together, so that it is not so compleat in the Transactions that fall within the time of which I writ.

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There was also a settlement made of the Controversie concerning the Greek Tongue. There had been in King *Henry's* time a great Contest raised concerning the Pronunciation of the Greek Vowels. That Tongue was but lately come to any perfection in *England*, and so no wonder the Greek was pronounced like *English*, with the same sound and apertures of the Mouth: To this Mr. *Cheek*, then Reader of that Tongue in *Cambridge*, opposed himself, and taught other Rules of Pronunciation. *Gardiner* was it seems so afraid of every Innovation, though ever so much in the right, that he contended stiffly to have the old Pronunciation retained: and *Cheek* persisting in his Opinion, was either put from the Chair, or willingly left it to avoid the Indignation of so great and so spiteful a Man as *Gardiner* was, who was then Chancellor of the University: *Cheek* wrote a Book in vindication of his way of pronouncing Greek; of which this must be said, That it is very strange to see how he could write with so much Learning and Judgment on so bare a Subject. *Redmayn*, *Poinet*, and other learned Men were of his side, yet more covertly: but Sir *Tho. Smith*, now Secretary of State, writ three Books on the same Argument, and did so evidently confirm *Cheek's* Opinion, that the Dispute was now laid aside, and the true way of pronouncing the Greek took place; the rather because *Gardiner* was in disgrace, and *Cheek* and *Smith* were in such Power and Authority: So great an Influence had the Interests of Men in supporting the most speculative and indifferent things.

A contest about pronouncing the Greek.

Soon after this, *Bonner* fell into new troubles, he continued to oppose every thing, as long as it was safe for him to do it, while it was under debate, and so kept his Interest with the *Papists*: but he complied so obediently with all the Laws and Orders of Council, that it was not easie to find any matter against him. He executed every Order that was sent him, so readily, that there was not so much as ground for any Complaint; yet it was known he was in his Heart against every thing they did, and that he cherished all that were of a contrary mind. The Council being informed, that upon the Commotions that were in *England*, many in *London* withdrew from the Service and Communion, and frequented Masses, which was laid to his charge, as being negligent in the execution of the Kings Laws and Injunctions; they writ to him on the 23^d. of *July*, to see to the correcting of these things, and that he should give good example himself. Upon which, on the 26th. following, he sent about a Charge to execute the Order in this Letter, which he said he was most willing and desirous to do. Yet it was still observed, that whatsoever obedience he gave, it was against his Heart. And therefore he was called before the Council the 11th. of *August*. There a Writing was delivered to him, complaining of his remissness; and particularly that whereas he was wont formerly on all high Festivals to officiate himself, yet he had seldom or never done it, since the *New Service* was set out: as also that Adultery was openly practised in his Diocese, which he took

Bonner falls in to trouble.

Injunctions are given him

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no care according to his Pastoral Office to restrain or punish: therefore he was strictly charged to see these things reformed. He was also ordered to preach on *Sunday* come three weeks at *St. Pauls Cross*: and that he should preach there once a quarter for the future, and be present at every *Sermon* made there, except he were sick: that he should officiate at *St. Pauls* at every high *Festival*, such as were formerly called *Majus duplex*, and give the Communion: that he should proceed against all who did not frequent the Common-Prayer, nor receive the Sacrament once a year; or did go to Mass: that he should search out and punish Adulterers: that he should take care of the reparation of Churches, and paying Tythes, in his Diocese, and should keep his residence in his House in *London*. As to his *Sermon*, he was required to preach against Rebellion, setting out the hainousness of it; he was also to shew what was true Religion, and that external Ceremonies were nothing in themselves; but that in the use of them Men ought to obey the Magistrate, and joyn true devotion to them, and that the King was no less King, and the People no less bound to obey, when he was in Minority, than when he was of full Age.

In his Sermon he was not set forth the Kings Power under Age as he had been required to do.

On the first of *September*, being the day appointed for him to preach, there was a great Assembly gathered to hear him. He touched upon the Points that were enjoined him, excepting that about the Kings Age, of which he said not one word. But since the manner of Christs Presence in the Sacrament was a thing which he might yet safely speak of, he spent most of his *Sermon* on the asserting the Corporal Presence; which he did with many sharp reflections on those who were of another mind. There were present among others *William Latimer*, and *John Hooper*, soon after Bishop of *Glocester*, who came and informed against him; that as he had wholly omitted that about the Kings Age, so he had touched the other Points but slightly, and did say many other things which tended to stir up disorder and dissention. Upon this there was a *Commission* issued out to *Cranmer*, and *Ridley*, with the two *Secretaries* of State, and *Dr. May* Dean of *St. Pauls*, to examine that matter. They or any two of them had full power by this *Commission* to suspend, imprison or deprive him, as they should see cause. They were to proceed in the Summary way, called in their Courts *De plano*.

Roll. Pat. 11.
Pat. 5. Reg.

He is proceeded against.

On the 10th. of *September* Bonner was summoned to appear before them at *Lambeth*. As he came into the place where they sat, he carried himself as if he had not seen them, till one pulled him by the sleeve to put off his Cap to the Kings Commissioners; upon which he protested he had not seen them; which none of them could believe.

Reg. 1. Bonner

He spake slightly to them of the whole matter, and turned the discourse off to the *Mass*, which he wished were had in more reverence. When the Witnesses were brought against him, he jeered them very undecently, and said the one talked like a Goose, and the other like a Woodcock, and denied all they said. The Arch-bishop asked him, whether he would refer the matter in proof to the People that heard him? and so asked whether any there present had heard him speak of the Kings Authority when under Age? Many answered, No, No. Bonner looked about, and laughed, saying, Will you believe this fond People? Some he called Dunces, and others Fools, and behaved himself more like a Mad-man than a Bishop. The next day he was again brought before them. Then the *Commission* was read. The Arch-bishop opened the Matter

as intended in
the previous

Matter, and desired *Bonner* to answer for himself: He read a *Protestation* which he had prepared, setting forth, that since he had not seen the *Commission*, he reserved to himself power to except, either to his Judges, or to any other Branch of the *Commission*, as he should afterwards see cause. In this he called it a pretended *Commission*, and them pretended Judges, which was taxed as irreverent: but he excused it, alledging that these were terms of Law which he must use, and so not be precluded from any Objections he might afterwards make use of. The *Bill* of Complaint was next read, and the two Informers appeared with their Witnesses to make it good. But *Bonner* objected against them, that they were notorious Hereticks, and that the ill Will they bore him, was because he had asserted the true Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar: that *Hooper* in particular had in his *Sermon*, that very day on which he had preached, denied it; and had refuted and mis-recited his Sayings, like an *Ass*, as he was an *Ass* indeed; so ill did he govern his Tongue: Upon this *Cranmer* asked him, whether he thought Christ was in the Sacrament with Face, Mouth, Eyes, Nose, and the other Lineaments of his Body? and there passed some words between them on that Head: but *Cranmer* told him that was not a time and place to dispute, they were come to execute the Kings *Commission*. So *Bonner* desired to see both it, and the denunciation; which were given him, and the Court adjourned till the 13th.

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Secretary *Smith* sat with them at their next Meeting, which he had not done the former day, though his Name was in the *Commission*; Upon this *Bonner* protested, that according to the *Canon* Law none could act in a *Commission*, but those who were present the first day in which it was read. But to this it was alleadged, that the constant practice of the Kingdom had been to the contrary: that all whose Names were in any *Commission*, might sit and judge, though they had not been present at the first opening of it. This *Protestation* being rejected, he read his Answer in writing to the Accusation. He first objected to his Accusers, that they were Hereticks in the matter of the Sacrament: and so were, according to the Laws of the Catholick Church, under Excommunication, and therefore ought not to be admitted into any Christian Company. Then he denied that the Injunctions given to him had been signed, either with the Kings Hand or Signet, or by any of his Council. But upon the whole matter he said he had in his *Sermon* condemned the late Rebellion in *Cornwall*, *Devon-shire*, and *Norfolk*, and had set forth the Sin of Rebellion according to several Texts of Scripture: He had also preached for obedience to the Kings Commands; and that no Ceremonies that were contrary to them ought to be used; in particular he had exhorted the People to come to Prayers, and to the Communion, as it was appointed by the King, and wondered to see them so slack in coming to it: which he believed flowed from a false opinion they had of it. And therefore he taught, according to that which he conceived to be the duty of a faithful Pastor, the true Presence of Christs Body and Blood in the Sacrament: which was the true Motive of his Accusers in their prosecuting him thus. But though he had forgot to speak of the Kings Power under Age, yet he had said that which necessarily inferred it; for he had condemned the late Rebel, for rising against their lawful King, and had applied many Texts of Scripture to them, which clearly implied,

His Defence.

that

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these are recorded.

But to all this it was answered, That it was of no great consequence who were the Informers, if the Witnesses were such that he could not except against them: besides, they were impow'ed by their Commission to proceed *ex Officio*; so that it was not necessary for them to have any to accuse. He was told that the Injunctions were read to him in Council by one of the *Secretaries*, and then were given to him by the *Protector* himself; that afterwards they were called for, and that Article concerning the Kings Power before he came to be of Age being added, they were given him again by Secretary *Smith*; and he promised to execute them. He was also told, that it was no just excuse for him to say he had forgot that about the Kings Power; since it was the chief thing pretended by the late Rebels, and was mainly intended by the Council in their Injunctions; so that it was a poor shift for him to pretend he had forgot it, or had spoken of it by a consequence.

The Court adjourned to the 16th. day. And then *Latimer* and *Hooper* offered to purge themselves of the Charge of Heresie, since they had never spoken nor written of the Sacrament, but according to the Scripture: and whereas *Bonner* had charged them, that on the first of September they had entred into consultation and confederacy against him, they protested, they had not seen each other that day, nor been known to one another till some days after. *Bonner* upon this read some Passages of the Sacrament out of a Book of *Hoopers*, whom he called *that Varlet*. But *Cranmer* cut off the discourse, and said, it was not their business to determine that Point, and said to the People, that the Bishop of London was not accused for any thing he had said about the Sacrament. Then *Bonner*, turning to speak to the People, was interrupted by one of the *Delegates*, who told him, he was to speak to them, and not to the People: at which some laughing, he turned about in great fury, and said, *Ab Woodcocks! Woodcocks!* But to the chief Point, he said he had prepared Notes of what he intended to say about the Kings Power in his Minority; from the Instances in Scripture, of *Achaz*, and *Osias*, who were Kings at Ten, of *Solomon*, and *Manasses*, who Reigned at Twelve, and of *Josias*, *Joachim*, and *Joas*, who began to Reign when they were but Eight years old. He had also gathered out of the English History, that *Henry* the third, *Edward* the third, *Richard* the second, *Henry* the sixth, and *Edward* the fifth, were all under Age: and even their late King was but eighteen when he came to the Crown: and yet all these were obeyed as much before, as after they were of full Age. But these things had escaped his memory, he not having been much used to preach. There had been also a long Bill sent him from the Council to be read, of the defeat of the Rebels, which he said, had disordered him: and the Book in which he had laid his Notes, fell out of his hands, when he was in the Pulpit: for this he appealed to his two Chaplains, *Bourn* and *Harpfield*, whom he had desired to gather for him the Names of those Kings who Reigned before they were of Age. For the other Injunctions, he had taken care to execute them, and had sent Orders to his Archdeacons to see to them: and as far as he understood, there were no Masses nor Service in Latin within his Diocess, except at the Lady *Maries*, or in the Chappels of Ambassadors. But the *Delegates* required him positively

tively to answer, whether he had obeyed that Injunction about the Kings Authority or not; otherwise they would hold him as guilty: and if he denied it, they would proceed to the examination of the Witnesses. He refusing to answer otherwise than he had done, they called the Witnesses, who were Sir *John Cheek* and four more, who had their Oaths given them: and *Bonner* desiring a time to prepare his Interrogatories, it was granted. So he drew a long Paper of twenty Interrogatories, every one of them containing many Branches in it; full of all the niceties of the *Canon Law*: a test of which may be had from the third in number, which is indeed the most material of all. The Interrogatory was, "Whether they, or any of them, were present at his *Sermon*, where they stood, and near whom, when they came to it, and at what part of his *Sermon*, how long they tarried, at what part they were offended, what were the formal Words, or Substance of it, who with them did hear it, where the other Witnesses stood, and how long they tarried, or when they departed?"

The Court adjourned to the 18th. of *September*: And then there was read a Declaration from the King, explaining their former Commission, chiefly in the Point of the Denunciation, that they might proceed either that way, or *ex Officio*, as they saw cause: giving them also Power finally to determine the matter, cutting off all superfluous delays. *Bonner* gave in also some other Reasons, why he should not be obliged to make a more direct Answer to the Articles objected against him: The chief of which was, That the Article about the Kings Age was not in the Paper given him by the Protector, but afterwards added by Secretary *Smith* of his own Head. *Cranmer* admonished him of his irreverence, since he called them always his pretended Judges. *Smith* added, That though Protectors did so in common matters, for their Clients, yet it was not to be endured in such a Case, when he saw they acted by a special Commission from the King. New Articles were given him more explicate and plain than the former, but to the same purpose. And five Witnesses were sworn upon these, who were all the Clerks of the Council, to prove that the Article about the Kings Age was ordered by the whole Council, and only put in writing by Secretary *Smith*, at their Command. He was appointed to come next day, and make his Answer. But on the 19th. two of his Servants came, and told the Delegates, that he was sick, and could not attend. It was therefore ordered, That the Knight-Marshal should go to him; and if he were sick, let him alone; but if it were not so, should bring him before them next day. On the 20th. *Bonner* appearing, answered as he had done formerly; only he protested, that it was his opinion, that the King was as much a King, and the People as much bound to obey him, before he was of Age, as after it: And after that, Secretary *Smith* having taken him up more sharply than the other Delegates, he protested against him as no competent Judge, since he had expressed much passion against him, and had not heard him patiently, but had compared him to Thieves and Traitors, and had threatened to send him to the Tower to sit with *Ket* and *Arundel*; and that he had added some things to the Injunctions given him by the Protector, for which he was now accused, and did also proceed to judge him, notwithstanding his Protestation, grounded on his not being present when the Commission was first opened and received by the Court. But this Protestation also

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He protests
against Secre-
tary *Smith*

was

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was rejected by the *Delegates*; and *Smith* told him, That whereas he took exception at his saying that he acted as Thieves and Traitors do, it was plainly visible in his doings: upon which, *Bonner*, being much inflamed, said to him, That as he was *Secretary of State*, and a *Privy Councello*, he honoured him; but as he was *Sir Tho. Smith*, he told him he lied, and that he defied him. At this the *Arch-bishop* chid him, and said, he deserved to be sent to Prison for such irreverent carriage. He answered, he did not care whither they sent him, so they sent him not to the Devil, for thither he would not go: he had a few Goods, a poor Carcase, and a Soul: the two former were in their power, but the last was in his own. After this, being made to withdraw, he, when called in again, put in an Appeal from them to the King, and read an Instrument of it, which he had prepared at his own House that Morning: and so would make no other answer, unless the *Secretary* should remove. For this contempt he was sent to the Prison of the *Marshalsea*: and as he was led away, he broke out in great passion, both against *Smith*, and also at *Crammer*, for suffering Hereticks to infect the People, which he required him to abstain from, as he would answer for it to God, and the King.

On the 23^d. he was again brought before them, where, by a second Instrument, he adhered to his former Appeal. But the *Delegates* said, they would go on, and judge him, unless there came a *Superseaders* from the King, and so required him to answer those Articles which he had not yet answered, otherwise they would proceed against him as *Contumace*, and hold him as *Confessing*. But he adhered to his Appeal, and so would answer no more. New matter was also brought, of his going out of *St. Pauls* in the midst of the *Sermon* on the 15th. of the Month, and so giving a publick disturbance and scandal: and of his writing next day to the *Lord Major*, not to suffer such Preachers to sow their ill Doctrine. This was occasioned by the Preachers speaking against the Corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament: But he would give the Court no account of that matter; so they adjourned to the 27th, and from that to the first of *October*. In that time great endeavours were used to persuade him to submit, and to behave himself better for the future, and upon that condition he was assured he should be gently used. But he would yield to nothing. So on the first of *October*, when he was brought before them, the *Arch-bishop* told him, they had delayed so long, being unwilling to proceed to extremities with him, and therefore wished him to submit. But he read another Writing, by which he protested, that he was brought before them by force, and that otherwise he would not have come, since, that having appeal'd from them, he looked on them as his Judges no more. He said, that he had also written a Petition to the *Lord Chancellor*, complaining of the *Delegates*, and desiring that his Appeal might be admitted; and said, by that Appeal it was plain, that he esteemed the King to be clothed with his full Royal Power, now that he was under Age, since he thus appealed to him. Upon which the *Arch-bishop*, the *Bishop of Rochester*, *Secretary Smith*, and the *Dean of St. Pauls*, gave Sentence against him; that since he had not declared the Kings Power, while under Age, in his *Sermon*, as he was commanded by the *Protector* and *Council*, therefore the *Arch-bishop*, with the Consent and Assent of his Colleagues, did deprive him of the Bishoprick of *London*.

He is deprived from his Bishoprick.

don. Sentence being thus given, he appealed again by word of mouth. The Court did also order him to be carried to Prison, till the King should consider further of it. This account of his Trial is drawn from the Register of *London*, where all these Particulars are inserted. From thence it was that *Fox* printed them. For *Bonner*, though he was afterward Commissioned by the Queen to deface any Records that made against the Catholick Cause, yet did not care to alter any thing in this Register after his re-admission in Queen *Maries* time. It seems he was not displeased with what he found recorded of himself in this matter.

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Thus was *Bonner* deprived of his Bishoprick of *London*. This Judgment, as all such things are, was much censured: It was said, it was not Canonical, since it was by a Commission from the King, and since Secular Men were mixed with Clergy-men in the censure of a Bishop. To this it was answered, That the Sentence being only of deprivation from the See of *London*, it was not so entirely an Ecclesiastical Censure, but was of a mixed nature, so that Lay-men might joyn in it: and since he had taken a Commission from the King for his Bishoprick, by which he held it only during the Kings pleasure, he could not complain of this deprivation, which was done by the Kings Authority. Others who looked farther back, remembred that *Constantine* the Emperor had appointed Secular Men to enquire into some things objected to Bishops, who were called *Cognitores*, or *Triers*: and such had examined the business of *Cecilian* Bishop of *Carthage*, even upon an Appeal, after it had been tried in several Synods; and given Judgment against *Donatus* and his Party. The same *Constantine* had also by his Authority put *Eustathius* out of *Antioch*, *Athanasius* out of *Alexandria*, and *Paul* out of *Constantinople*: and though the Orthodox Bishops complained of these Particulars, as done unjustly at the false suggestion of the *Arrians*; yet they did not deny the Emperors Authority in such Cases. Afterwards the Emperors used to have some Bishops attending on them in their *Comitatus* or Court, to whose Judgment they left most Causes, who acted only by Commission from the Emperor. So *Epiphanius* was brought to condemn *Chrysostome* at *Constantinople*, who had no Authority to judge him by the Canons. Others objected, that it was too severe to deprive *Bonner* for a defect in his memory; and that therefore they should have given him a new Tryal in that Point, and not have proceeded to censure him on such an omission; since he protested it was not on design, but a pure forgetfulness; and all people perceived clearly it had been before hand resolved to lay him aside, and that therefore they now took him on this disadvantage, and so deprived him. But it was also well known, that all the Papists infused this Notion into the People, of the Kings having no Power till he came to be of Age; and he being certainly one of them, there was reason to conclude, that what he said for his defence, was only a Pretence; and that it was of design that he had omitted the mentioning the Kings Power when under Age. The adding of Imprisonment to his Deprivation was thought by some to be an extream accumulation of Punishments. But that was no more than what he drew upon himself by his rude and contemptuous behaviour. However it seems that some of these Objections wrought on Secretary *Petre*, for he never sate with the Delegates after the first day, and he was now turning about to another

Censures
pass'd upon it.

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Collection
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fairs.The French
take many
Places about

On the other hand, *Bonner* was little pitied by most that knew him. He was a cruel and fierce Man: he understood little of Divinity, his Learning being chiefly in the Canon Law. Besides, he was looked on generally as a Man of no Principles. All the obedience he gave either to the Laws, or the Kings Injunctions, was thought a compliance against his Conscience, extorted by fear. And his undecent carriage during his process had much exposed him to the People: so that it was not thought to be hard dealing, though the Proceedings against him were summary and severe. Nor did his carriage afterward during his imprisonment discover much of a Bishop or a Christian. For he was more concerned to have *Puddings* and *Pears* sent him, than for any thing else. This I gather from some original Letters of his to *Richard Leechmore* Esq; in *Worcester-shire*, (which were communicated to me by his Heir Lineally descended from him, the Worshipful Mr. *Leechmore*, now the Senior Benchèr of the *Middle-Temple*;) of which I transcribed the latter part of one that will be found in the *Collection*. In it he desires a large quantity of *Pears* and *Puddings* to be sent him: otherwise he gives those to whom he writes an odd sort of Benediction, very unlike what became a Man of his Character, he gives them *to the Devil, to the Devil, and to all the Devils*, if they did not furnish him well with *Pears* and *Puddings*. It may perhaps be thought indecent to print such Letters, being the privacies of friendship, which ought not to be made publick; but I confess, *Bonner* was so brutish, and so bloody a Man, that I was not ill pleased to meet with any thing that might set him forth in his natural Colours to the World.

Thus did the Affairs of *England* go on this Summer within the Kingdom; but it will be now necessary to consider the state of our Affairs in Foreign Parts. The King of *France* finding it was very chargeable to carry on the War wholly in *Scotland*, resolved this year to lessen that Expence, and to make War directly with *England*, both at Sea and Land. So he came in person with a great Army, and fell into the Country of *Bulloigne*, where he took many little Castles about the Town; as *Sellaque*, *Blackness*, *Hambletue*, *Newhaven*, and some lesser ones. The *English* Writers say, those were ill provided, which made them be so easily lost: but *Thuanus* says, they were all very well stored. In the night they assaulted *Bullingberg*, but were beat off: then they designed to burn the Ships that were in the Harbour, and had prepared Wild-fire with other combustible Matter, but were driven away by the *English*. At the same time the *French* Fleet met the *English* Fleet at *Jersey*, but, as King *Edward* writes in his Diary, they were beat off with the loss of 1000 Men; though *Thuanus* puts the loss wholly on the *English* side. The *French* King, late down before *Bulloign*, in September, hoping that the disorders then in *England*, would make that place be ill supplied, and easily yielded: the *English* finding *Bullingberg* was not tenable, razed it, and retired into the Town: but the Plague broke into the *French* Camp, so the King left it under the command of *Chastilion*. He endeavoured chiefly to take the *Pierre*, and so to cut off the Town from the Sea, and from all communication with *England*: and after a long Battery he gave the Assault upon it, but was beat off. There followed many Skirmishes between him and the Garrison, and he made many attempts to close up the Channel, and thought to have sunk a Galley full of Stones and Gravel in it; but

all these he was still unsuccessful. And therefore Winter coming on, the Siege was raised; only the Forts about the Town, which the French had taken, were strongly garrisoned: so that *Bulloigne* was in danger of being lost the next year.

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In Scotland also, the English Affairs declined much this year. *Thermes*, before the Winter was ended, had taken *Broughty* Castle, and destroyed almost the whole Garrison. In the Southern Parts there was a change made of the Lords Wardens of the English marches. Sir Robert Bowes was complained of, as negligent in relieving *Haddingtoun* the former year; so the Lord *Dacres* was put in his room. And the Lord *Gray*, who lost the great advantage he had when the French raised the Siege of *Haddingtoun*, was removed, and the Earl of *Rutland* was sent to command. The Earl made an Inroad into Scotland, and supplied *Haddingtoun* plentifully with all sorts of Provisions, necessary for a Siege. He had some Germans, and Spaniards with him: but a Party of Scotch Horse surprised the Germans Baggage; and *Romero* with the Spanish Troop was also fallen on, and taken, and almost all his Men were cut off. The Earl of *Warwick* was to have marched with a more considerable Army this Summer into Scotland, had not the disorders in England diverted him, as it has been already shewn. *Thermes* did not much more this Year. He intended once to have renewed the Siege of *Haddingtoun*; but when he understood how well they were furnished, he gave it over. But the English Council, finding how great a charge the keeping of it was, and the Country all about it being destroyed, so that no Provisions could be had, but what were brought from England, from which it was 28 Miles distant, resolved to withdraw their Garrison, and quit it, which was done on the first of October: so that the English having now no Garrison within Scotland, but *Lauder*, *Thermes* fate down before that, and pressed it, so that had not the Peace been made up with France, it had fallen into his Hands.

The English
unsuccessful in
Scotland.

Things being in this disorder both at home and abroad, the Protector had nothing to depend on, but the Emperors Aid; and he was so ill satisfied with the Changes that had been made in Religion, that much was not to be expected from him. The confusions this year occasioned that Change to be made in the Office of the daily Prayers; where the Answer to the Petition, *Give Peace in our time O Lord*, which was formerly, and is still continued, was now made, *Because there is none other that fighteth for us but only thou O God*. For now the Emperor having reduced all the Princes, and most of the Cities, of Germany to his obedience, none but *Magdeburg* and *Breame* standing out, did by a mistake, incident to great Conquerors, neglect those advantages which were then in his hands, and did not prosecute his Victories; but leaving Germany, came this Summer into the Netherlands, whither he had ordered his Son Prince *Philip* to come from Spain to him, through Italy and Germany, that he might put him into possession of these Provinces, and make them swear Homage to him. Whether at this time the Emperor was beginning to form the design of retiring, or whether he did this only to prevent the Mutinies and Revolts that might fall out upon his death, if his Son were not in actual possession of them, is not so certain. One thing is memorable, in that Transaction that was called the *Latus Introitus*, or the terms upon which he was received Prince of *Brabant*, to which the other Provinces

The state of
Germany.

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ott. Library
Galba B. 12.Jealousies a-
rise in the
Emperors Fa-
mily.

had been formerly united into one Principality; after many Rules and Limitations of Government, in the matter of Taxes, and publick Assemblies, the not keeping up of Forces, and governing them not by Strangers, but by Natives, it was added, "That if he broke these Conditions, it should be free for them not to obey him or acknowledge him any longer, till he returned to govern according to their Laws." This was afterwards the chief ground on which they justified their shaking off the *Spanish Yoke*, all these Conditions being publicly violated.

At this time there were great jealousies in the Emperors Family. For as he intended to have had his Brother resign his Election to be King of the *Romans*, that it might be transferred on his own Son; so there were designs in *Flanders*, which the *French* cherished much, to have *Maximilian, Ferdinands* Son, the most accomplish'd and vertuous Prince that had been for many Ages, to be made their Prince. The *Flemings* were much disgusted with the Queen Regents Government, who, when there was need of Money, sent to *Bruges*, and *Antwerp*, ordering Deputies to be sent her from *Flanders*, and *Brabant*: and when they were come, she told them what Money must be raised: and if they made any objections, she used to bid them give over merchandizing with the Emperor, for he must and would have the Money he asked: so that nothing remained to them, but to see how to raise what was thus demanded of them, rather than desired from them. This, as the *English* Ambassador writ from *Bruges*, seemed to be the reason that moved the Emperor to make his Son swear to such Rules of Government; which, the Sequel of his Life shewed, he meant to observe in the same manner that his Father had done before him. At the same time, in *May* this year, I find a secret Advertisement was sent over from *France* to the *English* Court, that there was a private Treaty set on foot between that King and the Princes of *Germany*, for restoring the liberty of the Empire: but that the King of *France* was resolved to have *Bulloigne* in his Hands before he entred on new Projects. Therefore it was proposed to the Protector, to consider whether it were not best to deliver it up by a Treaty, and so to leave the King of *France* free to the defence of their Friends in the Empire: for I find the consideration of the Protestant Religion was the chief measure of our Councils all this Reign.

A great Faction
on against the
Protector.

Upon this there was great distraction in the Councils at home. The Protector was inclined to deliver up *Bulloigne* for a Sum of Money, and to make Peace both with the *French* and *Scots*. The Kings Treasure was exhausted, Affairs at home were in great confusion, the defence of *Bulloigne* was a great charge, and a War with *France* was a thing of that consequence, that in that state of Affairs it was not to be adventured on. But on the other hand, those who hated the Protector, and measured Councils more by the bravery than the solidity of them, said, it would be a reproach to the Nation to deliver up a Place of that consequence, which their late King, in the declining of his days, had gained with so much loss of Men and Treasure: and to sell this for a little Money was accounted so sordid, that the Protector durst not adventure on it. Upon this occasion I find Sir *William Paget* (being made Comptroller of the Kings Household, which was then thought an advancement from the Office of a Secretary of State) made a long Discourse, and put it in Writing. The substance of it was, to ballance the dangers in which *England* was

Pagets Advice
about For-
eign Affairs.Cotton Libr.
Titus B. 2.

at

at that time. The Business of *Scotland* and *Bulloigne* drew *France* into a Quarrel against it. On the account of Religion, it had no reason to expect much from the Emperor. The Interest of *England* was then to preserve the Protestants of *Germany*; and therefore to unite with *France*, which would be easily engaged in that Quarrel against the Emperor. He proposed a firm Alliance with the *Venetians*, who were then jealous of the Emperors Progress in *Italy*, and would be ready to joyn against him, if he were throughly engaged in *Germany*; and by their means, *England* was to make up an agreement with *France*. On the other hand, *William Thomas*, then a Clerk of the Council, writ a long Discourse of other Expedients: He agreed with *Paget*, as to the ill state of *England*, having many Enemies, and no Friends. The North of *England* was wasted by the incursion of the *Scots*. *Ireland* was also in an ill condition; for the Natives there did generally joyn with the *Scot*, being addicted to the old Superstition. The Emperor was so set on reducing all to one Religion, that they could expect no great Aid from him, unless they gave him some hope of returning to the *Roman* Religion. But the continuance of the War would undo the Nation: for if the War went on, the People would take advantage from it to break out into new disorders: it would be also very dishonourable to deliver up, or rather to sell, the late Conquests in *France*. Therefore he proposed, that to gain time, they should treat with the Emperor, and even give him hopes of re-examining what had been done in Religion: though there was danger even in that, of disheart'ning those of *Magdeburg*, and the few remaining Protestants in *Germany*; as also they might expect the Emperor would be highly enraged when he should come to find that he had been deluded: but the gaining of time was then so necessary, that the preservation of the Nation depended on it. For *Scotland* he proposed, that the Governour of that Kingdom should be pressed to pretend to the Crown; since their Queen was gone into a strange Country: by this means *Scotland* would be for that whole Age separated from the Interests of *France*, and obliged to depend on *England*: and the *French* were now so hated in *Scotland*, that any who would set up against them would have an easie Work, especially being assisted by the nearness of *England*. And for *Ireland*, he proposed, that the chief Heads of Families should be drawn over, and kept at Court. And that *England* thus being respited from Forreign War, the Nation should be armed, and exercised, the Coin reformed, Treasure laid up, and things in the Government at home that were uneasie should be corrected.

Thus I have opened the Councils at that time, as I found them laid before me in these Authentick Papers, from which I drew them. The result of their Consultation was to send over Sir *William Paget* to joyn with Sir *Philip Hobbey*, then Resident at the Emperors Court. His Instructions will be found in the *Collection*. The Substance of them was, That the Treaty between the Emperor and the late King should be renewed with this King, and confirmed by the Prince and the States of *Flanders*: that some ambiguous Passages in it should be cleared: that the Emperor would comprehend *Bulloigne* within the League defensive, and so protect it, *England* being ready to offer any thing reciprocal in the room of it. He was also to shew their readiness to agree to the

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Thomas's Advice differs from his. Cot. Libr.

Paget sent over to treat with the Emperor. Collection Number 3.

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Emperor concerning the Lady *Maries* Marriage, to adjust some differences occasioned by the complaints made of the Admiralty, and about Trade : to shew the reason of the Messages that passed between them and *France* ; and to engage, that if the Emperor would heartily assist them, they would never agree with *France*. *Paget* was also to propose, as of himself, that *Bulloigne* should be put into the Emperors Hands upon a reasonable recompence. Thus was *Paget* instructed, and sent over in *June* this Year. But the Emperor put him off with many delays, and said, The carrying of his Son about the Towns in *Flanders* and *Brabant*, with the many Ceremonies and Entertainments that followed it, made it not easie for him to consider of Matters that required such deep consultation. He put him off from *Brussels* to *Gant*, and from *Gant* to *Bruges*. But *Paget* growing impatient of such delays, since the *French* were marched into the *Bulloigne* ; the Bishop of *Arras*, (Son to *Granvell* that had been long the Emperors chief Minister) who was now like to succeed in his Fathers room that was old and infirm, and the two Presidents of the Emperors Councils, *St. Maurice* and *Viglius*, came to Sir *William Paget*, and had a long communication with him and *Hobbes*, an account whereof will be found in the *Collection* in a Dispatch from them to the Protector.

Collection
Number 39.
He meets
with the Em-
perors Mini-

They first treated of an explanation of some ambiguous words in the Treaty, to which the Emperors Ministers promised to bring them an Answer. Then they talked long of the Matters of the Admiralty, the Emperors Ministers said, no justice was done in *England* upon the Merchants complaints : *Paget* said, every Mariner came to the Protector, and if he would not sollicite their business, they run away with a Complaint that there was no Justice ; whereas he thought, that as they meddled with no private matters, so the Protector ought to turn all these over upon the Courts that were the competent Judges. But the Bishop of *Arras* said, There was no Justice to be had in the Admiralty Courts, who were indeed Parties in all these Matters : *Paget* said, There was as much Justice in the *English* Admiralty Courts as was in theirs : and the Bishop confessed, there were great corruptions in all these Courts. So *Paget* proposed, that the Emperor should appoint two of his Council to hear and determine all such Complaints, in a Summary way, and the King should do the like in *England*. For the Confirmation of the Treaty, the Bishop said, the Emperor was willing his Son should confirm it ; but that he would never sue to his Subjects to confirm his Treaties : and he said, when it was objected that the Treaty with *France* was confirmed by the three Estates, that the Prerogative of the *French* Crown was so restrained that the King could alienate nothing of his Patrimony without the Parliament of *Paris* and his three Estates. He believed the King of *England* had a greater Prerogative : he was sure the Emperor was not so bound up : he had fifteen or sixteen several Parliaments, and what work must he be at if all these must descant on his Transactions ? When this general discourse was over, the two Presidents went away : but the Bishop of *Arras* staid with him in private. *Paget* proposed the Business of *Bulloigne* : but the Bishop having given him many good words in the general, excepted much to it, as dishonourable to the Emperor ; since *Bulloigne* was not taken when the League was concluded between the Emperor and *England* : so that if he should now include it

in

in the League, it would be a breach of Faith and Treaties with *France*; and he stood much on the Honour and Conscience of observing these Treaties inviolably. So this Conversation ended; in which the most remarkable Passage is, that concerning the Limitations on the *French* Crown, and the Freedoms of the *English*; for at that time the Kings Prerogative in *England* was judged of that extent, that I find in a Letter written from *Scotland*, one of the main Objections made to the marrying their Queen to the King of *England* was, That an Union with *England* would much alter the constitution of their Government, the Prerogatives of the Kings of *England* being of a far larger extent than those in *Scotland*.

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Two or three days after the former Conversation, the Emperors Ministers returned to *Pagets* Lodging, with answer to the Propositions which the *English* Ambassadors had made: of which a full account will be found in the *Collection* in the Letter which the Ambassadors writ upon it into *England*. The Emperor gave a good answer to some of the Particulars, which were ambiguous in former Treaties. For the Confirmation of the Treaty, he offered, that the Prince should joyn in it; but since the King of *England* was under Age, he thought it more necessary that the Parliament of *England* should confirm it. To which *Paget* answered, That their Kings, as to the Regal Power, were the same in all the Conditions of Life: and therefore when the Great Seal was put to any agreement, the King was absolutely bound by it. If his Ministers engaged him in ill Treaties, they were to answer for it at their Perils; but howsoever the King was tied by it. They discoursed long about the Administration of Justice, but ended in nothing. And as for the main business about *Bulloigne*, the Emperor stood on his Treaties with the *French*, which he could not break: upon which *Paget* said to the Bishop, that his Father had told him, they had so many Grounds to quarrel with *France*, that he had his Sleeve full of them, to produce when there should be occasion to make use of them. But finding the Bishops Answers were cold, and that he only gave good words, he told him that *England* would then see to their own security: and so he took that for the Emperors final Answer, and thereupon resolved to take his leave, which he did soon after, and came back into *England*. But at home the Councils were much divided, of which the sad Effects broke out soon afterward.

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It was proposed in Council, that the War with *Scotland* should be ended. For it having been begun, and carried on, only on design to obtain the Marriage, since the hopes of that were now so far gone, that it was not in the power of the *Scots* themselves to retrieve them, it was a vain and needless expence both of Blood and Money to keep it up; and since *Bulloigne* was by the Treaty, after a few more years, to be delivered up to the *French*, it seemed a very unreasonable thing, in the low state to which the Kings Affairs were driven, to enter on a War; in which they had little reason to doubt but they should lose *Bulloigne*, after the new expence of a Siege and another years War. The Protector had now many Enemies, who laid hold on this conjuncture to throw him out of the Government. The Earl of *Southampton* was brought into the Council, but had not laid down his secret hatred of the Protector; and did all he could to make a Party against him. The Earl of *Warwick* was the

Debates in
Council concerning Peace.

1549.

Complaints against the Protector

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the fittest Man to work on : him therefore he gained over to his side, and having formed a confidence in him, he shewed him, that he had really got all these Victories for which the Protector triumphed : he had won the Field of *Pinkey* near *Musselburgh*, and had subdued the Rebels of *Norfolk* : and as he had before defeated the *French*, so if he were sent over thither, new Triumphs would follow him : but it was below him to be second to any. So he engaged him to quarrel in every thing with the Protector, all whose wary motions were ascribed to fear or dulness. To others he said, What friendship could any expect from a Man who had no pity on his own Brother? But that which provoked the Nobility most, was the partiality the Protector had for the Commons in the Insurrections that had been this Summer. He had also given great grounds of jealousy, by entertaining Forreign Troops in the Kings Wars; which, though it was not objected to him, because the Council had consented to it, yet it was whispered about, that he had extorted that Consent. But the noble Palace he was raising in the *Strand*, (which yet carries his Name) out of the ruines of some Bishops Houses, and Churches, drew as publick an envy on him as any thing he had done. It was said, that when the King was engaged in such Wars, and when *London* was much disordered by the Plague, that had been in it for some Months, he was then bringing Architects from *Italy*, and designing such a Palace as had not been seen in *England*. It was also said, That many Bishops and Cathedrals had resigned many Mannours to him, for obtaining his favour. Though this was not done without leave obtained from the King; for in a Grant of some Lands made to him by the King on the 11th of *July*, in the second year of his Reign, it is said, That these Lands were given him as a Reward of his Services in *Scotland*, for which he was offered greater Rewards; but that he refusing to accept of such Grants as might too much impoverish the Crown, had taken a Licence to the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, for his alienating some of the Lands of that Bishoprick to him : he is in that Patent called by the *Grace of God* Duke of *Somerset*, which had not of late years been ascribed to any but Sovereign Princes. It was also said, That many of the Chantry Lands had been sold to his Friends at easie rates; for which they concluded he had great Presents : and a course of unusual greatness had raised him up too high; so that he did not carry himself towards the Nobility with that equality that they expected from him.

All these things concurred to beget him many Enemies, and he had very few Friends, for none stuck firmly to him, but *Paget*, and Secretary *Smith*, and especially *Cranmer*, who never forsook his Friend. All that favoured the old Superstition were his Enemies : and seeing the Earl of *Southampton* heading the Party against him, they all run in to it. And of the Bishops, that were for the Reformation, *Goodrich* of *Ely* likewise joyned to them : He had attended on the Admiral in his Preparations for death, from whom, it seems, he drank in ill impressions of the Protector. All his Enemies saw, and he likewise saw it himself, that the continuance of the War must needs destroy him; and that a Peace would confirm him in his Power, and give him time and leisure to break thorough the Faction, that was now so strong against him, that it was not probable he could master it without the help of some time. So in the Council his Adversaries delivered their Opinions against all motions

motions for Peace : and though upon *Pagets* return from *Flanders*, it appeared to be very unreasonable to carry on the War ; yet they said, *Paget* had secret Instructions to procure such an Answer, that it might give a colour to so base a Project. The Officers that came over from these Places that the *French* had taken, pretended, as is common for all Men in such Circumstances, that they wanted things necessary for a Siege ; and though in truth it was quite contrary, (as we read in *Tullius*) yet their Complaints were cherished and spread about among the People. The Protector had also, against the mind of the Council, ordered the Garrison to be drawn out of *Hadingtoun* ; and was going, notwithstanding all their opposition, to make Peace with *France* ; and did in many things act by his own Authority, without asking their advice, and often against it. This was the assuming a Regal Power, and seemed not to be endured by those who thought they were in all Points his equals. It was also said, That when, contrary to the late Kings Will he was chosen *Protector*, it was with that special condition, that he should do nothing without their consent : and though by the Patent he had for his Office, his Power was more enlarged ; (which was of greater force in Law, than a private Agreement at the Council Table) yet even that was objected to him, as an high presumption in him to pretend to such a vast Power. Thus all the Month of *September* there were great Heats among them : several Persons interposed to mediate, but to no effect : for the Faction against him was now so strong, that they resolved to strip him of his exorbitant Power, and reduce him to an equality with themselves. The King was then at *Hampton-Court*, where also the Protector was, with some of his own Retainers and Servants about him ; which encreased the Jealousies ; for it was given out, that he intended to carry away the King. So on the 6th. of *October* some of the Council met at *Ely House* : the Lord *St. John* President, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Arundel*, and *Southampton*, Sir *Edw. North*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, Sir *Edmund Pecham*, Sir *Edw. Wotton*, and Dr. *Wotton* ; and Secretary *Petre* being sent to them in the Kings Name, to ask what they met for, joyned himself likewise to them. They sat as the Kings Council, and entred their Proceedings in the Council-Book, from whence I draw the account of this Transaction.

Most of the
Council sepa-
rate from
him.

These being met together, and considering the disorders that had been lately in *England*, the losses in *Scotland* and *France*, laid the blame of all on the Protector, who they said, was given up to other Councils, so obstinately, that he would not hearken to the advices they had given him, both at the Board, and in private ; and they declared, that having intended that day to have gone to *Hampton Court*, for a friendly communication with him, he had raised many of the Commons to have destroyed them, and had made the King set his Hand to the Letters he had sent for raising Men ; and had also dispersed seditious Bills against them ; therefore they intended to see to the safety of the King and the Kingdom. So they sent for the Lord Major and Aldermen of *London*, and required them to obey no Letters sent them by the Protector, but only such as came from themselves. They also writ many Letters to the Nobility and Gentry over *England*, giving them an account of their Designs and Motives, and requiring their assistance. They also sent for the Lieutenant of the Tower, and he submitted to their Orders. Next day,

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the Lord Chancellor, the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Sir *Tho. Cheyney*, Sir *John Gage*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, and the Lord Chief-Justice *Montague*, joyned with them. Then they wrote to the King a Letter, (which is in the *Collection*) full of expressions of their duty and care of his Person, complaining of the Duke of *Somerset*'s not listening to their Councils, and of his gathering a Force about him for maintaining his wilful doings: they owned that they had caused Secretary *Petre* to stay with them, and in it they endeavoured to perswade the King that they were careful of nothing so much as of his preservation. They also wrote to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and to Sir *William Paget*, to see to the Kings Person, and that his own Servants should attend on him, and not those that belonged to the Duke of *Somerset*. But the Protector, hearing of this disorder, had removed the King to *Windsor* in all haste; and had taken down all the Armour that was either there, or at *Hampden Court*, and had armed such as he could gather about him for his preservation.

The City of
London joyns
with them.

The Council at *London* complained much of this, that the King should be carried to a Place where there were no Provisions fit for him. So they ordered all things that he might need to be sent to him from *London*. And on the 8th. of *October* they went to *Guild-hall*, where they gave an account of their Proceedings to the Common-Council of the City: and assured them, they had no thoughts of altering the Religion, as was given out by their Enemies, but intended only the safety of the King, and the Peace of the Kingdom; and for these ends desired their assistance. The whole Common-Council with one Voice, declared, they thanked God for the good intentions they had expressed, and assured them they would stand by them with their Lives and Goods. At *Windsor*, when the Protector understood, that not only the City but the Lieutenant of the Tower, of whom he had held himself assured, had forsaken him, he resolved to struggle no longer: and though it is not improbable, that he, who was chiefly accused for his protecting the Commons, might have easily gathered a great Body of Men for his own preservation; yet he resolved rather to give way to the Tide that was now against him. So he protested before the King and the few Counsellors then about him, that he had no design against any of the Lords; and that the Force he had gathered was only to preserve himself from any violent attempt that might be made on his Person: he declared, that he was willing to submit himself; and therefore proposed, that two of those Lords should be sent from *London*, and they, with two of those that were yet about the King, should consider what might be done, in whose determination he would acquiesce: and desired, that whatsoever was agreed on, should be confirmed in Parliament. Hereupon there was sent to *London* a Warrant under the Kings Hand, for any two of the Lords of the Council that were there to come to *Windsor* with twenty Servants a-piece, who had the Kings Faith for their safety in coming and going: and *Cranmer*, *Paget*, and *Smith*, wrote to them to dispose them to end the matter peaceably, and not follow cruel Councils, nor to be misled by them who meant otherwise than they professed, of which they knew more than they would then mention. This seemed to point at the Earl of *Southampton*.

The Protector
offers to treat
and submit.
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On the 9th. of October the Council at London increased by the accession of the Lord *Ruffel*, the Lord *Wentworth*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Ant. Wingfield*, and Sir *John Baker*, the Speaker of the House of Commons. For now those who had stood off a while; seeing the Protector was resolved to yield, came and united themselves with the prevailing Party: so that they were in all two and twenty. They were informed, that the Protector had said, that if they intended to put him to death, the King should die first; and if they would furnish him, they should furnish the King first: and that he had armed his own Men, and set them next to the Kings Person, and was designing to carry him out of *Windsor*, and as some reported, out of the Kingdom: upon which they concluded, that he was no more fit to be Protector. But of those words no proofs being mentioned in the Council-Books, they look like the forgeries of his Enemies to make him odious to the People. The Council ordered a Proclamation of their Proceedings to be printed, and writ to the Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, acquainting them with what they had done. They also wrote to the King (as will be found in the *Collection*) acknowledging the many bonds that lay on them in gratitude both for his Fathers goodness to them, and his own, to take care of him. They desired he would consider, they were his whole Council, except one or two; and were those whom his Father had trusted with the Government: that the Protector was not raised to that Power by his Fathers Will, but by their choice, with that condition, that he should do all things by their advice; which he had not observed, so that they now judged him most unworthy of these Honours: therefore they earnestly desired they might be admitted to the Kings Presence, to do their duties about him, and that the Forces gathered about his Person might be sent away, and the Duke of *Somerset* might submit himself to the Order of Council. They also wrote to the Arch-bishop and Sir *William Paget*, (which is in the *Collection*) charging them as they would answer it, that the Kings Person might be well looked to, that he should not be removed from *Windsor*, and that he should be no longer guarded by the Duke of *Somersets* Men, (as they said he had been, of which they complained severely) but by his own sworn Servants; and they required them to concur in advancing the desire they had signified by their Letter to the King, protesting that they would do with the Duke of *Somerset*, as they would desire to be done by, and with as much moderation and favour as in honour they could: so that there was no reason to apprehend from them such cruelty as they had mentioned in their Letters. These were sent by Sir *Philip Hobbey*, who was returned from *Flanders*, and had been sent by the King to *London* on the day before. Upon this, *Cranmer*, and *Paget*, (as is entered in the Council-Book) perswaded both the King and the Protector to grant their desire. The Protectors Servants were dismissed, and the Kings were set about his Person. And *Cranmer*, *Paget*, and *Smith*, wrote to the Council at *London*, that all they had proposed should be granted: They desired to know whether the King should be brought to *London*, or stay at *Windsor*: and that three of the Lords might be sent thither, who should see all things done according to their minds: and for other things they referred them to *Hobbey* that carried the Letter, (which is in the *Collection*) upon this the Council sent Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Sir *Anthony Liege*, and Sir *J. Williams*, to *Windsor*, with a charge to see that the Duke

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Duke of *Somerset* should not withdraw before they arrived. and then Sir *The. Smith* the Secretary, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *John Thyn*, *Edw. Wolfe*, and *William Cecil*, should be restrained to their Chambers, till they examined them. On the 12th. of *October* the whole Council went to *Windsor*, and coming to the King, they protested that all they had done was out of the zeal and affection they had to his Person and Service. The King received them kindly, and thanked them for their care of him, and assured them that he took all they had done in good part. On the 13th. day they sat in Council, and sent for those who were ordered to be kept in their Chambers; only *Cecil* was let go. They charged them, that they had been the chief Instruments about the Duke of *Somerset* in all his wilful Proceedings; therefore they turned *Smith* out of his Place of Secretary, and sent him with the rest to the Tower of *London*. On the day following, the Protector was called before them,

and Articles of Misdemeanours and high Treason were laid to his charge, (which will be found in the *Collection*.) The Substance of them was, That being made Protector, on condition that he should do nothing without the consent of the other Executors, he had not observed that Condition, but had treated with Ambassadors, made Bishops and Lord-Lieutenants, by his own Authority: and that he had held a Court of Requests in his own House; and had done many things contrary to Law, had embased the Coin, had in the Matter of Inclosures set our Proclamations, and given Commissions against the mind of the whole Council: that he had not taken care to suppress the late Insurrections, but had justified and encouraged them: that he had neglected the Place, the King had in *France*, by which means they were lost: that he had perswaded the King that the Lords who met at *London* intended to destroy him, and had desired him never to forget it, but to revenge it, and had required some young Lords to keep it in his remembrance; and had caused those Lords to be proclaimed Traitors: that he had said, if he should die, the King should die too: that he had carried the King suddenly to *Windsor*, that he was not only put in great fear, but cast into a dangerous disease: that he had gathered the People, and armed them for War; and had armed his Friends and Servants; and left the Kings Servants unarmed: and that he intended to fly to *Jersey*, or *Garnsey*. So he was sent to the Tower, being conducted thither by the Earls of *Suffex*, and *Huntington*. That day the King was carried back again to *Hampton-Court*; and an Order was made, that six Lords should be the Governours of his Person: who were the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Warwick*, and *Arundel*, the Lords *St. John*, *R. J.*, and *Westworth*. Two of those were in their course to attend constantly on the King.

Censures passed upon him.

And thus fell the Duke of *Somerset* from his high Offices and great Trust. The Articles objected to him seem to say as much for his justification, as the Answers could do, if they were in my Power. He is not accused of rapine, cruelty, or bribery; but only of such things as are incident to all Men that are of a sudden exalted to a high and disproportioned greatness. What he did about the Coin, was not for his own advantage, but was done by a common mistake of many Governors, who, in the necessity of their Affairs, fly to this as their last shift, to draw out their business as long as is possible; but it ever repounds on the

the Government to its great prejudice and loss. He bore his Fall more equally than he had done his Prosperity: and set himself in his imprisonment to study, and reading: and falling on a Book that treated of Patience, both from the Principles of Moral Philosophy, and of Christianity; he was so much taken with it, that he ordered it to be translated into *English*, and writ a Preface to it himself, mentioning the great comfort he had found in reading it, which had induced him to take care that others might reap the like benefit from it. *Peter Martyr* writ him also a long consolatory Letter, which was printed, both in *Latin*, and in an *English* Translation: and all the Reformed, both in *England*, and abroad, looked on his fall as a publick loss to that whole Interest, which he had so steadily set forward.

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But on the other hand, the Popish Party were much lifted up at his Fall; and the rather, because they knew the Earl of *Southampton*, who they hoped should have directed all Affairs, was entirely theirs. It was also believed, that the Earl of *Warwick* had given them secret Assurances: So it was understood at the Court of *France*, as *Thuanus* writes They had also, among the first things they did, gone about to discharge the Duke of *Norfolk* of his long imprisonment, in consideration of his great Age, his former Services, and the extremity of the Proceedings against him, which were said to have flowed chiefly from the ill Offices the Duke of *Somerſet* had done him. But this was soon laid aside. So now the Papists made their Addresses to the Earl of *Warwick*. The Bishop of *Wincheſter* wrote to him a hearty Congratulation, rejoicing that the late Tyranny (so he called the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Administration) was now at an end: he wished him all prosperity, and desired, that when he had leisure from the great Affairs, that were in so unsettled a condition, some regard might be had of him. The Bishop of *London*, being also in good hopes, since the Protector, and *Smith*, whom he esteemed his chief Enemies, were now in disgrace, and *Cranmer* was in cold, if not in ill terms, with the Earl of *Warwick*, sent a Petition that his Appeal might be received, and his Process reviewed. Many also began to fall off from going to the *English* Service, or the Communion; hoping that all would be quickly undone that had been sealed by the Duke of *Somerſet*. But the Earl of *Warwick*, finding the King so zealously addicted to the carrying on of the Reformation, that nothing could recommend any one so much to him, as the promoting it further would do, soon forsook the Popish Party, and was seemingly the most earnest on a further Reformation that was possible. I do not find that he did write any Answer to the Bishop of *Wincheſter*. He continued still a Prisoner. And for *Bonners* Matter, there was a new Court of Delegates appointed to review his Appeal, consisting of four Civilians, and four Common Lawyers; who having examined it, reported, that the Process had been legally carried on, and the Sentence justly given, and that there was no good reason why the Appeal should be received, and therefore they rejected it. This being reported to the Council, they sent for *Bonner* in the beginning of *February*, and declared to him, that his Appeal was rejected; and that the Sentence against him was in full force still.

The Papist much lifted up

But their hopes soon vanish.

But the Business of *Bulloigne* was that which pressed them most. They mistaking, as was formerly shewn, that *Paget* had not managed that matter

Ambassador sent to the Emperor.

1549.

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The Earl of
Southampton
leaves the
Court.

A new Office
for Ordinati-
ons.

A Session of
Parliament.

An Act against
Tumultuary
Assemblies.

And against
Vagabonds.

matter dexterously and earnestly with the Emperor, sent on the 13th of October Sir Tho. Cheyny, and Sir Phil. Hobbey to him, to entreat him to take *Bulloigne* into his Protection; they also sent over the Earl of *Huntington* to command it, with the addition of a thousand Men for the Garrison. When the Ambassadors came to the Emperor, they desired leave to raise 2000 Horse and 3000 Foot in his Dominions for the preservation of *Bulloigne*. The Emperor gave them very good words, but insisted much on his League with *France*: and referred them to the Bishop of *Arras*, who told them plainly the thing could not be done. So Sir Tho. Cheyny took his leave of the Emperor, who at parting desired him to represent to the Kings Council, how necessary it was to consider matters of Religion again, that so they might be all of one mind; for, to deal plainly with them, till that were done, he could not assist them so effectually as otherwise he desired to do. And now the Council saw clearly, they had not been deceived by *Paget* in that Particular, and therefore resolved to apply themselves to *France* for a Peace. But now the Earl of *Warwick* falling off wholly from the Popish Party, the Earl of *Southampton* left the Court in great discontent. He was neither restored to his Office of Chancellor, nor made Lord Treasurer, (that Place, which was vacant by the Duke of *Somersets* Fall, being now given to the Lord *St. John*, who soon after, was made Earl of *Wiltshire*;) nor was he made one of those who had charge of the Kings Person. So he began to lay a Train against the Earl of *Warwick*; but he was too quick for him, and discovered it: upon which he left the Court in the night, and it was said, he poisoned himself, or pined away with discontent; for he died in *July* after.

So now the Reformation was ordered to be carried on: and there being one part of the Divine Offices not yet reformed, that is, concerning the giving Orders, some Bishops and Divines, brought now together by a Session of Parliament, were appointed to prepare a Book of Ordination.

But now I turn to the Parliament, which sate down on the 4th. of November. In it a severe Law was made against unlawful Assemblies: that if any, to the number of twelve should meet together unlawfully, for any matter of State, and being required by any lawful Magistrate, should not disperse themselves, it should be Treason: and if any broke Hedges, or violently pulled up Pales, about Inclosures, without lawful Authority, it should be Felony. It was also made Felony to gather the People together without Warrant, by ringing of Bells, or sound of Drums and Trumpets, or the firing of Beacons. There was also a Law made against Prophecies concerning the King or his Council, since by these the People were disposed to sedition: for the first offence it was to be punished by Imprisonment for a year, and 10 l. Fine: For the second, it was Imprisonment during Life, with the forfeiture of Goods and Chattels. All this was on the account of the Tumults the former year, and not with any regard to the Duke of *Somersets* security, as some have without any reason fancied: for he had now no interest in the Parliament, nor was he in a condition any more to apprehend Tumults against himself, being strip of his so much envied greatness. Another Law was made against Vagabonds, relating, That the former Statute made in this Reign being too severe, was by that means not executed: so it was repealed, and the

the Law made in King Henry the 8th's. Reign put in force: Provisions were laid down for relieving the Sick and Impotent, and setting the Poor, that were able, to work: That once a month there should be every where a Visitation of the Poor, by those in Office, who should send away such as did not belong to that Place, and those were to be carried from Constable to Constable, till they were brought to such Places as were bound to see to them. There was a Bill brought in for the repealing of a Branch of the Act of Uniformity, but it went no further than one reading.

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On the 14th. of November the Bishops made a heavy complaint to the Lords, of the abounding of vice and disorder, and that their Power was so abridged, that they could punish no sin, nor oblige any to appear before them, or to observe the Orders of the Church. This was heard by all the Lords with great regret, and they ordered a Bill to be drawn about it. On the 18th. of November a Bill was brought in, but rejected at first reading, because it seemed to give the Bishops too much Power. So a second Bill was appointed to be drawn by a Committee of the House. It was agreed to, and sent down to the Commons, who laid it aside after the second reading. They thought it better to renew the design that was in the former Reign, of two and thirty Persons being authorized to compile the Body of Ecclesiastical Laws; and when that was prepared, it seemed more proper, by confirming it, to establish Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, than to give the Bishops any Power, while the Rules of their Courts were so little determined or regulated: So an Act passed, empowering the King to name sixteen Persons of the Spirituality, of whom four should be Bishops, and sixteen of the Temporality, of whom four should be common Lawyers, who within three years should compile a Body of Ecclesiastical Laws; and those, being nothing contrary to the Common and Statute Laws of the Land, should be published by the Kings Warrant, under the Great Seal, and have the force of Laws in the Ecclesiastical Courts. Thus they took care that this should not be turn'd over to an uncertain Period, as it had been done in the former Reign, but designed that it should be quickly finished. The Bishops of that time were generally so backward in every step to a Reformation, that a small number of them was made necessary to be of this Commission. The effect that it had shall be afterwards opened.

The Bishop gave for a saving of Ecclesiastical Centuries.

There was a Bill brought into the House of Commons, That the Preaching and holding of some Opinions should be declared *Felony*: it passed with them, but was laid aside by the Lords. A Bill for the Form of Ordaining Ministers was brought into the House of Lords, and was agreed to, the Bishops of *Duresme*, *Carlisle*, *Worcester*, *Chichester*, and *Westminster*, protesting against it. The Substance of it was. That such Forms of Ordaining Ministers as should be set forth by the advice of six Prelates and six Divines, to be named by the King, and Authorized by a Warrant under the Great Seal, should be used after April next, and no other. On the second of January a Bill was put in against the Duke of Somerset, of the Articles formerly mentioned, with a Confession of them Signed by his Hand. This he was prevailed with to do, upon assurances given that he should be gently dealt with, if he would freely confess, and submit himself to the Kings mercy. But it was said by some of the Lords, that they did not know whether that Confession was not drawn from him

the Forms of giving Orders.

An Act of the Duke of Somerset.

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him by force: and that it might be an ill President to pass Acts upon such Papers, without examining the Party, whether he had subscribed them freely and uncompelled: so they sent four Temporal Lords, and four Bishops, to examine him concerning it. And the day following, the Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* made the Report, that he thanked them for that kind Message, but that he had freely subscribed the Confession that lay before them. He had made it on his Knees before the King and Council, and had Signed it on the 13th. of *December*. He protested his offences had flowed from rashness and indiscretion, rather than malice, and that he had no treasonable design against the King or his Realms. So he was fined by Act of Parliament in 2000 *l.* a year of Land, and he lost all his Goods and Offices. Upon this he wrote to the Council, acknowledging their favour, in bringing off his Matter by a Fine: he confess'd, that he had fall'n into the frailties that often attend on great Places, but what he had done amiss was rather for want of true Judgment, than from any malicious meaning: he humbly desired they would interpose with the King for a moderation of his Fine, and that he might be pardoned and restored to favour; assuring them, that for the future he should carry himself so humbly and obediently, that he should thereby make amends for his former follies: This was much censured by many, as a sign of an abject Spirit: others thought it was wisely done in him, once to get out of Prison on any terms, since the greatness of his former condition gave such jealousy to his Enemies, that unless he had his pardon, he would be in continual danger, as long as he was in their hands. So on the 6th. of *February* he was set at liberty, giving Bond of 10000 *l.* for his good behaviour; and being limited that he should stay at the Kings House of *Sheen*, or his own of *Zion*, and should not go four Miles from them, nor come to the King or the Council, unless he were called: He had his Pardon on the 16th. of *February*, and carried himself after that so humbly, that his behaviour, with the Kings great kindness to him, did so far prevail, that on the 10th. of *April* after, he was restored into favour, and sworn of the Privy-Council. And so this storm went over him much more gently than was expected; but his carriage in it was thought to have so little of the *Hero*, that he was not much considered after this.

The Reformation is set on vigorously.

But to go on with the business of the Parliament; reports had been spread, that the old Service would be again set up: and these were much cherished by those who still loved the former superstition: who gave out, that a change was to be expected, since the New Service had been only the Act of the Duke of *Somerset*. Upon this the Council wrote on *Christmas* day a Letter to all the Bishops of *England*, to this effect, "That whereas the *English* Service had been devised by Learned Men, according to the Scripture, and the use of the Primitive Church; therefore, for putting away those vain expectations, all Clergy-men were required, to deliver to such as should be appointed by the King to receive them, all Antiphonales, Missals, Grayles, Processionals, Manuals, Legends, Pies, Portuasses, Journals, and Ordinals, after the use of *Sarum*, *Lincoln*, *York*, or any other private use: requiring them also to see to the observing one uniform Order in the Service set forth by the common consent of the Realm: and particularly to take care that there should be every where provision made of Bread and Wine for

" the

"Communion on Sunday. This will be found in the *Collection*. But to give a more publick declaration of their zeal, an Act was brought into Parliament about it, and was agreed to by all the Lords; except the Earl of *Darby*, the Bishops of *Duresme*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Carlisle*, *Worcester*, *Westminster*, and *Chichester*, and the Lords *Morley*, *Sturton*, *Windsor*, and *Wharton*. By it, not only all the Books formerly mentioned were to be destroyed, but all that had any Image that had belonged to any Church or Chappel, were required to deface it before the last of *June*, and in all the Primers set out by the late King, the Prayers to the Saints were to be dashed out. There was also an Act for a Subsidy to be payed in one year, for which there was a Release granted of a Branch of the Subsidy formerly given. Last of all came the Kings general Pardon, out of which those in the Tower, or other Prisons, on the account of the State, as also all Anabaptists were accepted.

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Thus were all Matters ended, and on the first of *February* the Parliament was prorogued. Only in the House of Commons there was a Debate that deserves to be remembred. It seems that before this time the Eldest Sons of Peers were not Members of the House of Commons: and Sir *Francis Russel*, becoming, by the death of his elder Brother, Heir apparent to the Lord *Russel*; it was on the 21st. of *Jan.* carried upon a Debate, *That he should abide in the House as he was before*. So it is entred in the Original Journal of the House of Commons, which was communicated to me by Mr. *Sarle*, and Mr. *Clark*, in whose it is now, and is the first Journal that ever was taken in that House.

But it may be expected that I should next give an account of the Forms of Ordination now agreed on. Twelve were appointed by the Council to prepare the Book; among whom, *Heath* Bishop of *Worcester* was one, but he would not consent to the Reformatiōs that were proposed in it: So on the 8th. of *February* he was called before the Council, and required to agree to that which all the rest had consented to. But he could not be prevailed with to do it. Wherefore on the fourth of *March* he was committed to the *Fleet*, because (as it is entred in the Council Books) that he obstinately denied to subscribe the Book for the making of Bishops and Priests. He had hitherto opposed every thing done towards Reformation in Parliament, though he had given an entire obedience to it when it was enacted. He was a Man of a gentle temper and great prudence, that understood Affairs of State better than Matters of Religion. But now it was resolved to rid the Church of those Compilers, who submitted out of fear, or interest, to save their Benefices, but were still ready upon any favourable conjuncture, to return back to the old superstition.

Heath Bishop
of *Worcester*
put in Prison
for not agreeing
with the
others appointed
to draw
the Book for
Ordinations.

As for the Forms of Ordination, they found, that the Scripture mentioned only the Imposition of Hands and Prayer. In the Apostolical Constitutions, In the fourth Council of *Carthage*, and in the pretended Works of *Denis the Areopagite*, there was no more used. Therefore all those additions, of Anointing, and giving them Consecrated Vestments, were later Inventions. But most of all the conceit, which from the time of the Council of *Florence* was generally received, that the Rites by which a Priest was ordained, were the delivering him the Vessels for consecrating the Eucharist, with a Power to offer Sacrifices to God for the

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the dead and the living. This was a vain Novelty, only set up to support the belief of Transubstantiation: and had no ground, in the Scriptures, nor the Primitive Practice. So they agreed on a Form of ordaining Deacons, Priests, and Bishops, which is the same we yet use, except in some few words, that have been added since in the Ordination of a Priest, or Bishop. For there was then no express mention made in the words of Ordaining them, that it was for the one, or the other Office: In both it was said, *Receive thou the Holy Ghost, in the Name of the Father, &c.* But that having been since made use of to prove both Functions the same, it was of late years altered, as it is now. Nor were these words, being the same in giving both Orders, any ground to infer that the Church esteemed them one Order; the rest of the Office shewing the contrary very plainly. Another difference between the Ordination Book set out at that time, and that we now use, was, that the Bishop was to lay his one Hand on the Priests Head, and with his other to give him a Bible, with a Chalice and Bread in it, saying the words now said at the delivery of the Bible. In the Consecration of a Bishop there was nothing more than what is yet in use, save that a Staff was put into his Hand, with this Blessing, *Be to the Flock of Christ a Shepherd.* By the Rule of this Ordinal, a Deacon was not to be ordained before he was 21, a Priest before he was 24, nor a Bishop before he was 30 years of Age.

The Additions brought into the Church of Rome in giving Orders.

In this Ritual all those superadded Rites were cut off, which the later Ages had brought in, to dress up these Performances with the more pomp: whereof we have since a more perfect account, than it was possible for them then to have. For in our Age *Morinus*, a learned Priest of the Oratorian Order, has published the most ancient Rituals he could find; by which it appears how these Offices swelled in every Age by some new addition. About the middle of the sixth Century, they anointed and blessed the Priests Hands in some parts of *France*: though the *Greek Church* never used anointing; nor was it in the *Roman Church* two Ages after that: for Pope *Nicolaus* the first plainly says, it was never used in the Church of *Rome*. In the 8th. Century, the Priests Garments were given with a special Benediction, for the Priests offering expiatory Sacrifices: It was no ancients that that Phrase was used in ordinations: and in that same Age there was a special Benediction of the Priests Hands, used before they were anointed: and then his Head was anointed. This was taken partly from the Levitical Law, and partly because the People believed that their King derived the Sacredness of their Persons, from their being anointed: So the Priests having a mind to have their Persons secured and exempted from all Secular Power, were willing enough to use this Rite in their Ordinations: and in the 10th. Century, when the belief of Transubstantiation was received, the delivering of the Vessels for the Eucharist, with the Power of offering Sacrifices, was brought in, besides a great many other Rites. So that the Church did never tie it self to one certain Form of Ordinations: nor did it always make them with the same Prayers; for what was accounted anciently the Form of Ordination, was in the later Ages but a preparatory Prayer to it.

Interrogations and Sponsions in the new Book.

The most considerable addition that was made in the Book of Ordinations, was the putting Questions to the Persons to be ordained: who

by

by answering these, make solemn Declarations of Sponsions and Vows to God. The first Question when one is presented to Orders, is, *Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost, to take upon you this Office and Ministration, to serve God, for the promoting his Glory, and for the edifying of his People?* To which he is to answer, *He trusts he is.* It has been oft lamented, that many come to receive Orders before ~~ever~~ they have seriously read over these Questions, and examined themselves whether they could with a good Conscience make the Answers there prescribed: since it is scarce credible that Men of common honesty would lie in the Presence of God, on so great an occasion: and yet it is too visible, that many have not any such inward vocation, nor have ever considered seriously what it is. If it were well apprehended, that heat that many have to get into Orders would soon abate; who perhaps have nothing in their Eye, but some place of Profit, or Benefice, to which way must be made by that preceding Ceremony: and so enter into Orders, as others are associated into Fraternities and Corporations, with little previous sense of that Holy Character, they are to receive, when they thus dedicate their Lives and Labours to the Service of God, in the Gospel. In the Primitive Church the apprehension of this made even good and holy Men afraid to enter under such Bonds: and therefore they were oft to be dragg'd almost by force, or catched at unawares, and be so initiated: as appears in the lives of these two *Greek Fathers Nazianzen and Chrysostom*. If Men make their first step to the Holy Altar, by such a lye, as is their pretending to a motion of the Holy Ghost, concerning which they know little, but that they have nothing at all of it; they have no reason to expect that Blessing which otherwise attends on such Dedications. And it had been happy for the Church if all those that are authorized to confer Orders, had stood on this more critically; and not been contented with a bare putting these Questions to those who come to be ordained; but had used a due strictness before hand, futable to that grave admonition of *St. Pauls to Timothy, Lay Hands suddenly on no Man, and be not partaker of other Mens sins.*

In the Sponsions made by the Priests, they bind themselves to *teach the People committed to their charge, to banish away all erroneous Doctrines, and to use both publick and private Monitions, and Exhortations, as well to the Sick, as the Whole, within their Cures, as need shall require, and as occasion shall be given.* Such as remember that they have plighted their Faith for this to God, will feel the Pastoral care to be a Load indeed, and so be far enough from relinquishing it, or hiring it out perhaps to a loose or ignorant Mercenary. These are the blemishes and scandals that lie on our Church, brought on it partly by the corruption of some Simoniacal Patrons, but chiefly by the negligence of some, and the faultiness of other Clergy-men: Which could never have lost so much ground in the Nation, upon such trifling accounts, as are the Contests since raised about Ceremonies; if it were not that the People, by such palpable faults in the Persons and behaviour of some Church-men, have been possessed with prejudices, first against them, and then upon their account against the whole Church: so that these corrupt Church-men are not only to answer to God for all those Souls within their charge, that have perished through their neglect, but in a great degree for all the mischief of the Schism among us; to the nourishing whereof they have given so great

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and palpable occasion. The importance of those things made me judge they deserved this digression, from which I now turn to other Affairs.

It is resolved
to deliver Bul-
loigne to the
French.

Pope Paul the
third dies.

Cardinal Pool
was elected
Pope.

The Business of *Bulloigne* lay heavy on the Council. The *French* had stopt all communication between *Calais* and it; so that it was not easie to supply it from thence. The Council, to rid the Nation of the Forreigners, sent them all to *Calais* with 3000 *English*, and resolved to force a way through, if it came to extremities: but at this time both the *French* and *English* were well disposed to a Peace. The King of *France* knew the Emperor intended to go into *Germany* next Summer; so he longed to be at liberty to wait on his Motions. The *English* Council, that opposed the delivery of *Bulloigne*, chiefly to throw off the Duke of *Somerset*, that being done, were all convinced that it was not worth the cost and danger of a War: only they stood on the indecency of yielding it; especially they having raised such clamours against the Protector, when he went about the delivering it up. So they made great shews of preparations to defend it: but at the same time were not unwilling to listen to Propositions of Peace. One *Guidotti*, a Florentine that lived in *England*, was employed by the Constable of *France*, *Mountmorancy*, to set on a Treaty; yet he was to do it without owning he had any orders from that King. He went often to and again between *Paris* and *London*, and at last it was resolved on both sides that there should be a Treaty. But at this time there was a great change of Affairs in *Italy*. Pope *Paul* the third having held that See fifteen years, died the 10th. of *November*, in the 82d. Year of his Age: much broken in mind at the calamity of his Family, the killing of his Son, the loss of *Placentia*, and the ingratitude of his Grand-child. Upon his death all the Cardinals, being gathered from *Bologna*, *Trent*, and other neighbouring Places entred the Conclave: where one that is to have such a share in the following part of this Work, was so much concerned, that it will be no impertinent digression to give an account of it. There were great animosities between the Imperialists and the *French*: Cardinal *Farnese* had also many Votes that followed him: so that these three Factions were either of them strong enough to exclude any that was unacceptable to them. Cardinal *Pool* was set up by *Farnese*, as a moderate Imperialist, who had carried it so well at *Trent*, that they saw he would not blindly follow the Emperor. He had lived many years at *Viterbo*, where he was made Legate, after he had given over his Practices against *England*. There he gave himself wholly to the Study of Divinity, not without some imputations of favouring Heresie. For one *Antonino Flaminio*, that was also suspect of *Lutheranisme*, lived with him. *Tremellius* that learned *Jew*, who had been Baptized in his House, was also known to incline that way: and many, who left their Monasteries, and went to *Germany*, used to stay some time with him on their way, and were well received by him: nor would he proceed against any suspected of Heresie. There was causes enough to raise suspicion in a less jealous People than *Italians*. Yet the vast zeal that he had shewn for the exaltation of the Papacy, made all those things be over-looked. He was sent one of the Popes Legates to *Trent*, where he asserted the *German* Doctrine of Justification by Faith: But upon the Emperors setting out the *Interim* he wrote freely against it. He was indeed a Man of an easie and

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R. White sculp.

Natus in Northūbr.
 Consecr. Episcopus
 Rossensis 1547
 Sept: 5.



Fit Episcopus
 Londin: 1550 Apr:
 Martyrium passus
 1555 Oct: 16.

generous temper, but much in the Power of those whom he loved and trusted. *Farnese* therefore looking on him as one that would be governed by him, and that was acceptable to the Imperialists, and not much hated by the *French*, the Cardinal of *Guise* being his Friend, resolved to promote him: and by the scrutiny they made, it was found that they were within two of the number that was requisite. But he seemed so little concerned at it himself, that he desired them not to make too much haste in a thing of that nature: for that dignity was rather to be undertaken with fear, than to be ambitiously desired. The Cardinals, who had heard of such things among the Ancient *Romans*, but had seen few such modern Instances, and who valued Men by nothing more than their imbitious aspiring, imputed this either to dulness, or hypocrisie: He himself seemed nothing affected with it, and did not change his behaviour, and carried it with an equality of mind, that became one who had divided his time between Philosophy and Divinity. *Caraffa* that hated him, did all he could to alienate the Conclave from him: he objected to him, not only Heresie, but also the suspicion of incontinence, since he bred up a Nun who was believed to be his Daughter. Of these things he coldly purged himself; he shew'd that he had suffered so much on the account of Religion in his own Country, that he was beyond the suspicion of Heresie: and he proved that the Girl whom he maintained among the Nuns, was an *English-man's* Daughter, to whom he had assigned an allowance. *Caraffa* prevailed little, and the next night the number was compleat: so that the Cardinals came to adore him, and make him Pope; but he receiving that, with his usual coldness said, it was night, and God loved light better than darkness, therefore he desired to delay it till day came. The *Italians* who, what ever Judges they may be about the qualifications of such a Pope as is necessary for their Affairs, understood not this temper of mind, which in better times would have recommended one with the highest advantages, shrunk all from him: and after some intrigues usual on such occasions, chose the Cardinal *de Monte*, afterwards Pope *Julius* the third, who gave a strange Omen of what advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own Hat, according to the custom of the Popes who bestow their Hats before they go out of the Conclave, on a mean Servant of his, who had the charge of a Monkey that he kept: and being asked what he observed in him to make him a Cardinal, he answered, as much as the Cardinals had seen in him to make him Pope. But it was commonly said, that the secret of this Promotion was an unnatural affection to him. Upon this occasion I shall refer the Reader to a Letter which I have put in the *Collection*, written by Cardinal *Woolsey* upon the death of Pope *Adrian* the sixth, to get himself chosen Pope; it sets out so naturally the Intrigues of that Court on such occasions, that though it belongs to the former Volume, yet having fallen upon it since I published it, I thought it would be no unacceptable thing to insert in this Volume, though it does not belong to it. It will demonstrate how likely it is, that a Bishop chosen by such Arts, should be the infallible Judge of Controversies, and the Head of the Church.

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And now to return to *England*; it was resolved to send Ambassadors to *France*: who were, the Lord *Russel*, *Pager* now made a Lord, Secretary *Petre*, and Sir *John M.* Their Instructions will be found

A Treaty between the English and French.

1550.

Collection
Number 48.
Instructions
given to the
English Am-
bassadors.

in the *Collection*. The Substance of them was, they were not to stick about the Place of Treaty, but to have it at *Calais*, or *Bulloigne*, if it might be: they were to agree to the delivery up of *Bulloigne*, but to demand that the *Scotch* Queen should be sent back, for perfecting the Marriage formerly agreed on: That the Fortifications of *Newhaven*, and *Blackness* should be ruined: That the perpetual Pension agreed to King *Henry* should still be payed, together with all Arrears that were due before the Wars: they were only to insist on the last, if they saw the former could not be obtained: They were to agree the time and manner of the delivery of *Bulloigne* to be as honourable as might be. For *Scotland*, they being also in War with the Emperor, the King of *England* could not make Peace with them, unless the Emperor, his Ally, who had made War on them upon his account, were also satisfied: All Places there, were to be offered up, except *Roxburgh*, and *Aymouth*. If the *French* spoke any thing of the Kings marrying their Kings Daughter *Elizabeth*, they were to put it off; since the King was yet so young. They were also at first to agree to no more but a Cession. So they went over on the 21st. of *January*; the *French* Commissioners appointed to treat with them were *Rocheport*, *Chastilion*, *Mortier*, and *de Sany*, who desired the Meeting might be near *Bulloigne*, though the *English* endeavoured to have brought it to *Guisnes*. Upon the *English* laying out their Demands, the *French* answered them roundly, that for delivering up the Queen of *Scots*, they would not treat about it; nor about a perpetual Pension; since, as the King was resolved to marry the *Scotch* Queen to the *Dolphin*, so he would give no perpetual Pension, which was in effect to become a tributary Prince: but for a Sum of Money they were ready to treat about it. As to *Scotland*, they demanded, that all the Places that had been taken should be restored, as well as *Roxburgh*, and *Aymouth*, as *Lauder*, and *Dunglassie*. The latter two were soon yielded to, but the Commissioners were limited as to the former. There was also some discourse of razing the Fortifications of *Alderney*, and *Sark*, two small Islands in the Channel, that belonged to *England*: the latter was in the Hands of the *French*, who were willing to yield it up, so the Fortifications both in it and *Alderney* were razed. Upon this there were second Instructions sent over from the Council, (which are in the *Collection*) that they should so far insist on the keeping of *Roxburgh*, and *Aymouth*, as to break up their Conference upon it; but if that did not work on the *French*, they should yield it rather than give over the Treaty. They were also instructed to require Hostages from the *French* till the Money were all payed, and to offer Hostages on the part of *England* till *Bulloigne* was delivered; and to struggle in the matter of the Isles all they could, but not to break about it. Between the giving the first and second Instructions, the Lord *St. John* was created Earl of *Wiltshire*, as appears by his Subscriptions. The Commissioners finished their Treaty about the end of *February*, on these Articles: On condition that all Claims of either side should be reserved as they were at the beginning of the War. This was a temper between the *English* demand, of all the Arrears of King *Henry's* Pension; and the *French* denial of it: for thus the King reserved all the right he had before the War. *Bulloigne* was to be delivered within six Months, with all the Places about it; and the Ordnance, except what the *English* had
cast

Collection
Number 49.

Articles of
the Treaty.

cast since they had it: for which surrender the *French* were to pay 400000 Crowns, (then of equal value with the *English* Noble) the one half three days after the Town was in their Hands, and the other in the *August* after. There was to be a Peace with *Scotland*; and *Roxburgh*, and *Aymouth*, *Lauder*, and *Dunglasse*, were to be razed: and there was to be a free Trade between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*. Six Hostages were to be given on either side: all the *English* were to be sent back upon the delivery of the Town: and three of the *French* on the first, and the rest on the second Payment. The *French* Hostages were the Duke of *Eughien*, the Marquess de *Mean*, Son to the Duke of *Guise*, *Monmorancy* Son to the Constable, the Duke of *Tremoville*, the Vice-dam of *Churtres*, and *Henandy* Son to *Annebault*, the Admiral. On the *English* side were, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Hartford*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Arundels* Son, the Lord *Strange*, and the Lord *Matravers*. So was the Peace concluded: all the Articles in it were duly performed, and the Hostages delivered back. It was proclaimed in *London* on the 29th. of *March*, being confirmed by both the Kings. Only it was much observed, that when it was to be confirmed in *England*, the Earl of *Warwick*, on pretence of sickness, was absent: those who began to conceive great jealousies of him, thought this was to make a shew to the People that he abhorred so dishonourable a thing, as himself had oft called it during the Duke of *Somersets* Administration, and that therefore he would not by his Presence seem to consent to it; though he had Signed all the Orders for it.

And now was the King entring in the fourth Year of his Reiga, free from all Wars, which had hitherto much distracted his Government. So the Council was more at leisure to settle the Affairs at home. But the Earl of *Warwick*, beginning to form great designs, resolved first to make himself popular, by calling all that had medled in the Kings Affairs to a strict account: and either to make them compound for great Sums, by which the Kings Debts should be payed; or to keep them under the lash till he made them subservient to his ends. He began with the Earl of *Arundel*, to whose charge many things being laid, he submitted himself to a Fine of 12000 *l.* to be paid in twelve years. This was the more taken notice of, because *Southampton*, *Arundel*, and he, with Sir *Richard Southwell* Master of the Rolls, had been the chief contrivers of the Duke of *Somersets* Fall: *Southampton* was driven away, *Arundel* fined, and *Southwel* was soon after put in the *Fleet*, for dispersing some seditious Bills. This wrought much on the Vulgar, who imputed it to a secret Curse on those who had conspired against the Duke of *Somerset*: and the delivery of *Bulloigne* made it yet more plain, that the Charge against him was chiefly grounded on malice. After *Arundels* disgrace, all the Duke of *Somersets* Friends made their Compositions, and were discharged. Sir *Tho. Smith*, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, *Tho. Fisher*, and *William Gray*, each of them acknowledged they owed the King 3000 *l.* and Sir *Jo. Thynn* submitted to 6000 *l.*

The Earl of
Warwick governs the
Councils.

But I shall next prosecute the Narration of what concerned the Church. It was now resolved to fill the See of *London*: *Ridley* being esteemed both the most learned, and most thoroughly zealous for the Reformation, was pitched on to be the Man. So on the 21st. of *February* he was writ for, and on the 24th. he was made Bishop of *London* and *Westminster*, and

Ridley made
Bishop of
London.

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and was to have 1000 l. a year of the Rents of the Bishoprick; and for his further Supply, was dispensed with to hold a Prebendary of *Canterbury* and *Westminster*. It was thought needless to have two Bishopricks so near one another; and some, gaping after the Lands of both, procured this Union. But I do not see any reason to think, that at any time in this Reign, the suppression of the Deanries and Prebends in Cathedrals was designed. For neither in the suppression of the Bishopricks of *Westminster*, *Glocester*, or *Duresme*, was there any attempt made to put down the Deanries or Prebendaries in these Places: so that I look on this as a groundless conceit, among many others that pass concerning this Reign. For *Thirleby* of *Westminster*, there was no cause given to throw him out; for he obeyed all the Laws and Injunctions when they came out, though he generally opposed them when they were making. So to make way for him, *William Reys*, the Bishop of *Normich*, was prevailed with to resign, and he was promoted to that See, vacant (as his Patent has it) by the free resignation of *William* the former Bishop. And the same day, being the first of *April*, *Ridley* was made Bishop of *London* and *Westminster*. Both were, according to the common Form, to be Bishops *durante vita naturali* during Life.

Proceedings
against Gar-
diner.

The See of *Winchester* had been two years as good as vacant, by the long imprisonment of *Gardiner*, who had been now above two years in the *Tower*. When the Book of Common-Prayer was set out, the Lord *St. John*, and Secretary *Petre*, were sent with it to him, to know of him whether he would conform himself to it, or not: and they gave him great hopes, that if he would submit, the Protector would sue to the King for mercy to him. He answered, That he did not know himself guilty of any thing that needed mercy: so he desired to be tried, for what had been objected to him, according to Law. For the Book, he did not think that while he was a Prisoner he was bound to give his Opinion about such things, it might be thought he did it, against his Conscience to obtain his liberty; but if he were out of Prison, he should either obey it, or be liable to punishment according to Law. Upon the Duke of *Somersets* Fall, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *William Herbert*, and Secretary *Petre*, were sent to him: (*Fox* says, this was on the 9th. of *July*; but there must be an error in that, for *Gardiner* in his Answer says, That upon the Duke of *Somersets* coming to the *Tower*, he looked to have been let out within two days, and had made his farewell Feast, but when these were with him a Month or thereabout had passed: so it must have been in *November* the former year.) They brought him a Paper, to which they desired he would set his Hand. It contained first a Preface, which was an acknowledgment of former faults, for which he had been justly punished: There were also divers Articles contained in it, which were, touching the Kings Supremacy; his Power of appointing or dispensing with Holy-days and Fasts; that the Book of Common-Prayer set out by the King and Parliament was a most Christian and Godly Book, to be allowed of by all Bishops and Pastors in *England*, and that he should both in Sermons and Discourses commend it to be observed; that the Kings Power was compleat now when under Age, and that all owed Obedience to him, now, as much as if he were thirty or forty years old; that the six Articles were justly abrogated; and that the King had full Authority to correct and reform what was amiss in

Some Articles
are sent to
him.

the Church both in *England and Ireland*. He only excepted to the Preface; and offered to Sign all the Articles, but would have had the Preface left out. They bid him rather write on the Margent his Exceptions to it; so he writ, that he could not with a good Conscience agree to the Preface, and with that Exception he set his Hand to the whole Paper. The Lords used him with great kindness, and gave him hope that his troubles should be quickly ended. *Herbert*, and *Petre*, came to him some time after that, but how soon is not so clear, and pressed him to make the acknowledgment without exception; he refused it, and said, he would never defame himself, for when he had done it, he was not sure but it might be made use of against him as a Confession. Two or three days after that, *Ridley* was sent to him, together with the other two, and they brought him new Articles. In this Paper the acknowledgment was more general than in the former: It was said here in the Preface, that he had been suspected of not approving the Kings Proceedings, and being appointed to preach, had not done it as he ought to have done, and so deserved the Kings displeasure, for which he was sorry: The Articles related to the Popes Supremacy, the suppression of Abbies and Chantries, Pilgrimages, Masses, Images, the adoring the Sacrament, the Communion in both kinds, the abolishing the old Books, and bringing in the new Book of Service, and that for ordaining of Priests and Bishops, the compleatness of the Scripture, and the use of it in the Vulgar Tongue, the lawfulness of Clergy-mens Marriage, and to *Eraſmus's* Paraphrase that it had been on good considerations ordered to be set up in Churches. He read all these, and said, he desired first to be discharged of his imprisonment, and then he would freely answer them all, so as to stand by it, and suffer if he did amiss: but he would trouble himself with no more Articles, while he remained in Prison; since he desired not to be delivered out of his troubles in the way of Mercy, but of Justice. After that, he was brought before the Council, and the Lords told him they sate by a special Commission to judge him, and so required him to subscribe the Articles that had been sent to him. He prayed them earnestly to put him to a Trial for the grounds of his Imprisonment, and when that was over he would clearly answer them in all other things: but he did not think he could subscribe all the Articles after one sort; some of them being about Laws already made, which he could not qualifie, others of them being matters of Learning, in which he might use more freedom: In conclusion, he desired leave to take them with him, and he would consider how to answer them. But they required him to subscribe them all, without any qualification; which he refused to do. Upon his the Fruits of this Bishoprick were sequestred; and he was required to conform himself to their Orders within three Months, upon pain of deprivation; and the liberty he had, of walking in some open Galleries, when the Duke of *Norfolk* was not in them, was taken from him: and he was again shut up in his Chamber.

All this was much censured, as being contrary to the liberties of *English-men*, and the Forms of all legal Proceedings. It was thought very hard to put a Man in Prison upon a complaint against him; and without any further enquiry into it, after two years detained to put Articles to him. And they which spoke freely, said it seemed too much of

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Which he signed with some Exceptions.

New Articles sent to him.

But he refused to sign them.

was hardly used.

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of the Inquisition. But the Canon Law not being rectified, and the King being in the Popes room, there were some things gathered from the Canon Law, and the way of proceeding *ex officio*, which rather excused than justified this hard measure he met with. The sequel of this business shall be related in its proper place.

Latimer's advice to the King concerning his Marriage.

This Lent old *Latimer* preached before the King. The discourse of the Kings marrying a Daughter of *France* had alarm'd all the Reformers, who rather inclined to a Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*. (For a Marriage with her it is no wonder they all wished well: for both *Ferdinand* and his Son *Maximilian* were looked upon as Princes that in their Hearts loved the Reformation, and the Son was not only the best Prince, but accounted one of the best Men of the Age.) But *Latimer* in his Sermon advised the King to marry in the Lord; and to take care that Marriages might not be made only as Bargains, which was a thing too frequently done, and occasioned so much Whoredom and Divorcing in the Nation. He run out in a sad lamentation of the vices of the time, the vanity of Women, the luxury and irregularity of Men, he complain'd, that many were Gospellers for love of the Abbey and Chantry Lands: he pressed that the discipline of the Church, and the excommunicating of scandalous Persons, might be again set up: he advised the King to beware of seeking his pleasure too much, and to keep none about him who would serve him in it: he said he was so old, that he believed he would never appear there more, and therefore he discharged his Conscience freely: he complained the Kings Debts were not paid, and yet his Officers lived high, made great Purchases, and built Palaces: he prayed them all to be good to the King, and not to defraud the poor Tradesmen that wrought for his Stores, who were ill payed. This I set down not so much to give an account, of that Sermon, as of the state of the Court and Nation, which he so freely discoursed of.

Hooper is made Bishop of Gloucester.

Wakeman, that had been Abbot of *Templebury*, and was after made Bishop of *Glocester*, died in *December* last year: and on the third of *July* this year, *Hooper* was by Letters Patents appointed to be his Successor. Upon which there followed a Contest that has since had such fatal consequences, that of it we may say with *St. James*, *How great a matter is kindled by a little fire kindled?* It has been already shewn, that the Vestments used in Divine Service, were appointed to be retained in this Church: but *Hooper* refused to be consecrated in the Episcopal Vestments. The grounds he went on were, That they were humane Inventions, brought in by Tradition or Custom, not suitable to the simplicity of the Christian Religion: and all such Ceremonies were condemned by *St. Paul* as beggarly Elements: that these Vestments had been invented chiefly for celebrating the Mass, with much pomp, and had been consecrated for that effect: therefore he desired to be excused from the use of them. *Latimer*, and *Ridley*, on the other hand, alledged, that Traditions in matters of Faith were justly rejected, but in matters of Rites and Ceremonies Custom was of a good Argument for the continuance of that which had been long used. Those Words of *St. Paul* did only relate to the observance of the Jewish Ceremonies, which some in the Apostles times pleaded were still to be retained, upon the Authority of their first Institution by *Moses*: so this implying, that the Messiah was not yet come, in whom all

But, refuses to wear the Episcopal Vestments.

Upon this a great Dispute rises.

all these had their accomplishment, the Apostles did condemn the use of them on any such account; though when the bare observing them, without the opinion of any such necessity in them, was likely to gain the *Jews*, they both used Circumcision, and purified themselves in the Temple: If then they who had such absolute Authority in those matters, did condescend so far to the weakness of the *Jews*; it was much more becoming Subjects to give obedience to Laws in things indifferent. And the abuse that had been formerly, was no better reason to take away the use of these Vestments, than it was to throw down Churches, and take away the Bells, because the one had been consecrated, and the other baptized, with many superstitious Ceremonies. Therefore they required *Hooper* to conform himself to the Law. *Cranmer*, who, to his other excellent qualities, had joyned a singular modesty and distrust of himself, writ about this difference to *Bucer*, reducing it to these two plain Questions. *Whether it was lawful and free from any sin against God, for the Ministers of the Church of England to use those Garments in which they did then officiate; since they were required to do it by the Magistrates command? And whether he that affirmed that it was unlawful, or on that account refused, to use those Vestments, did not sin against God; calling that unclean, which God had sanctified, and the Magistrate required; since he thereby disturbed the publick order of the Kingdom?* To this *Bucer* writ a large Answer on the 8th. of December this Year. He thought that those who used these Garments ought to declare they did not retain them as parts of *Moses* Law, but as things commanded by the Law of the Land: he thought every Creature of God was good, and no former abuse could make it so ill, that it might not be retained; and since these Garments had been used by the Ancient Fathers before Popery, and might still be of good use to the weak when well understood, and help to maintain the Ministerial Dignity, and to shew that the Church did not of any lightness change old customs, he thought the retaining them was expedient: that so the People might, by seeing these Vestments, consider of the candor and purity that became them; and in this sense he thought, to the Pure all things were pure; and so the Apostles complied in many things with the *Jews*. Upon the whole matter, he thought they sinned who refused to obey the Laws in that particular. But he added, That since these Garments were abused by some to superstition, and by others to be matter of contention, he wished they were taken away, and a more compleat Reformation established: he also prayed that a stop might be put to the spoiling of Churches, and that Ecclesiastical Discipline against offenders might be set up: for, *said he*, unless these manifest and horrid Sacriledges be put down, and the compleat Kingdom of Christ be received, so that we all submit to his Yoke; how intolerably shall the wrath of God break out on this Kingdom? The Scriptures sets many such Examples before our Eyes, and *Germany* offers a most dreadful prospect, of what *England* might look for.

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But see Opini-
on concern-
ing them.

He writ also to *Hooper* upon the same Argument. He wished the Garments were removed by Law; but argued fully for the use of them till then: he lamented the great corruptions that were among the Clergy, and wished that all good Men would unite their strength against these; and then lesser abuses would be more easily redressed. He also answered

Hoopers

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And P. Martyrs.

Hoopers Objections on the Principles formerly laid down. Peter Martyr was also writ to; and, as he writ to *Bucer*, he was fully of his mind, and approved of all he had writ about it. And he added these words, which I shall set down in his own terms, copied from the Original Letter: *Quæ de Hopeno ad me scribis, non potuerunt non videri mira; Certe illis auditis obstupui. Sed bene habet, quod Episcopi Literas meas viderunt, unde invidia ego quidem sum liberatus. Ecce illius causa sic jacet, ut melioribus & piis nequaquam probetur. Dolet, dolet, idq; mihi gravissime, talia inter Evangelii professores contingere. Ille toto hoc tempore, cum illi sit interdicta concio, non videtur posse quiescere: sua fidei confessionem edidit, qua rursus multorum animos exacerbat: deinde queritur de Consiliariis, & fortasse, quod mihi non refert, de nobis: Deus felix Catastrophen non latens actibus imponat.* In English: What you wrote to me about *Hooper* could not but seem wonderful to me: when I heard it I was struck with it. It was well that the Bishops saw my Letters, by which I am freed from their displeasure. His business is now at that pass, that the best and most pious disprove of it. I am grieved, and sadly grieved, that such things should fall out among the Professors of the Gospel. All this while in which he is suspended from preaching, he cannot be at rest: he has set out a profession of his Faith, by which he has provoked many: he complains of the Privy-Councillors, and perhaps of us too, of which he says nothing to me. God give an happy issue to these uncomfortable beginnings. This I set down more fully, that it may appear how far either of these Divines were from cherishing such stiffness in *Hooper*. He had been Chaplain to the Duke of *Somerset*, as appear'd by his defence of himself in *Bonnors* Process; yet he obtained so much favour of the Earl of *Warwick*, that he writ earnestly in his behalf to the Arch-bishop to dispence with the use of the Garments, and the Oath of Canonical Obedience at his Consecration. *Cranmer* wrote back, That he could not do it without incurring a *Premunire*: So the King was moved to write to him, warranting him to do it, without any danger which the Law could bring on him for such an omission. But though this was done on the 4th. of *August*, yet he was not consecrated till *March* next year; and in the mean while it appears by *Peter Martyrs* Letters, that he was suspended from Preaching.

A Congregation of Germans in London.

Collection Number 51.

Polidore Virgil leaves England.

Rot. Pat. 4. Ed. 6. 2. Part.

This Summer *John a Lasco*, with a Congregation of Germans that fled from their Country upon the persecution raised there, for not receiving the *Interim*, was allowed to hold his Assembly at *St. Austins* in *London*. The Congregation was erected into a Corporation. *John a Lasco*, was to be Superintendent, and there were four other Ministers associated with him. For the curiosity of the thing, I have put the Patents in the Collection. There were also 380. of the Congregation made Denizens of *England*, as appears by the Records of their Patents. But *a Lasco* did not carry himself with that decency that became a Stranger who was so kindly received: for he wrote against the Orders of this Church, both in the matter of the Habits, and about the posture in the Sacrament, being for sitting rather than kneeling.

This Year *Polidore Virgil*, who had been now almost forty years in *England*, growing old, desired leave to go nearer the Sun. It was granted him on the second of *June*: and in consideration of the publick Service he was thought to have done the Nation by his History, he was permitted

permitted to hold his Archdeaconry of *Wells*, and his Prebend of *Nonnington*, notwithstanding his absence out of the Kingdom. On the 26th of *June Poinet* was declared Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and *Coverdale* was made Coadjutor to *Veyſy* Bishop of *Exeter*.

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About the end of this Year, or the beginning of the next, there was a review made of the Common-Prayer-Book. Several things had been continued in it, either to draw in some of the Bishops, who by such yielding might be prevailed on to concur in it; or in compliance with the People, who were fond of their old Superſtitious. So now a review of it was ſet about. *Martin Bucer* was conſulted in it; and *Aleſſe*, the Scotch Divine mentioned in the former part, tranſlated it into *Latin* for his uſe. Upon which *Bucer* writ his Opinion, which he finiſhed, the fifth of *January* in the Year following. The Subſtance of it was, That he found all things in the Common-Service and daily Prayers were clearly according to the Scriptures. He adviſed, that in Cathedrals the Quire might not be too far ſeparated from the Congregation, ſince in ſome Places the People could not hear them read Prayers. He wiſhed there were a ſtrict diſcipline to exclude ſcandalous Livers from the Sacrament. He wiſhed the old Habits might be laid aſide, ſince ſome uſed them ſuperſtitiouſly, and others contended much about them, He did not like the half Office of Communion or Second-Service to be ſaid at the Altar, when there was no Sacrament. He was offended with the requiring the People to receive at leaſt once a year, and would have them preſſ'd to it much more frequently. He diſliked that the Priests generally read Prayers with no devotion, and in ſuch a Voice that the People underſtood not what they ſaid. He would have the Sacrament delivered into the Hands, and not put into the Mouths of the People. He cenſured praying for the dead, of which no mention is made in the Scripture, nor by *Juſtin Martyr* an Age after. He thought that the Prayer, that the Elements might be to us the Body and Blood of Chriſt, favoured Tranſubſtantiation too much: a ſmall variation might bring it nearer to a Scripture Form. He complained that Baptiſm was generally in Houſes, which being the receiving Infants into the Church, ought to be done more publickly. The Hallowing of the Water, the Chriſme, and the White Garment he cenſured, as being too Scenical: He excepted to the exorcizing the Devil, and would have it turned to a Prayer to God: that authoritative way of ſaying *I adjure* not being ſo decent. He thought the God-fathers answering in the Childs Name not ſo well as to answer in their own, that they ſhould take care in theſe things, all they could. He would not have Confirmation given upon a bare recital of the Catechiſm; but would have it delayed till the Perſons did really deſire to renew the Baptiſmal Vow. He would have catechiſing every Holy-day, and not every ſixth *Sunday*: and that People ſhould be ſtill Catechiſed, after they were confirmed, to preſerve them from ignorance. He would have all Marriages to be made in the full Congregation. He would have the giving Uction to the Sick, and praying for the Dead, to be quite laid aſide; as alſo the offering the Chriſomes at the Churching of Women. He adviſed, that the Communion ſhould be celebrated four times a year. He ſadly lamented the want of faithful Teachers; and intreated the Arch-biſhop to ſee to the mending of this, and to think on ſome ſtricter ways of examining ſuch as were to be ordained than

A Review of the Common-Prayer-Book.

Bucers Advice concerning it.

barely

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barely the putting of some Questions to them. All this I have gathered out the more largely, that it may appear how carefully things were then considered: and that almost in every particular, the most material things which *Bucer* excepted to, were corrected afterwards.

But at the same time, the King having taken such care of him, that hearing he had suffered in his health last Winter by the want of a Stove, such as is used in *Germany*, he had sent him 20 *l.* to have one made for him; he was told that the King would expect a New-years-gift from him, of a Book made for his own use. So upon that occasion he writ a Book entitled, *Concerning the Kingdom of Christ*. He sets out in it the miseries of *Germany*, which he says were brought on them by their sins; for they would bear no discipline; nor were the Ministers so earnest in it, as was fitting: though in *Hungary* it was otherwise. He writes largely of Ecclesiastical Discipline; which was intended chiefly for separating ill Men from the Sacrament; and to make good Men avoid their company, whereby they might be ashamed. He presses much the Sanctification of the Lords-day, and of the other Holy-days, and that there might be many days of Fasting: but he thought *Lent* had been so abused, that other times for it might be more expedient. He complains much of Pluralities, and Non-residence, as a remainder of Popery, so hurtful to the Church, that in many Places there were but one or two, or few more Sermons in a whole year: but he thought that much was not to be expected from the greatest part of the Clergy, unless the King would set himself vigorously to reform these things. Lastly, he would have a compleat exposition of the Doctrine of the Church digested, and set out: and he proposed divers Laws to the Kings consideration; as,

1. For Catechizing Children.
2. For sanctifying Holy-days.
3. For Preserving Churches for Gods Service, not to be made Places for walking, or for Commerce.
4. To have the Pastoral Function entirely restored to what it ought to be, that Bishops throwing off all Secular cares, should give themselves to their Spiritual Employments; he advises that Coadjutors might be given to some, and a Council of Presbyters be appointed for them all. It was plain, that many of them complied with the Laws against their minds, these he would have deprived. He advises Rural Bishops to be set over twenty or thirty Parishes, who should gather their Clergy often together, and inspect them closely: And that a Provincial Synod should meet twice a year, where a Secular Man in the Kings Name should be appointed to observe their Proceedings.
5. For restoring Church-Lands, that all who served the Church might be well provided: If any lived in luxury, upon their high Revenues, it was reasonable to make them use them better; but not to blame or rob the Church for their fault.

6. For the maintenance of the Poor, for whom anciently a fourth part of the Churches Goods was assigned.

The 7th. was about Marriage. That the prohibited degrees might be well settled; Marriage without consent of Parents annulled; and that a second Marriage might be lawful after a Divorce, which he thought might be made for Adultery, and some other reasons.

8. For

Bucer writ a Book for the Kings use.

8. For the Education of Youth.

9. For restraining the excess of some Peoples living.

10. For reforming and explaining the Laws of the Land which his Father had begun.

11. To place good Magistrates; that no Office should be sold, and that Inferior Magistrates should often give an account to the Superior, of the Administration of their Offices.

12. To consider well who were made Judges.

13. To give order that none should be put in Prison upon slight offences.

The 14th. was for moderating of some punishments; chiefly, the putting of Thieves to death, which was too severe, whereas Adultery was too slightly passed over: though Adultery be a greater wrong to the suffering Party, than any Theft, and so was punished with death by *Moses Law*.

This Book was sent to the young King. And he having received it, set himself to write a general Discourse about a Reformation of the Nation, which is the second among the Discourses written by him, that follow the Journal of his Reign. In it he takes notice of the Corruptions of the Book of the Liturgy which were then under consideration; as also that it was necessary there should be a Rule of Church-discipline, for the censure of ill Livers; but he thought that Power was not to be put into the Hands of all the Bishops at that time. From thence he goes on to discourse of the ill state of the Nation, and of the remedies that seemed proper for it. The first he proposes was the Education of Youth, next the Correction of some Laws, and there either broke it off, or the rest of it is lost. In which, as there is a great discovery of a marvellous probity of mind, so there are strange hints, to come from one not yet fourteen years of Age. And yet it is all written with his own Hand, and in such a manner, that any who shall look on the Original, will clearly see it was his own Work: The Stile is simple, and suitable to a Child: few Men can make such Composes, but somewhat above a Child will appear in their Stile, which makes me conclude it was all a device of his own.

This Year the King began to write his Journal himself. The first three years of his Reign are set down in a short way of recapitulating matters. But this Year he set down what was done every day, that was of any moment, together with the Forreign News that were sent over. And oftentimes he called to mind Passages some dayes after they were done; and sometime after the middle of a Month he tells what was done in the beginning of it. Which shews clearly it was his own Work; for if it had been drawn for him by any that were about him, and given him only to copy out for his memory, it would have been more exact; so that there remains no doubt with me but that it was his own originally. And therefore since all who have writ of that time have drawn their Informations from that Journal; and though they have printed some of the Letters he wrote, when a Child, which are indeed the meanest things that ever fell from him; yet, except one little fragment, nothing of it has been yet published; I have copied it out entirely, and set it before my Collection. I have added to it some other Papers that were also writ by him. The first of these is the *Journal*: It is a Collection of many passages

The King
think of be-
forming man-
abuses.

Col. K. Edw.
Remains,
Number 2.

He writes a
Journal of all
Proceedings
during his
Reign.

Col. K. Edw.
Remains,
Number 1.

out

1550. out of the 'Old' Testament against Idolatry, and the worshipping of Images, which he dedicated to his Uncle, being then Protector: the Original under his own hand lies in *Trinity Colledge in Cambridge*, from whence I copied the Preface and the Conclusion, which are printed in the Collection after his Journal.

Ridley visits
his Diocese.

There was nothing else done of moment this Year, in relation to the Church, save the Visitation made of the Diocese of *London* by *Ridley* their new Bishop. But the exact time of it is not set down in the Register. It was according to *King Edwards Journal* some time before the 26th. of *June*: for he writes, that on that day *Sir Jo. Yates* the high Sheriff of *Essex* was sent down with Letters to see the Bishop of *Londons* Injunctions performed, which touched the plucking down of Superlataries, Altars, and such like Ceremonies and Abuses: so that the Visitation must have been about the beginning of *June*. The Articles of it are in *Bishop Sparrows Collection*. They are concerning the Doctrines and Lives, and Labours, and Charities, of the Clergy; viz. Whether they spake in favour of the Bishop of *Rome*, or against the use of the Scripture, or against the Book of Common-Prayer? Whether they stirred up Seditiō, or sold the Communion or Trentals, or used private Masses any where? Whether any Anabaptists or others used private Conventicles, with different Opinions and Forms from these established? Whether there were any that said the wickedness of the Minister took away the effect of the Sacraments, or denied Repentance to such as sinned after Baptism? Other Questions were about Baptisms, and Marriages. Whether the Curates did visit the Sick, and bury the Dead, and expound the Catechism, at least some part of it, once in six weeks? Whether any observed abrogated Holy-days, or the Rites that were now put down.

Collection
Number 52.

To these he added some Injunctions which are in the *Collection*. Most of them relate to the old Superstitions, which some of the Priests were still inclinable to practise, and for which they had been gently, if at all, reprov'd by *Bonner*. Such were, washing their Hands at the Altar, holding up the Bread, licking the Chalice, blessing their Eyes with the Pattern or Sudary, and many other Relicks of the Mass. The Ministers were also required to charge the People oft to give Alms, and to come oft to the Communion, and to carry themselves reverently at Church. But that which was most new, was, that there having been great Contests about the Form of the Lords Board, whether it should be made as an Altar, or as a Table; therefore, since the Form of a Table was more like to turn the People from the Superstition of the Popish Mass, and to the right use of the Lords Supper, he exhorted the Curates and Churchwardens to have it in the fashion of a Table, decently covered: and to place it in such part of the Quire or Chancel as should be most meet, so that the Ministers and Communicants should be separated from the rest of the People: and that they should put down all By-Altars.

He orders all
Altars to be
turned so
as for the
Communion.

There are many passages among Ancient Writers, that shew their Communion-Tables were of Wood; and that they were so made as Tables, that those who fled into Churches for Sanctuary, did hide themselves under them. The Name *Altar* came to be given to these generally, because they accounted the Eucharist a Sacrifice of Praise, as also a Commemorative Sacrifice of the Oblation which Christ made of himself

on the Cross. From hence it was, that the Communion-Table was called also an Altar. But now it came to be considered, whether, as these terms had been on good reason brought into the Church, when there was no thought of the corruptions that followed; so if it was not fit, since they did still support the belief of an expiatory Sacrifice in the Mass, and the opinion of Transubstantiation, and were always but Figurative Forms of Speech, to change them: and to do that more effectually, to change the Form and Place of them. Some have fondly thought, that *Ridley* gave this Injunction after the Letter which the Council writ to him, in the end of *November* following. But as there was no fit time to begin a Visitation after that time this year, so the Stile of the Injunctions shews they were given before the Letter. The Injunction only *exhorts* the Curates to do it, which *Ridley* could not have done in such soft words, after the Council had *required and commanded* him to do it: So it appears, that the Injunctions were given only by his Episcopal Power. And that afterwards the same matter being brought before the Council, who were inform'd, that in many Places there had been Contests about it, some being for keeping to their old Custom, and others being set on a change, the Council thought fit to send their Letter concerning it to *Ridley* in the beginning of *November* following. The Letter sets out, that Altars were taken away in divers Places, upon good and godly considerations, but still continued in other Places; by which there rose much contention among the King's Subjects; therefore, for avoiding that, they did charge and command him to give substantial order through all his Diocess for removing all Altars, and setting up Tables every where for the Communion to be administered in some convenient part of the Chancel: And that these Orders might be the better received, there were Reasons sent with the Letters, which he was to cause discreet Preachers to declare, in such Places as he thought fit, and that himself should set them out in his own Cathedral, if conveniently he could.

The Reasons were, to remove the People from the superstitious Opinions of the Popish Mass: and because a *Table* was a more proper Name than an *Altar*, for that on which the Sacrament was laid. And whereas in the Book of Common-Prayer these terms are promiscuously used, it is done without prescribing any thing about the Form of them, so that the changing the one into the other did not alter any part of the Liturgy. It was observed, that Altars were erected for the Sacrifices under the Law, which ceasing they were also to cease: and that Christ had instituted the Sacrament not at an Altar, but at a Table. And it had been ordered by the Preface to the Book of Common-Prayer, that if any doubt arose about any part of it, the determining of it should be referred to the Bishop of the Diocess. Upon these Reasons therefore was this change ordered to be made all over *England*, which was universally executed this year.

There began this year a Practice which might seem in it self not only innocent, but good, of preaching Sermons and Lectures on the week days, to which there was great running from neighbouring Parishes. This as it begat emulation in the Clergy, so it was made use of as a Pretext for many to leave their labour, and gad idly about. Up on complaint therefore made of it, *Ridley* had a Letter sent to him from the Council, Sermons on working days forbidden.

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Council against all preaching on working-days, on which there should only be Prayers. How this was submitted to them, is not clear. But it cannot be denied, that there have been since that time excesses on all hands in this matter: while some have, with great sincerity and devotion, kept up these in Market-Towns; but others have carried them on with too much faction, and a design to detract from such as were not so eminent in their way of preaching. Upon these abuses, while some Rulers have studied to put all such performances down, rather than to correct the abuses in them, great contradiction has followed on it; and the People have been possessed with unjust prejudices against them, as hinderers of the Word of God; and that opposition has kept up the zeal for these Lectures. Which nevertheless, since they have been more freely preach'd, have of late years produced none of the ill effects that did follow them formerly when they were endeavour'd to be suppressed.

And thus I end the Transactions about Religion this Year. The rest of the Affairs at home were chiefly for the regulating of many abuses, that had grown up and been nourish'd by a long continuance of War. All the Forreign Soldiers were dismissed. And though the Duke of *Lunenbourg* had offered the King 10000 Men to his assistance, and desired to enter into a Treaty of Marriage for the Lady *Mary*: they only thanked him for the offer of his Soldiers, of which they, being now at peace with all their Neighbours, had no need; and since the Proposition for marrying the Lady *Mary* to the Infant of *Portugal* was yet in dependence, they could not treat in that kind with any other Prince till that Overture was some way ended. There were endeavours also for encouraging Trade, and reforming the Coin. And at the Court things began to put on a new visage: for there was no more any faction; The Duke of *Somerset*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, being now joyned into a near alliance; the Earls eldest Son, the Lord *Lisle*, marrying the Dukes Daughter; so that there was a good prospect of happy times.

The affairs
of Scotland.

In *Scotland*, the Peace being proclaimed, the Government was now more entirely in the Hands of the Duke of *Castelherault*, who gave himself up wholly to the Counsels of his base Brother, who was Arch-bishop of *St. Andrews*. And he was so abandoned to his pleasures, that there was nothing so bad that he was ashamed of. He kept another Mans Wife openly for his Concubine. There were also many excesses in the Government. Which things, as they alienated all Peoples minds from the Clergy, so they disposed them to receive the new Doctrines, which many Teachers were bringing from *England*, and prepared them for the changes that followed afterwards. The Queen Mother went over into *France* in *September*, pretending it was to see her Daughter, and the rest of her Kindred there: where she laid down the Method for the wresting of the Government of *Scotland* out of the Governour's Hands, and taking it into her own.

And of Ger-
many.

The Emperor appointed a Diet of the Empire to meet in the end of *July*, and required all to appear personally at it, except such as were hindered by sickness, of which they were to make Faith upon Oath. And at the same time he proscribed the Town of *Magdeburg*. But the Magistrates of that Town set out a large *Manifesto* for their own vindication, as they had done the former Year. They said, they were ready

“ to give him all the obedience, that they were bound to by the Laws of
 “ the Empire: they very very apprehensive of the mischiefs of a Civil
 “ War: they were not so blind as to think they were able to resist the Em-
 “ perors great Armies, lifted up with so many Victories; if they trusted
 “ only to their own strength: they had hitherto done no act of hostility
 “ to any, but what they were forced to for their own defence. It was
 “ visible, the true ground of the War of *Germany* was Religion, to ex-
 “ tinguish the Light of the Gospel, and to subdue them again to the Pa-
 “ pal Tyranny. For the Artifices that were formerly used to disguise it did
 “ now appear too manifestly; so that it was not any more denied. But it
 “ would be too late to see it, when *Germany* was quite oppressed. In Civil
 “ Matters, they said, they would yield to the miseries of the time. But
 “ St. *Peter* had taught them that it was better to obey God than Man: and
 “ therefore they were resolved to put all things to hazard, rather than to
 “ make Shipwrack of Faith and a good Conscience. There were Tu-
 “ mults raised in *Strasburg*, and divers other Towns, against those who set
 “ up the Mass among them; and generally all *Germany* was disposed to a
 “ Revolt, if they had had but a Head to lead them.

The Emperor had also set out a very severe Edict in *Flanders*, when
 he left it; against all that favoured the new Doctrines, as they were cal-
 led. But the execution of this was stopt at the intercession of the
 Town of *Antwerp*, when they perceived the *English* were resolved to
 remove from thence, and carry their Trade to some other Place. When
 the Diet was opened, the Emperor pressed them to submit to the Coun-
 cil which the new Pope had removed back to *Trent*. *Maurice* of *Saxe*
 answered, he could not submit to it, unless all that had been done for-
 merly in it should be reviewed, and the Divines of the *Ausburg* Confes-
 sion were both heard and admitted to a Suffrage, and the Pope should
 subject himself to their Decrees, and dispence with the Oath which the Bi-
 shops had sworn to him. On these terms he would submit to it, and not o-
 therwise. This was refused to be entred into the Registers of the Diet
 by the Elector of *Mentz*; but there was no haste, for the Council was
 not to sit till the next year. The Emperor complained much, that the
Interim was not generally received: to which it was answered by the
 Princes, that it was necessary to give the People time to overcome their
 former prejudices. All seemed to comply with him. And *Maurice* did
 so insinuate himself into him, that the Siege of *Magdeburg* being now
 formed, and a great many Princes having gathered Forces against it,
 among whom the Duke of *Brunswick*, and the Duke of *Mekleburg*
 were the most forward; yet he got himself declared by the Diet Gene-
 ral of the Empire, for the reduction of that Place, and he had 100000
 Crowns for undertaking it, and 60000 Crowns a Month were appointed
 for the expence of the War. He saw well, that if *Magdeburg* were
 closely press'd, it would soon be taken, and then all *Germany* would be
 brought to the Emperors devotion: and so the War would end in a fla-
 very. But he hoped so to manage this small remainder of the War, as to
 draw great effects from it. This was a fatal step to the Emperor, thus
 to trust a Prince who was of a different Religion, and had a deep resent-
 ment of the injury he had done him, in detaining his Father-in-law the
Landgrave of *Hesse* Prisoner, against the Faith he had given him. But
 the Emperor reckoned that as long as he had *John* Duke of *Saxe* in

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his hands, *Maurice* durst not depart from his Interests ; since it seemed an easie thing for him to repossess the other of his Dominions and Dignity. Thus was the crafty Emperor deluded, and now put that, upon which the compleating of his great designs depended, into the hands of one that proved too hard for him at that in which he was such a Master, *Cunning and Dissimulation.*

I 51.

The Compli-
ance of the
Popish Clergy.

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In these Consultations did this Year end. In the beginning of the next Year, there was a great complaint brought against Dr. *Oglethorp*, afterwards Bishop of *Carlisle* under Queen *Mary*, and now President of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*. But he, to secure himself from that part of the Complaint that related to Religion, being accused as one that was against the new Book of Service, and the Kings other Proceedings, Signed a Paper (which will be found in the *Collection*) in which he declared, " That he had never taught any thing openly against those, but that " he thought them good, if well used : and that he thought the order of " Religion now set forth to be better and much nearer the use of the Apo- " stolical and Primitive Church than that which was formerly : and that in " particular, he did approve of the Communion in both kinds, the Peo- " ples communicating always with the Priest, the Service in *English*, and " the Homilies that had been set forth : and that he did reject the lately re- " ceived Doctrine of Transubstantiation, as being not agreeable to the " Scriptures, or to Ancient Writers : but he thought there was an incon- " ceivable Presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, and that therefore " it should be received not without great examination before hand. So compliant was he now, though he became of another mind in Queen *Maries* time ; yet then he was more moderate, than the greatest part of those who did now comply most servily. In particular, Dr. *Smith* had written a Book for the Cælibate of Priests, and had opposed all the Changes that had been made : He was brought to *London* upon the Complaints that were sent up against him from *Oxford*, but after a while imprisonment, he was set at liberty, giving Surety for his good behaviour : and carried himself so obediently after it, that *Cranmer* got his Sureties to be discharged, upon which he writ him a Letter as full of acknowledg- ment as was possible : which is in the *Collection*. " He protested he should " retain the sense of it as long as he lived : he wished that he had never " written his Book of the Cælibate of Priests, which had been printed " against his Will : he found he was mistaken in that which was the " foundation of it all, that the Priests of *England* had taken a Vow " against Marriage : he desired to see some of the Collections *Cranmer* had " made against it. (It seems *Cranmer* was enquiring after a MS. of *Ignatius's* Epistles, for he tells him, " They were in *Magdalen* Colledge Li- " brary :) he acknowledged the Arch-bishops great gentleness toward all " those who had been complained of for Religion in that University : " and protested, that for his own part, if ever he could serve his basest " Servant, he would do it ; wishing that he might perish if he thought " otherwise than he said : and wished him long Life for the propogation " and advancement of the Christian Doctrine. Soon after he writ another Letter to *Cranmer*, in which he cited some Passages out of *Austin* concerning his Retractions ; and professes he would not be ashamed to make the like, and to set forth Christs true Religion ; and called, in *St Pauls*

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Pauls words, *God to be a Witness against his Soul if he lied.* He had also in the beginning of this Reign made a Recantation Sermon of some Opinions he had held concerning the Mass, but what these were, *King Edwards Journal* (from whence I gather it) does not inform us. *Day Bishop of Chichester* did also now so far comply, as to preach a Sermon at Court against Transubstantiation, though he had refused to set his Hand to the Book of Common-Prayer, before it was enacted by Law. For the Principle that generally run among the Popish Party, was, that though they would not consent to the making of such Alterations in Religion, yet being made, they would give obedience to them, which *Gardiner* plainly professed: and it appeared in the practice of all the rest. This was certainly a gross sort of compliance, in those who retained the old Opinions, and yet did now declare against them; and in the Worship they offered up to God, acted contrary to them; which was the highest degree of prevarication both with God and Man that was possible. But *Cranmer* was always gentle and moderate. He left their private Consciences to God: but thought, that if they gave an external obedience, the People would be brought to receive the Changes more easily; whereas the proceeding severely against them might have raised more opposition. He was also naturally a Man of Bowels and Compassion, and did not love to drive things to extremities: he considered that Men who had grown old in some errors could not easily lay them down, and so were by degrees to be worn out of them. Only in the Proceedings against *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, he was carried beyond his ordinary temper. But *Gardiner* he knew to be so inveterate a Papist, and so deep a Dissembler, that he was for throwing him out, not so much for the Particulars objected to him, as upon the ill Character he had of him. *Bonner* had also deceived him so formerly, and had been so cruel a Persecutor upon the Statute of the Six Articles, and was become so brutal and luxurious, that he judged it necessary to purge the Church of him. And the Sees of *London*, and *Westminster*, were of such consequence, that he was induced, for having these well supplied, to stretch a little in these Proceedings against those dissembling Bishops.

In the end of *February* he lost his friend *Martin Bucer*, on whose assistance he had depended much, in what remained yet to be done. *Bucer* died of the Stone, and Gripping of the Guts, on the 28th. of *February*. He lay ill almost all that Month, and expressed great desire to die. *Bradford*, who will be mentioned in the next Book with much Honour, waited most on him in his sickness. He lamented much the desolate State of *Germany*, and expressed his apprehensions of some such stroke coming upon *England*, by reason of the great dissoluteness of the Peoples Manners, of the want of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and the general neglect of the Pastoral Charge: He was very patient in all his pain, which grew violently on him; he lay oft silent, only after long intervals cried out sometimes, *Chastise me Lord, but throw me not off in my old Age.* He was by order from *Cranmer*, and *Sir John Cheke*, buried with the highest Solemnities that could be devised, to express the value the University had for him. The Vice-Chancellor, and all the Graduates, and the Major, with all the Town, accompanied his Funeral to *St. Maries*; where after Prayers, *Haddon* the University Grator made such a Speech concerning him, and pronounced it with that affection

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His Character.

tions, that almost the whole Assembly shed Tears. Next Dr. Parker, that had been his most intimate Friend, made an *English* Sermon in his praise, and concerning the sorrowing for our departed Friends. And the day following Dr. Redmayn, then Master of *Trinity* Colledge, made another Sermon concerning Death: and in it gave a full account of *Bucer's* Life and Death. He particularly commended the great sweetness of his temper, to all, but remarkably to those who differed from him. Redmayn and he had differed in many things, both concerning Justification, and the Influences of the Divine Grace. But he said, as *Bucer* had satisfied him in some things, so he believed if he had lived he had satisfied him in more; and that he being dead, he knew none alive from whom he could learn so much. This Character given him by so grave and learned a Man, who was in many Points of a different persuasion from him, was a great commendation to them both. And Redmayn was indeed an extraordinary Person. All in the University, that were eminent either in *Greek* or *Latin* Poetry, did adorn his Coffin with Epitaphs: in which they expressed a very extraordinary sense of their loss: about which one *Carr* writ a copious and passionate Letter to Sir *John Cheek*. But *Peter Martyr* bore his death with the most sensible sorrow that could be imagined; having in him lost a *Father*, and the only intimate Friend he had in *England*. He was a very learned, judicious, pious, and moderate Person. Perhaps he was inferior to none of all the Reformers for Learning: but for Zeal, for true Piety, and a most tender care of preserving Unity among the Forreign Churches, *Melancthon* and he, without any injury done the rest, may be ranked a-part by themselves. He was much opposed by the Popish Party at *Cambridge*; who, though they complied with the Law, and so kept their Places, yet either in the way of Argument, as it had been for disputes sake, or in such Points as were not determined, set themselves much to lessen his esteem. Nor was he furnished naturally with the quickness that is necessary for a Dispute, from which they studied to draw advantages: and therefore *Peter Martyr* writ to him to avoid all publick Disputes with them. For they did not deal candidly on these occasions. They often kept up their Questions till the hour of the Dispute, that so the extemporary faculty of him who was to preside might be the more exposed; and right or wrong they used to make Exclamations, and run away with a Triumph: In one of his Letters to *Bucer*, he particularly mentions Dr. *Smith* for an Instance of this. It was that *Smith* he said who writ against the Marriage of Priests, and yet was believed to live in Adultery with his Mans Wife. This Letter was occasioned by the Disputes that were in *August* the former Year, between *Bucer* and *Sedgwick*, *Young* and *Pern*, about the Authority of the Scripture, and the Church. Which Disputes *Bucer* intending to publish, caused them to be writ out, and sent the Copy to them to be corrected, offering them, that if any thing was omitted that they had said, or if they had any thing else to say which was forgot in the Dispute, they might add it: but they sent back the Papers to him without vouchsafing to read them. At *Ratisbone* he had a Conference with *Gardiner*, who was then King *Henry's* Ambassador: in which *Gardiner* broke out into such a violent passion, that as he spereed no reproachful words, so the Company thought he would have fall'n on *Bucer* and beat him: he was in such disorder, that the little Vein between his Thumb, and

and Fore finger did swell and palpitate, which *Bucer* said he had never before that observed in any Person in his life.

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But as *Bucer* was taken away by death, so *Gardiner* was soon after put out, which was a kind of death; though he had afterwards a Resurrection fatal to very many. There was a Commission issued out, to the Arch-bishop, the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Lincoln*, Secretary *Petre*, Judge *Hales*, *Griffith*, and *Leyson*, two Civilians, and *Goodrick*, and *Gosnold*, two Masters of *Chancery*, to proceed against *Gardiner* for his contempt in the matters formerly objected to him. He put in a Compurgation, by which he endeavoured to shew there was malice born to him, and Conspiracies against him, as appeared by the Business of *Sir Hen. Knevet*, mentioned in the former Part, and the leaving him out of the late Kings Will, which he said was procured by his Enemies. He complained of his long Imprisonment without any Trial, and that Articles of one sort after another were brought to him: so that it was plain he was not detained for any Crime, but to try if such usage could force him to do any thing, that should be imposed on him. He declared, that what Order soever were set out by the Kings Council, he should never speak against it, but to the Council themselves: and that though he could not give consent to the Changes before they were made, he was now well satisfied to obey them; but he would never make any acknowledgment of any fault. The things chiefly laid against him, were, that being required, he refused, to preach concerning the Kings Power when he was under Age; and that he had affronted Preachers sent by the King into his Diocess; and had been negligent in obeying the Kings Injunctions; and continued, after all, so obstinate, that he would not confess his fault, nor ask the King mercy. His Crimes were aggravated by this, that his timely asserting the Kings Power under Age, might have been a great mean for preventing the Rebellion and Effusion of Blood; which had afterwards happened, chiefly on that pretence, to which his obstinacy had given no small occasion. Upon this, many Witnesses were examined; chiefly the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earls of *Wilt-shire*, and *Bedford*, who deposed against him. But to this he answered, That he was not required to do it by any Order of Council, but only in a private Discourse, to which he did not think himself bound to give obedience. Other Witnesses were also examined on the other Particulars. But he appealed from the Delegates to the King in Person. Yet his Judges, on the 18th. of *April*, gave sentence against him; by which, for his disobedience and contempt, they deprived him of his Bishoprick. Upon that he renewed his Protestation and Appeal: and so his Process ended, and he was sent back to the *Tower*, where he lay till *Queen Mary* discharged him.

The same Censures, with the same Justifications, belong both to this, and *Bonnors* Business: so I shall repeat nothing that was formerly said. He had taken a Commission, as well as *Bonner*, to hold his Bishoprick only during the Kings Pleasure; so they both had the less reason to complain which way soever the Royal Pleasure was signified to them. Eight days after, on the 26th. of *April*, *Poinet* was translated from *Rocheſter* to *Wincheſter*; and had 2000 Marks a Year in Lands assigned him out of that wealthy Bishoprick for his Subsistence. Dr. *Story* was made Bishop of *Rocheſter*. *Peyſey* Bishop of *Exeter* did also resign, pretending ex-

treat

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it is com-
posed upon
for-

stream old Age; but he had reserved 485 *l.* a year in Portion for himself during Life, out of the Lands of the Bishoprick; and almost all the rest he had basely alienated, taking care only of himself, and ruining his Successors. *Miles Coverdale* was made Bishop of *Exeter*. So that now the Bishopricks were generally filled with Men well affected to the Reformation. The business of *Hooper* was now also settled. He was to be attired in the Vestments that were prescribed, when he was consecrated, and when he preached before the King, or in his Cathedral, or in any publick Place; but he was dispens'd with upon other occasions. On these Conditions he was consecrated in *March*: for the Writ for doing it bears date the 7th. of that Month. So now the Bishops being generally addicted to the purity of Religion, most of this Year was spent in preparing Articles, which should contain the Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

Many thought they should have begun first of all with those. But *Cranmer* upon good Reasons was of another mind, though much pressed by *Bucer* about it. Till the Order of Bishops was brought to such a Model, that the far greater part of them would agree to it, it was much fitter to let that design go on slowly, than to set out a Profession of their Belief, to which so great a part of the chief Pastors might be obstinately averse. The corruptions that were most important were those in the Worship, by which Men in their immediate Addresser to God, were necessarily involved in unlawful compliances, and these seemed to require a more speedy Reformation. But for speculative Points there was not so pressing a necessity to have them all explained, since in these, Men might, with less prejudice, be left to a freedom in their Opinions. It seemed also advisable to open and ventilate matters in publick Disputations and Books, written about them for some years, before they should go too hastily to determine them: lest if they went too fast in that Affair, it would not be so decent to make alterations afterwards; nor could the Clergy be of a sudden brought to change their old Opinions. Therefore upon all these Considerations that Work was delayed till this Year; in which they set about it, and finished it, before the Convocation met in the next *February*. In what Method they proceeded for the compiling of these Articles; whether they were given out to several Bishops and Divines to deliver their Opinions concerning them, as was done formerly, or not, it is not certain. I have found it often said, that they were framed by *Cranmer* and *Ridley*; which I think more probable; and that they were by them sent about to others, to correct or add to them as they saw cause. They are in the *Collection* with the differences between these, and those set out in *Queen Elizabeths* time, marked on the Margent.

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Number 55.

The Articles
of Religion
are prepared.

They began with the Assertion of the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation of the Eternal Word, and Christs descent into Hell; grounding this last on these Words of *St. Peter*, of his *Preaching to the Spirits that were in Prison*. The next Article was about Christs Resurrection: The fifth about the Scriptures containing all things necessary to Salvation: so that nothing was to be held an Article of Faith that could not be proved from thence. The sixth, That the Old Testament was to be kept still.

The 7th. For the receiving the three Creeds, the *Apostles*, the *Nicen*, and *Athanasius* Creed: in which they went according to the received Opinion, that *Athanasius* was the Author of that Creed, which is now found not to have been compiled till near three Ages after him.

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The 8th. makes Original Sin to be the corruption of the nature of all Men descending from *Adam*; by which they had fallen from Original Righteousness, and were by nature given to evil: but they defined nothing about the derivation of guilt from *Adams* sin.

The 9th. for the necessity of prevailing Grace, without which we have no free Will to do things acceptable to God.

The 10th. about Divine Grace, which changeth a Man, and yet puts no force on his Will.

The 11th. That Men are justified by Faith only; as was declared in the Homily.

The 12th. That Works done before Grace are not without sin.

The 13th. Against all Works of Supererogation.

The 14th. That all Men, Christ only excepted, are guilty of sin.

The 15th. That Men who have received Grace, may sin afterwards, and rise again by Repentance.

The 16th. That the blaspheming against the Holy Ghost is, when Men out of malice and obstinately rail against Gods Word, though they are convinced of it, yet persecuting it: which is unpardonable.

The 17th. That Predestination is Gods free Election of those, whom he afterwards justifies: which though it be matter of great comfort to such as consider it aright, yet it is a dangerous thing for curious and carnal Men to pry into: and it being a Secret, Men are to be governed by Gods revealed Will: they added not a word of Reprobation.

The 18th. That only the Name of Christ, and not the Law or Light of Nature, can save Men.

The 19th. That all Men are bound to keep the Moral Law.

The 20th. That the Church is a Congregation of Faithful Men, who have the Word of God Preached, and the Sacraments rightly Administred: and that the Church of *Rome*, as well as other particular Churches, have erred in matters of Faith.

The 21st. That the Church is only the Witness and Keeper of the Word of God: but cannot appoint any thing contrary to it, nor declare any Articles of Faith without Warrant from it.

The 22^d. That General Councils may not be gathered without the consent of Princes: that they may erre and have erred in matters of Faith: and that their Decrees in matters of Salvation have strength only as they are taken out of the Scriptures.

The 23^d. That the Doctrines of Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping of Images, and Relicks, and Invocation of Saints, are without any Warrant, and contrary to the Scriptures.

The 24th. That none may Preach or Minister the Sacraments, without he be lawfully called by Men who have lawful Authority.

The 25th. That all things should be spoken in the Church in a Vulgar Tongue.

The 26th. That there are two Sacraments, which are not bare Tokens of our Profession, but effectual Signs of Gods good Will to us: which

551. which strengthen our Faith, yet not by vertue only of the Work wrought, but in those who receive them worthily.

The 27th. That the vertue of these does not depend on the Minister of them.

The 28th. That by Baptism we are the adopted Sons of God; and that Infant Baptism is to be commended, and in any ways to be retained.

The 29th. That the Lords Supper is not a bare token of love among Christians; but is the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ: that the Doctrine of Transubstantiation is contrary to Scripture, and hath given occasion to much Superstition: that a Body being only in one place, and Christs Body being in Heaven, therefore there cannot be a real and bodily Presence of his Flesh and Blood in it: and that this Sacrament is not to be kept, carried about, lifted up, nor worshipped.

The 30th. That there is no other Propitiatory Sacrifice, but that which Christ offered on the Cross.

The 31st. That the Clergy are not by Gods command obliged to abstain from Marriage.

The 32^d. That Persons rightly excommunicated are to be looked on as Heathens, till they are by Penance reconciled, and received by a Judge competent.

The 33^d. It is not necessary that Ceremonies should be the same at all times: but such as refuse to obey lawful Ceremonies, ought to be openly reprov'd as offending against Law and Order, giving scandal to the weak.

The 34th. That the Homilies are Godly and wholesom, and ought to be read.

The 35th. That the Book of Common-Prayer is not repugnant, but agreeable to the Gospel; and ought to be received by all.

The 36th. That the King is Supream Head under Christ: that the Bishop of Rome hath no Jurisdiction in England: that the Civil Magistrate is to be obeyed for Conscience sake: that Men may be put to death for great offences: and that it is lawful for Christians to make War.

The 37th. That there is not to be a community of all Mens Goods: but yet every Man ought to give to the Poor according to his ability.

The 38th. That though rash swearing is condemned: yet such as are required by the Magistrate may take an Oath.

The 39th. That the Resurrection is not already past, but at the last day Men shall rise with the same Bodies they now have.

The 40th. That departed Souls do not die, nor sleep with their bodies, and continue without sense till the last day.

The 41st. That the Fable of the Millenaries, is contrary to Scripture, and a Jewish dotage.

The last condemned those who believed that the damned, after some time of suffering, shall be saved.

Thus was the Doctrine of the Church, cast into a short and plain Form: in which they took care both to establish the positive Articles of Religion, and to cut off the errors formerly introduced in the time of Popery,

Popery, or of late broached by the Anabaptists and Enthusiasts of Germany: avoiding the niceties of School-men, or the peremptoriness of the Writers of Controversie: leaving in matters that are more justly controvertible, a liberty to Divines to follow their private Opinions, without thereby disturbing the Peace of the Church. 1551.

There was in the Ancient Church a great simplicity in their Creeds, and the Exposition of the Doctrine. But afterwards, upon the breaking out of the *Arrian*, and other Heresies, concerning the Person of Jesus Christ; as the Orthodox Fathers were put to find out new Terms to drive the Hereticks out of the equivocal use of these formerly received; so they too soon grew to love niceties, and to explain Mysteries with Similies, and other subtilties which they invented: and Councils afterwards were very liberal in their Anathematizings against any who did not agree in all Points to their Terms, or ways of Explanation. And though the Council of *Ephesus* decreed, That there should be no Additions made to the Creed, they understood that not of the whole Belief of Christians, but only of the Creed it self: and did also load the Christian Doctrine with many Curiosities. But though they had exceeded much, yet the School-men getting the management of the Doctrine, spun their Thread much finer: and did easily procure Condemnations, either by Papal Bulls, or the Decrees of such Councils as met in these times, of all that differed from them in the least matter. Upon the progress of the Reformation, the German Writers, particularly *Osiander*, *Illiricus*, and *Amstorfius*, grew too peremptory, and not only condemned the *Helvetian* Churches, for differing from them in the manner of Christs Presence in the Sacrament, but were severe to one another for lesser Punctilio's, and were at this time exercising the patience of the great and learned *Melancthon*, because he thought that in things of their own Nature indifferent, they ought to have complied with the Emperor. This made those in *England* resolve on composing these Articles with great temper, in many such Points. Only one Notion that has been since taken up by some, seems not to have been then thought of; which is, That these were rather Articles of Peace than of Belief: so that the subscribing was rather a Compromise not to teach any Doctrine contrary to them, than a Declaration that they believed according to them. There appears no reason for this conceit, no such thing being then declared: so that those who subscribed, did either believe them to be true, or else they did grossly prevaricate.

The next Business in which the Reformers were employed this Year, was the correcting the Common-Prayer-Book, and the making some Additions; with the changing of such Particulars as had been retained only for a time. The most considerable Additions were, That in the daily Service they prepared a short, but most simple and grave, Form of a general Confession of sins; in the use of which they intended that those who made this Confession should not content themselves with a bare recital of the Words, but should joyn with them in their Hearts, a particular Confession of their private sins to God. To this was added a General Absolution, or Pronouncing in the Name of God, the pardon of sin to all those who did truly repent, and unfeignedly believe the Gospel. For they judged, that if the People did seriously practise this, it would keep up in their thoughts frequent reflections on their sins; and

Some Corrections made in the Common-Prayer Book.

1551.

it was thought that the pronouncing a Pardon upon these Conditions might have a better effect on the People, than that absolute and unqualified Pardon which their Priests were wont to give in Confession. By which Absolution in times of Popery the People were made to believe that their sins were thereupon certainly forgiven; than which nothing could be invented that would harden them into a more fatal security; when they thought a full Pardon could be so readily purchased. But now they heard the terms, on which they could only expect it, every day promulgated to them. The other Addition was also made upon good consideration, in the Office of the Communion; to which the People were observed to come without due seriousness or preparation: therefore for awakening their Consciences more feelingly, it was ordered, that the Office of the Communion should begin with a solemn pronouncing of the Ten Commandments: all the Congregation being on their Knees: as if they were hearing that Law a-new: and a stop to be made at every Commandment, for the Peoples devotion, of imploring mercy for their past offences, and Grace to observe it for the time to come. This seemed as effectual a Mean as they could devise, till Church-penitence were again set up; to beget in Men deep reflections on their sins, and to prepare them thereby to receive that Holy Sacrament worthily. The other Changes were, the removing of some Rites which had been retained in the former Book; such as the use of Oyl in Confirmation, and Extream Unction, the Prayers for Souls departed, both in the Communion-Service, and in the Office of Burial, the leaving out some Passages in the Consecration of the Eucharist that seemed to favour the Belief of the Corporal Presence, with the use of the Cross, in it, and in Confirmation, with some smaller variations. And indeed they brought the whole Liturgy to the same Form in which it is now, except some inconsiderable variations that have been since made for the clearing of some Ambiguities.

An Account
of kneeling in
the Commu-
nion.

In the Office of the Communion, they added a Rubrick concerning the posture of kneeling, which was appointed to be still the gesture of Communicants. It was hereby declared, that that gesture was kept up as a most reverent and humble way of expressing our great sense of the Mercies of God in the death of Christ there communicated to us: but that thereby there was no adoration intended to the Bread and Wine, which was gross Idolatry: nor did they think the very Flesh and Blood of Christ were there present; since his Body, according to the nature of all other Bodies, could be only in one place at once; and so he being now in Heaven, could not be corporally present in the Sacrament. This was by *Queen Elizabeth* ordered to be left out of the Common-Prayer-Book; since it might have given offence to some, otherwise inclinable to the Communion of the Church, who yet retained the belief of the Corporal Presence. But since his present Majesties Restoration, many having excepted to the Posture, as apprehending some thing like Idolatry or Superstition might lie under it, if it were not rightly explained; that Explication which was given in King *Edwards* time, was again inserted in the Common-Prayer-Book.

For the Posture, it is most likely that the first Institution was in the Table-gesture, which was, lying along on one side. But it was apparent in our Saviours Practice, that the *Jewish* Church had changed the Posture
of

of that Institution of the Passover, in whole room the Eucharist came. For though *Moses* had appointed the *Jews* to eat their Paschal Lamb, standing with their Loins girt, with Staves in their Hands, and Shooes on their Feet; yet the *Jews* did afterwards change this into the Common-Table-Posture: of which change, though there is no mention in the Old Testament, yet we see it was so in our Saviours time; and since he complied with the common Custom, we are sure that Change was not criminal. It seemed reasonable to allow the Christian Church the like Power in such things with the *Jewish*: and as the *Jews* thought their coming into the Promised Land, might be a Warrant to lay aside the Posture appointed by *Moses*, which became Travellers best; so Christ being now exalted, it seemed fit to receive this Sacrament with higher Marks of outward respect, than had been proper in the first Institution, when he was in the state of Humiliation, and his Divine Glory not yet so fully revealed. Therefore in the Primitive Church they received standing and bending their Body, in a posture of Adoration. But how soon that Gesture of kneeling came in, is not so exactly observed, nor is it needful to know. But surely there is a great want of ingenuity in them that are pleased to apply these Orders of some later Popes for kneeling at the Elevation, to our kneeling; when ours is not at one such part, which might be more liable to exception, but during the whole Office: by which it is one continued Act of Worship, and the Communicants kneel all the while. But of this no more needs to be said, than is exprest in the Rubrick, which occasioned this Digression.

Thus were the Reformations both of Doctrine and Worship prepared: To which all I can add of this Year, is, that there were six eminent Preachers chosen out to be the Kings Chaplains in Ordinary: two of those were always to attend at Court; and four to be sent over *England* to preach and instruct the People. In the first year, two of these were to go into *Wales*, and the other two into *Lancashire*: the next year two into the Marches of *Scotland*, and two into *Yorkshire*; the third year two into *Devonshire*, and two into *Hampshire*; and the fourth year, two into *Norfolk*, and two into *Kent* and *Sussex*. These were *Bill, Harle, Pern, Grindal, Bradford*, the Name of the sixth is so dashed in the Kings Journal, that it cannot be read. These, it seems, were accounted the most zealous and readiest Preachers of that time; who were thus sent about, as Itinerants to supply the defects of the greatest part of the Clergy, who were generally very faulty.

The Business of the Lady *Mary* was now taken up with more heat than formerly. The Emperors earnest suit, that she might have Mass in her House, was long rejected: for it was said, that as the King did not interpose in the matters of the Emperors Government, so there was no reason for the Emperor to meddle in his Affairs. Yet the state of *England* making his friendship at that time necessary to the King, and he refusing to continue in his League, unless to Kinswoman obtained that favour, it was promised, that for some time, in hope she would reform, there should be a forbearance granted. The Emperors Ambassadors pressed to have a License for it under the Great Seal. It was answered, That being against Law, it could not be done: Then they desired to have it certified under the Kings Hand, in a Letter to the Emperor; but even that was refused. So that they only gave a Promise for some time by

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Some Orders given to the Kings Chaplains.

The Lady *Mary* continued to have Mass said in her Chappel.

1551.

word of mouth, and *Paget*, and *Hobby*, who had been the Ambassadors with the Emperor, declared they had spoke of it to him with the same limitations. But the Emperor, who was accustomed to take for absolute what was promised only under conditions, writ to the Lady *Mary*, that he had an absolute Promise for the free exercise of her Religion: and so she pretended this, when she was at any time questioned about it. The two Grounds she went on, were, that she would follow the ancient and universal way of Worship, and not a new invention that lay within the four Seas: and that she would continue in that Religion, in which her Father had instructed her. To this, the King sent an answer, telling her, That she was a part of this Church and Nation, and so must conform her self to the Laws of it; that the way of Worship now set up, was no other than what was clearly consonant to the pure Word of God; and the King's being young, was not to be pretended by her, lest she might seem to agree with the late Rebels. After this, she was sent for to Court, and pains was taken to instruct her better. But she refused to hear any thing, or to enter into any reasonings, but said, she would still do as she had done. And she claimed the Promise that was said to be made to the Emperor. But it was told her, that it was but temporary and conditional. Whereupon the last Summer she was designing to fly out of *England*; and the King of *France* gave Sir *John Mason*, the *English* Resident notice, that the Regent of *Flanders* had hired one *Scipperus* who should Land on the Coast of *Essex*, as if it had been to victual his Ship, and was to have conveyed her away. Upon this Information, order was given to see well to the Coast; so the design being discovered, nothing could be effected. It was certainly a strange advice to carry her away, and no less strange in the Kings Ministers to hinder it, if there was at that time any design formed to put her by her Succession. For if she had been beyond Sea at the Kings death, it is not probable that she could have easily come to the Crown. The Emperors Ambassador solicited for her violently, and said he would presently take leave, and protest, that they had broken their Faith to his Master, who would resent the usage of the Lady *Mary* as highly as if it were done immediately to himself. The Counsellors, having no mind to draw a new War on their Heads, especially from so victorious a Prince, were all inclined to let the matter fall. There was also a years Cloath lately sent over to *Antwerp*; and 1500 Cinquails of Powder, with a great deal of Armour, bought there for the Kings use, was not come over. So it was thought by no means advisable to provoke the Emperor, while they had such effects in his Ports; nor were they very willing to give higher provocations to the next Heir of the Crown. Therefore they all advised the King not to do more in that matter at present, but to leave the Lady *Mary* to her discretion, who would certainly be made more cautious by what she had met with, and would give as little scandal as was possible by her Mass. But the King could not be induced to give way to it, for he thought the Mass was impious and idolatrous; so he would not consent to the continuance of such a sin. Upon this the Council ordered *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Poinet*, to discourse about it with him. They told him, that it was always a sin in a Prince to permit any sin; but to give a connivance, that is, not to punish, was not always a sin: since sometimes a lesser evil connived at, might prevent a greater. He was overcome by this; yet not so easily, but

The King is
very earnest
against it.

but that he burst forth in Tears, lamenting his Sitters obstinacy, and that he must suffer her to continue in so abominable a way of Worship, as he esteemed the Mass. So he answered the Emperors Agents, that he should send over an Ambassador to clear that matter. And Dr. Wotton was dispatched about it, who carried over Attestations from all the Council, concerning the qualifications of the Promise that had been made: and was instructed to press the Emperor, not to trouble the King in his Affairs at home in his own Kingdom. If the Lady Mary was his Kinswoman, she was the Kings Sister, and Subject: he was also to offer, that the King would grant as much liberty for the Mass in his Dominions as the Emperor would grant for the *English* Service in his Dominions. But the Emperor pretended, that when her Mother died, she left her to his protection, which he had granted her, and so must take care of her. And the Emperor was so exalted with his successes, that he did not easily bear any contradiction. But the Council being further offended with her for the project of going beyond Sea, and being now less in fear of the Emperor, since they had made Peace with *France*, resolved to look more nearly to her. And finding that Dr. Mallet, and Barkley, her Chaplain, had said Mass in one of her Houses, when she was not in it, they ordered them to be proceeded against. Upon which, in *December* the last year, she writ earnestly to the Council to let it fall. By her Letter it appears, that Mallet used to be sometimes at his Benefice, where it is certain he could officiate no other way but in that prescribed by Law: so it seems his Conscience was not very scrupulous. The Council writ her a long Answer, which being in the Stile of a Churchman, seems to have been penned either by *Cranmer*, or *Ridley*. In which Letter they fully cleared the matter of the Promise: then they showed how express the Law was, with which they could not dispense: and how ill grounded her Faith, as she called it, was. They asked her what Warrant there was in Scripture, that the Prayers should be in an unknown Tongue, that Images should be in the Church, or that the Sacrament should be offered up for the Dead. They told her, that in all Questions about Religion, St. *Austin* and the other ancient Doctors appealed to the Scripture; and if she would look into these, she would soon see the errors of the old Superstition, which were supported by false Miracles and lying Stories, and not by Scripture or good Authority. They express themselves in terms full of submission to her, but said they were trusted with the execution of the Kings Laws in which they must proceed equally. So they required her, if the Chaplains were in her House, to send them to the Sheriff of *Essex*. But it seems they kept out of the way, and so the matter slept till the beginning of *May* this year, that Mallet was found, and put in the *Tower*, and convicted of his offence. Upon this there passed many Letters between the Council and her: she earnestly desiring to have him set at liberty, and they as positively refusing to do it.

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The Council writ to her of it.

In *July* the Council sent for *Rockester*, *Inglefield*, and *Walgrave*, three of her chief Officers; and gave them Instructions to signify the Kings express pleasure to her, to have the new Service in her Family; and to give the like charge to her Chaplains, and all her Servants; and to return with an answer. In *August* they came back; and said, she was much indisposed, and received the Message very grievously. She said, she would

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And sent some
to her.

would obey the King in all things, except where her Conscience was touched: but she charged them to deliver none of their Message to the rest of her Family; in which they being her Servants could not disobey her, especially when they thought it might prejudice her health. Upon this, they were sent to the *Tower*. The Lord Chancellor, *Sir Anthony Wingfield*, and *Sir William Petre*, were next sent to her, with a Letter from the King, and Instructions from the Council, for the charge they were to give to her and her Servants. They came to her House at *Coptball in Essex*. The Lord Chancellor gave her the Kings Letter, which she received on her Knees: and said, she payed that respect to the Kings Hand, and not to the matter of the Letter, which she knew proceeded from the Council: and when she read it, she said, *Alas! Mr. Cecil took much pains here*: (he was then Secretary of State in *Dr. Wottons* room.) So she turned to the Counsellors, and bid them deliver their Message to her. She wished them to be short, for she was not well at ease, and would give them a short answer, having writ her mind plainly to the King with her own Hand. The Lord Chancellor told her, that all the Council were of one mind, that she must be no longer suffered to have private Mass, or a Form of Religion different from what was established by Law. He went to read the Names of those who were of that mind; but she desired him to spare his pains, she knew they were all of a sort. They next told her, they had order to require her Chaplains to use no other Service, and her Servants to be present at no other, than what was according to Lay. She answered, She was the Kings most obedient Subject, and Sister; and would obey him in every thing, but where here Conscience held her, and would willingly suffer death to do him service: but she would lay her Head on a Block, rather than use any other Form of Service, than what had been at her Fathers death: only she thought she was not worthy to suffer death on so good an account. When the King came to be of Age, so that he could order these things himself, she would obey his Commands in Religion: for although he, *Good sweet King*, (these were her words) had more knowledge than any of his years, yet he was not a fit Judge in these matters; for if Ships were to be set to Sea, or any matter of Policy to be determined, they would not think him fit for it, much less could he be able to resolve Points of Divinity. As for her Chaplains, if they would say no Mass, she could hear none; and for her Servants, she knew they all desired to hear Mass: her Chaplains might do what they would, it was but a whiles imprisonment: but for the new Service, it should never be said in her House: and if any were forced to say it, she would stay no longer in the House. When the Counsellors spake of *Rocheſter*, *Ingleſfield*, and *Walgrave*, who had not fully executed their charge; she said, it was not the wisest Counsel, to order her Servants to ~~constrain~~ her in her own House: and they were the honestest Men not to do such a thing against their Consciences. She insisted on the Promise made to the Emperor, which she had under his Hand, whom she believed better than them all: they ought to use her better for her Fathers sake, who had raised them all almost out of nothing. But though the Emperor were dead, or would bid her obey them; she would not change her mind, and she would let his Ambassador know how they used her. To this they answered, clearing the mistake about the Promise, to which she gave little heed.

But she was
Intractable.

heed. They told her, they had brought one down to serve as her Comptroller in *Rachesters* room: She said, she would choose her own servants; and if they went to impose any on her, she would leave the House. She was sick, but would do all she could to live: but if she died, she would protest they were the causes of it: they gave her good words, but their deeds were evil. Then she took a Ring from her Finger, and on her Knees gave it to the Lord Chancellor, to give to the King as a Token from her, with her humble Commendations; and protested much of her Duty to him; but she said, this will never be told him. The Counsellors went from her to her Chaplains, and delivered their Message to them, who promised they would obey. Then they charged the rest of the Servants in like manner, and also commanded them to give notice if those Orders were broken. And so they went to go away. But as they were in the Court, the Lady *Mary* called to them from her Window, to send her Comptroller to her; for she said, that now she herself received the accounts of her House, and knew how many Loaves were made of a Bushel of Meal, to which she had never been bred, and so was weary of that Office; but if they would needs send him to Prison, she said, I beshrew him if he go not to it merrily, and with a good Will; and concluded, I pray God to send you to do well in your Souls and Bodies, for some of you have but weak Bodies. This is the substance of the Report these Counsellors gave when they returned back to the Court on the 29th. of *August*. By which they were now out of all hopes of prevailing with her by persuasions or Authority: So it was next considered, whether it was fit to go to further extremities with her. How the matter was determined, I do not clearly find; it is certain the Lady *Mary* would never admit of the new Service, and so I believe she continued to keep her Priests, and have Mass; but so secretly, that there was no ground for any publick complaint. For I find no further mention of that matter, than what is made by *Ridley*, of a Passage that befel him in *September* next year.

He went to wait on her, she living then at *Hunsden*; where she received him at first civilly, and told him, she remembered of him in her Fathers time, and at Dinner sent him to dine with her Officers: after Dinner, he told her, he came not only to do his Duty to her, but to offer to Preach before her next *Sunday*: She blushed, and once or twice desired him to make the Answer to that himself. But when he pressed her further, she said, the Parish-Church would be open to him if he had a mind to preach in it: but neither she, nor any of her Family should hear him. He said, he hoped she would not refuse to hear Gods Word; she said, she did not know what they called Gods Word; but she was sure that was not now Gods Word that was called so in her Fathers days. He said, Gods Word was the same at all times. She answered, she was sure he durst not for his Ears have avowed these things in her Fathers time, which he did now: and for their Books, as, she thanked God, she never had, so she never would read them. She also used many reproachful words to him, and asked him, If he was of the Council; He said not: She replied, He might well enough be, as the Council goes now a-days; and so dismissed him, thanking him for coming to see her, but not at all for offering to preach before her. Sir *Tho. Wharton*, one of her Officers, carried him to a place where he desired him to drink; which *Rid-*

Nor would
she hear Bi-
shop *Ridley*
preach.

1551.

ley did: but reflecting on it, said, He had done amiss, to drive place where Gods Word was rejected: for if he had remembered Duty, he should upon that refusal have shaken the dust off his Feet, and have departed immediately. His words he was observed to pronounce with an extraordinary concern, and was much troubled in his mind. And this is all I find of the Lady *Mary* during this Reign. For the Lady *Elizabeth*, she had been bred up to like the Reformation; and Dr. *Parker*, who had been her Mothers Chaplain, received a strict charge from her Mother before her death, to look well to the instructing her Daughter in the principles of true Religion; so that there is no doubt to be made of her cheerful receiving all the changes that had been established by Law.

The Design
of the Earl of
Warwick.

And this is all that concerns Religion, that falls within this Year. Now a design came to be laid, which though it broke not out for time, yet it was believed to have had a great influence on the Duke of *Somerset*. The Earl of *Warwick* began to form great projects for himself, and thought to bring the Crown into his Family. The King was now much alienated from the Lady *Mary*; the Privy-Council had also embroiled themselves so with her, that he imagined it would be no hard matter to exclude her from the Succession. There was no reason that could be pretended for it; which was, that she stood legitimated by Law; and that therefore the next Heirs in Blood could be barred their right by her; since it would be a great blot on the face of the *English* Crown to let it devolve on a Bastard. This was a great argument against the Lady *Elizabeth*, since she was also illegitimated by a Sentence in the Spiritual Court, and that confirmed in Parliament: so that the jealousy of the elder Sisters Religion, and the fear of her revenge, moved them to be willing to cut her off from the Succession, the fashion that was to be used in Law against her, was also to take place against her Sister. So he reckoned that these two were to be passed off as being put both in the Act of Succession, and in the late Kings Will, for one error. The next in the Will, were the Heirs of the *French* by *Charles Brandon*, who were the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, and he thought I have seen it often said in many Letters, and Writings of that time, that all that Issue by *Charles Brandon* was illegitimated: for he was certainly married to one *Mortimer*, before he married the Queen of *France*; which *Mortimer* lived long after his Marriage to that Queen, so that all her Children were Bastards: some say he was divorced from his Marriage to *Mortimer*, but that is not clear to me.

The Sweating
Sickness.

This Year the Sweating Sickness, that had been formerly known in *Henry the 7th.* and the late Kings Reign, broke out with that violence in *England*, that many were swept away by it. Such as were taken with it, died certainly if they slept, to which they had a violent aversion, but if it took them not off in twenty four hours, they did sweat out the venom of the distemper: which raged so in *London*, that in one week 800 died of it. It did also spread into the Countrey, and the Duke of *Charles Brandon* by his last Wife, both Dukes of *Suffolk*, died a day or one of another. So that Title was fallen. Their Sister, who was half Blood, was married to *Gray* Lord Marquess of *Dorset*. So she was the eldest Daughter to the *French* Queen, the Earl of *Warwick* thought to link himself to that Family; and to procure the Honour of the

dome of *Suffolk* to be given the Marquess of *Dorset*, who was a weak Man, and easily governed. He had three Daughters; the eldest was *Jane*, a Lady of as excellent qualities as any of that Age; of great Parts, bred to Learning, and much conversant in Scripture; and of so rare a temper of mind, that she charmed all who knew her: in particular the young King, about whom she was bred, and who had always lived with her in the familiarities of a Brother. The Earl of *Warwick* designed to marry her to *Guilford* his fourth Son, then living, his three elder being already married; and so to get the Crown to descend on them if the King should die, of which it is thought he resolved to take care. But apprehending some danger from the Lady *Elizabeth's* Title, he intended to send her away. So an Ambassador was dispatched to *Denmark*, to treat a Marriage for her with that Kings eldest Son.

To amuse the King himself, a most splendid Embassy was sent to *France*, to propose a Marriage for the King to that Kings Daughter *Elizabeth*, afterwards married to *Philip* of *Spain*. The Marquess of *Northampton* was sent with this Proposition, and with the Order of the Garter. With him went the Earls of *Worcester*, *Rutland*, and *Ormond*; the Lords *Lisle*, *Fitzwater*, *Bray*, *Abergaveny*, and *Evers*; and the Bishop of *Ely*, who was to be their Mouth: With them went many Gentlemen of Quality, who with their Train made up near 500. King *Henry* received the Garter with great expressions of Esteem for the King. The Bishop of *Ely* told him, They were come to desire a more close tie between these Crowns by Marriage, and to have the League made firmer between them in other Particulars. To which the Cardinal of *Lorraine* made answer, in his way of speaking, which was always vain, and full of ostentation. A Commission was given to that Cardinal, the Constable, the Duke of *Guise*, and others, to treat about it.

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The King
treats with
the French
King for
Marriage with
his Daughter

The *English* began first, for Forms sake, to desire the Queen of *Scots*. But that being rejected, they moved for the Daughter of *France*, which was entertained; but so that neither Party should be bound in Honour and Conscience, till the Lady were twelve years of Age. Yet this never taking effect, it is needless to enlarge further about it; of which the Reader will find all the particulars in King *Edwards* Journal. The King of *France* sent another very noble Embassy into *England*, with the Order of St. *Michael* to the King, and a very kind Message, that he had no less love to him than a Father could bear to his own Son. He desired the King would not listen to the vain Rumors, which some malicious Persons might raise, to break their friendship; and wished, there might be such a regulation on their Frontiers, that all differences might be amicably removed. To this the young King made answer himself, "That he thanked his good Brother for his Order, and for the Assurances of his Love, which he would always requite. For Rumors, they were not always to be credited, nor always to be rejected; it being no less vain to fear all things, than it was dangerous to doubt of nothing: and for any differences that might arise, he should be always ready to determine them, by reason, rather than force; so far as his Honour should not be thereby diminished. Whether this Answer was prepared beforehand, or not, I cannot tell; I rather think it was; otherways it was extraordinary for one of fourteen to talk thus on the sudden.

1551.

A Conspiracy
against the
Duke of So-
merset.

But while all this was carrying on, there was a design laid to destroy the Duke of *Somersét*. He had such access to the King, and such freedoms with him, that the Earl of *Warwick*, had a mind to be rid of him, lest he should spoil all his Projects. The Duke of *Somersét* seemed also to have designed in *April* this Year to have got the King again in his power: and dealt with the Lord *Strange*, that was much in his favour, to persuade him to marry his Daughter *Jane*, and that he would advertise him of all that passed about the King. But the Earl of *Warwick*, to raise himself and all his Friends higher, procured a great Creation of new Honours. *Gray* was made Duke of *Suffolk*, and himself Duke of *Northumberland*; for *Henry Piercy*, the last Earl of *Northumberland*, dying without Issue, his next Heirs were the Sons of *Thomas Piercy*, that had been attainted in the last Reign for the *York-shire* Rebellion. *Paulet* then Lord Treasurer, and Earl of *Wilt-shire*, was made Marquess of *Winchester*; and Sir *William Herbert*, that had married the Marquess of *Northampton's* Sister, was made Earl of *Pembroke*. The Lord *Russel* had been made Earl of *Bedford* last year, upon his return from making the Peace with the *French*: Sir *Tho. Darcy* had also been made Lord *Darcy*. The new Duke of *Northumberland* could no longer bear such a Rival in his greatness, as the Duke of *Somersét* was, who was the only Person that he thought could take the King out of his Hands. So on the 17th. of *October* the Duke was apprehended, and sent to the *Tower*; and with him the Lord *Gray*; Sir *Ralph Vane*, who had escaped over the River, but was taken in a Stable in *Lambeth*, hid under the Straw: Sir *Tho. Palmer*, and Sir *Tho. Arundel*, were also taken, yet not sent at first to the *Tower*, but kept under Guards in their Chambers. Some of his followers, *Hammond*, *Nudigate*, and two of the *Seimours*, were sent to Prison. The day after, the Dutches of *Somersét* was also sent to the *Tower*, with one *Cress*, and his Wife, that had been much about her, and two of her Chamberwomen. After these, Sir *Tho. Holdcroft*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, *Wingfield*, *Bannister*, and *Vaughan*, were all made Prisoners. The Evidence against the Duke, was, That he had made a Party for getting himself declared Protector in the next Parliament; which the Earl of *Rutland* did positively affirm; and the Duke did so answer it, that it is probable it was true. But though this might well inflame his Enemies, yet it was no crime. But Sir *Tho. Palmer*, though imprisoned with him as a Complice, was the Person that ruined him. He had been before that brought secretly to the King, and had told him, that on the last *St. Georges* day, the Duke apprehending there was mischief designed against him, thought to have raised the People, had not Sir *William Herbert* assured him he should receive no harm: that lately he intended to have the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquess of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, invited to Dinner at the Lord *Pagets*; and either to have set on them by the way, or to have killed them at Dinner: that Sir *Ralph Vane* had 2000 Men ready, that Sir *Tho. Arundel* had assailed the *Tower*, and that all the Gandarmory were to be killed: The Duke of *Somersét*, hearing *Palmer* had been with the King, challenged him of it, but he denied all. He sent also for Secretary *Cecil*, and told him he suspected there was an ill design against him: to which the Secretary answered, if he were not in fault, he might trust to his innocency; but if he were, he had nothing to say but to lament him.

All this was told the King with such Circumstances, that he was induced to believe it; and the probity of his disposition wrought in him a great aversion to his Uncle; when he looked on him as a Conspirator against the Lives of the other Counsellors: and so he resolved to leave him to the Law. *Palmer* being a second time examined, said, That Sir *Ralph Vane* was to have brought 2000 Men, who, with the Duke of *Somerset* 100 Horse, were on a Muster-day to have set on the Gendarmory; that being done, the Duke resolved to have gone through the City, and proclaimed Liberty, Liberty: and if his attempt did not succeed, to have fled to the Isle of *Wight*, or to *Pool*. *Crane* confirmed all that *Palmer* had said; to which he added, That the Earl of *Arundel* was privy to the Conspiracy: and that the thing had been executed, but that the greatness of the Enterprize had caused delays, and sometimes diversity of advice: and that the Duke, being once given out to be sick, had gone privately to *London*, to see what Friends he could make. *Hamond* being examined, confessed nothing, but that the Dukes Chamber at *Greenwich* had been guarded in the night, by many Armed Men. Upon this Evidence, both the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget* were sent to the Tower. The Earl had been one of the chief of those who had joyned with the Earl of *Warwick* to pull down the Protector; and being, as he thought, ill rewarded by him, was become his Enemy. So this part of the Information seemed very credible. The thing lay in suspense till the first of *December*, that the Duke of *Somerset* was brought to his Trial: where the Marquess of *Winchester* was Lord Steward. The Peers that judged him, were twenty seven in number. The Dukes of *Suffolk*, and *Northumberland*, the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Derby*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Bath*, *Suffex*, *Worcester*, *Pembroke*, and the Viscount of *Hereford*, the Lords *Abergavenny*, *Andley*, *Wharton*, *Evers*, *Latimer*, *Borough*, *Souch*, *Stafford*, *Wentworth*, *Darcy*, *Sturton*, *Windsor*, *Cromwell*, *Cobham*, and *Bray*. The Crimes laid against him, were cast into five several Indictments, as the King has it in his Journal; but the Record mentions only three, whether Indictments or Articles is not so clear. That he had designed to have seized on the Kings Person, and so have governed all Affairs, and that he with one hundred others intended to have imprisoned the Earl of *Warwick*, afterwards Duke of *Northumberland*, and that he had designed to have raised an Insurrection in the City of *London*. Now by the Act that passed in the last Parliament, if twelve Persons should have assembled together to have killed any Privy-Counsellor, and upon Proclamation they had not dispersed themselves, it was Treason: or if such Twelve had been by any malicious Artifice brought together, for any Riot, and being warned, did not disperse themselves, it was Felony, without benefit of Clergy or Sanctuary. It seemed very strange that the three Peers, *Northumberland*, *Northampton*, and *Pembroke*, who were his professed Enemies, and against the first of whom it was pretended in the Indictment that he had conspired, should sit his Judges: for though by the Law no Peer can be challenged in a Trial; yet the Law of Nations, that is Superior to all other Laws, makes, that a Man cannot be Judge in his own Cause: and which was very unusual the Lord Chancellor, though then a Peer, was left out of the number; but it is like the Reconciliation between the Duke of *Somerset* and him was then suspected, which made him not be called to be one of his Judges.

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The King is
possessed a-
gainst him.

He is brought
to his Trial.

1551.

The Duke of *Somerſet* being, it ſeems, little acquainted with Law, did not deſire Council to plead, or aſſiſt him in Point of Law; but only answered to matters of Fact. He preſaced, that he deſired no advantage might be taken againſt him, for any idle or angry word that might have at any time fallen from him. He proteſted he never intended to have raiſed the Northern Parts, but had only upon ſome reports ſent to Sir *William Herbert* to be his Friend: that he had never determined to have killed the Duke of *Northumberland*, or any other Perſon, but had only talked of it, without any intention of doing it: that for the deſign of deſtroying the Gendarmoury, it was ridiculous to think that he with a ſmall Troop could deſtroy ſo ſtrong a Body of Men, conſiſting of 900; in which, though he had ſucceeded, it could have ſignified nothing: that he never deſigned to raiſe any ſtirs in *London*, but had always looked on it as a Place where he was moſt ſafe: that his having Men about him in *Greenwich* was with no ill deſign, ſince when he could have done miſchief with them, he had not done it; but upon his Attachment rendered himſelf a Priſoner, without any reſiſtance. He objected alſo many things againſt the Witneſſes, and deſired they might be brought face to face. He particularly ſpoke much againſt Sir *Tho. Palmer*, the chief Witneſs. But the Witneſſes were not brought, only their Examinations were read: Upon this, the Kings Council pleaded againſt him, that to levy War was certainly Treason; that to gather Men with intention to kill Privy-Counſellors was alſo Treason; that to have Men about him to reſiſt the Attachment was Felony; and to aſſault the Lords, or contrive their deaths, was Felony. Whether he made any defence in Law, or not, does not appear: For the material defence, is not mentioned in all the accounts I have ſeen of it; which was, that theſe Conſpiracies, and gatherings of the Kings Subjects were only treaſonable and felonious, after they had been required to diſperſe themſelves, and had reſuſed to give obedience. And in all this matter, that is never ſo much as alledged, no not in the Indictment it ſelf, to have been done. It is plain it was not done: For if any ſuch Proclamation, or Charge, had been ſent him, it is probable he would either have obeyed it, or gone into *London*, or to the Country, and tryed what he could have done by force: but to have reſuſed ſuch a command, and ſo to have come within the guilt of Treason, and yet not to ſtir from his Houſe, are not things conſiſtent.

When the Peers withdrew, it ſeems the Proofs about his deſign of raiſing the North, or the City, or of the killing the Gendarmes, did not ſatiſſie them. For all theſe had been without queſtion treaſonable. So they only held to that Point of conſpiring to impriſon the Duke of *Northumberland*. If he, with Twelve Men about him, had conſpired to do that, and had continued together after Proclamation, it was certainly Felony. But that not being pretended, it ſeems there was no Proclamation made. The Duke of *Suffolk* was of opinion, that no contention among private Subjects ſhould be on any account ſerued up to be Treason. The Duke of *Northumberland* ſaid, he would never conſent that any practice againſt him, ſhould be reputed Treason. After a great difference of Opinion, they all acquitted him of Treason. But the greater number found him guilty of Felony. When they returned him not guilty of Treason, all the People who were much concerned for his

And is acquitted of Treason, but found guilty of Felony.

prefer-

preservation, shouted for joy, so loud, and so long, that they were heard at *Charing-Cross*. But the joy lasted not long, when they heard that he was condemned of Felony, and Sentence was thereupon given that he should die as a Felon.

1551.

The Duke had carried himself all the while of the Trial with great temper and patience; and though the Kings Council had, in their usual way of Pleading, been very bitter against him; perhaps the rather, that thereby they might recommend themselves to the Duke of *Northumberland*; yet he never took notice of these reflections, nor seemed much affected with them. When Sentence was given, he thanked the Lords for their favour, and asked pardon of the Duke of *Northumberland*, *Northampton*, and *Pembroke*, for his ill intentions against them; and made suit for his Life, and for his Wife, and Children. From thence he was carried back to the *Tower*. Whether this asking the Lords pardon, had in it a full Confession of the Crime charged on him, or was only a complement to them, that they might not obstruct his Pardon, is but a matter of conjecture. He confessed he had spoken of killing them, and this made it reasonable enough for him to ask their Pardon; so that it does not imply a Confession of the Crime. All People thought, that being acquitted of Treason, and there being no felonious Action done by him, but only an intention of one, and that only of Imprisoning a Peer, proved; that one so nearly joyned to the King in Blood, would never be put to death on such an occasion. But to possess the King much against him, a Story was brought him, and put by him in his Journal; That at the Dukes coming to the *Tower*, he had confessed, that he had hired one *Bartuile* to kill the Lords; and that *Bartuile* himself acknowledged it; and that *Hammond* knew of it. But whether this was devised to alienate the King wholly from him, or whether it was true, I can give no assurance. But though it was true, it was Felony in *Bartuile*, if he were the Kings Servant; but not in the Duke, who was a Peer. Yet no doubt this gave the King a very ill opinion of his Uncle, and so made him more easily consent to his execution: since all such Conspiracies are things of that inhumane and barbarous cruelty, that it is scarce possible to punish them too severely: But it is certain, that there was no Evidence at all of any design to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, otherwise the Indictment had not been laid against him, only for designing to seize on, and imprison him, as it was; the conspiring to kill him not being so much as mentioned in the Indictment, but it was maliciously given out to possess the World, and chiefly the King against him.

See the Indictment.
Cokes Entries,
fol. 482.

The King also in his Letter to *Barnaby Fitz-Patrick*, who was like to be his favourite, and was then sent over for his breeding into *France*, writ, that the Duke seemed to have acknowledged the Felony, and that after Sentence he had confessed it, though he had formerly vehemently sworn the contrary. From whence it is plain, that the King was perswaded of his being guilty. Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Tho. Arundel*, Sir *Ralph Vane*, and Sir *Miles Partridge*, were next brought to their Trials. The first, and the last of these, were little pitied. For, as all great Men have People about them, who make use of their greatness only for their own ends, without regarding their Masters Honour, or true Interest; so they were the Persons upon whom the ill things which had been done by the Duke of *Somerset* were chiefly cast. But Sir *Tho. Arundel* was much pitied;

Some of his
Friends also
condemned.

1551. pitied, and had hard measure in his Trial, which began at seven a Clock in the Morning, and continued till Noon. Then the Jury went aside, and they did not agree on their Verdict, till next morning, when those who thought him not guilty, yet, for preserving their own Lives, were willing to yield to the fierceness of those who were resolved to have him found guilty. Sir *Ralph Vane* was the most lamented of them all. He had done great Services in the Wars, and was esteemed one of the bravest Gentlemen of the Nation. He pleaded for himself, that he had done his Country considerable Service during the Wars; though now in time of Peace, the Coward and the Courageous were equally esteemed. He scorned to make any submissions for Life. But this height of mind in him did certainly set forward his condemnation, and to add more infamy to him in the manner of his Death, he and *Partridge* were hanged, whereas the other two were beheaded.

Seals are
taken from
the Duke's Rich.

And given to
the Bishop of
Ely.

The Duke of *Somerſet* was using means to have the King better informed, and disposed towards him; and engaged the Lord Chancellor to be his Friend: who thereupon sent him an Advertisement of somewhat designed against him by the Council, and being in haste, writ only on the back of his Letter, *to the Duke*; and bid one of his Servants carry it to the Tower, without giving him particular directions to the Duke of *Somerſet*. But his Servant having known of the familiarities between his Master and the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was still in the Tower; and knowing none between him and the other Duke carried the Letter to the Duke of *Norfolk*. When the Lord Chancellor found the mistake at night, he knew the Duke of *Norfolk*, to make *Northumberland* his Friend, would certainly discover him; so he went in all haste to the King, and desired to be discharged of his Office, and thereby prevented the malice of his Enemies: and upon this he fell sick, either pretending he was ill, that it might raise the more pity for him, or perhaps the fright in which he was did really cast him into sickness. So the Seal was sent for, by the Marquess of *Winchester*, the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Darcy*, on the 21st. of *December*, and put into the Hands of the Bishop of *Ely*, who was made Keeper during pleasure: And when the Session of Parliament came on, he was made Lord Chancellor. But this was much censured: When the Reformation was first preached in *England*, *Tindal*, *Barns*, and *Latimer*, took an occasion, from the great Pomp and Luxury of Cardinal *Wolfey*, and the Secular Employments of the other Bishops and Clergy-men, to represent them as a sort of Men that had wholly neglected the care of Souls, and those spiritual Studies and Exercises that disposed men to such Functions; and only carried the Names of Bishops and Church-men, to be a Colour to serve their Ambition and Covetousness. And this had raised great prejudices in the Minds of the People against those who were called their Pastors, when they saw them fill their Heads with cares, that were at least impertinent to their Callings if not inconsistent with the Duties that belonged to them. So now upon *Goodrick's* being made Lord Chancellor, that was a Reformed Bishop, it was said by their Adversaries, these Men only condemned Secular Employments in the Hands of Church-men, because their Enemies had them, but changed their mind as soon as any of their own Party came to be advanced to them. But as *Goodrick* was raised by the Popish Interest in opposition to the Duke of *Somerſet*, and to *Cranmer*, that was

was his firm Friend; so it appeared in the beginning of *Queen Maries* Reign, that he was ready to turn with every Tide: and that whether he joyned in the Reformation only in compliance to the time, or was persuaded in his mind concerning it; yet he had not that sense of it that became a Bishop, and was one of these who resolved to make as much advantage by it as he could, but would suffer nothing for it. So his practice in this matter is neither a Precedent to justify the like in others, nor can it cast a scandal on those to whom he joyned himself. Christ being spoke to to divide an Inheritance between two Brethren, said, *Who made me a Judge, or a Divider?* St. Paul, speaking of Church-men, says, *No Man that warreth intangleth himself with the Affairs of this Life:* which was understood by St. Cyprian as a perpetual Rule against the Secular Employments of the Clergy. There are three of the Apostolical Canons against it: and Cyprian reckoning upon the sins of his time, that had provoked God to send a Persecution on the Church, names this, that many Bishops forsaking their Sees, undertook Secular Cares. In which he was so strict, that he thought the being Tutor to Orphans was a distraction unsutable to their Character: so that one Priest leaving another Tutor to his Children, because by the *Roman Law*, he to whom this was left was obliged to undergo it, The Priest's Name who made that Testament was appointed to be struck out of the List of those Church-men who had died in the Faith, and were remembred in the daily Offices. *Samosatenus* is represented as one of the first eminent Church-men that involved himself much in Secular Cares. Upon the Emperors turning Christian, it was a natural effect of their Conversion for them to cherish the Bishops much, and many of the Bishops became so much in love with the Court and publick Employments, that Canons were made against their going to Court, unless they were called, and the *Canaliis* or Road to the Court was kept by the Bishop of *Rome*, so that none might go without his Warrant. Their meddling in Secular Matters was also condemned in many Provincial Councils, but most copiously and amply by the General Council at *Chalcedon*. It is true, the Bishops had their Courts for the Arbitration of Civil Differences: which were first begun upon St. Pauls Epistle to the *Corinthians*, against their going to Law before Unbelievers, and for submitting their Sutes to some among themselves. The Reasons of this ceased when the Judges in the Civil Courts were become Christians; yet these Episcopal Audiences were still continued after *Constantines* time, and their Jurisdiction was sometimes enlarged, and sometimes abridged, as there was occasion given. St. *Austin*, and many other Holy Bishops, grew weary even of that, and found, that the hearing Causes, as it took up much of their time, so filled their Heads with thoughts of another nature than what properly belonged to them.

The Bishops of *Rome* and *Alexandria* taking advantage from the greatness and Wealth of their Sees, began first to establish a Secular Principality of the Church; and the Confusions that fell out in *Italy* after the 5th. Century, gave the Bishops of *Rome* great opportunities for it, which they improved to the utmost advantage. The Revolutions in *Spain* gave a Rise to the *Spanish* Bishops meddling much in all Civil Matters. And when *Charles* the Great and his Son had given great Territories and large Jurisdictions to many Sees and Monasteries, Bishops and Ab-

1551.

bots came after that not only to have a share in all the publick^e Counties of most of the States of *Europe*, to which their Lands gave them a Right, but to be chiefly imployed in all Affairs and Offices of State. The Ignorance of these Ages made this in a manner necessary: and Church-Preferments were given as Rewards to Men who had served in the State in Embassies, or in their Princes Courts of Justice. So that it was no wonder if Men advanced upon that merit continued in their former Method and course of Life. Thus the Bishops became for the greatest part only a sort of Men who went in peculiar Habits, and upon some high Festivities performed a few Offices; but for the Pastoral care, and all the Duties incumbent on them, they were universally neglected: and that seriousness, that abstraction from the World, that application to Study and Religious Exercises, and chiefly the care of Souls, which became their Function, seemed inconsistent with that course of Life which Secular Cares brought on Men who pursued them. Nor was it easie to perswade the World, that their Pastors did very much aspire to Heaven, when they were thrusting themselves so indecently into the Courts of Princes, or ambitiously pretending to the Administration of Matters of State; and it was always observed, that Church-men who assumed to themselves Imployments, and an Authority that was excentrick to their Callings, suffered so much in that Esteem, and lost so much of that Authority, which of right belonged to their Character and Office.

But to go on with the Series of Affairs. There was all possible care taken to divert and entertain the Kings Mind with pleasing Sights, as will appear by his Journal, which it seems had the effect that was desired, for he was not much concerned in his Unkles Preservation.

1552.

An Order was sent for beheading the Duke of *Somerset* on the 22^d. of *January*, on which day he was brought to the Place of Execution, on *Tower-hill*. His whole deportment was very composed, and no way changed from what it had ordinarily been: he first kneeled down, and prayed; and then he spake to the People in these words.

The Duke of
Somerset's
Speech at his
Execution.

" Dearly beloved Friends, I am brought here to suffer death, albeit
" that I never offended against the King neither by word nor deed; and
" have been always as faithful and true to this Realm, as any Man hath
" been. But, for so much as I am by Law condemned to die, I do ac-
" knowledge my self, as well as others, to be subject thereto. Where-
" fore, to testifie my obedience which I owe unto the Laws, I am come
" hither to suffer death: whereunto I willingly offer my self, with most
" hearty thanks to God, that hath given me this time of Repentance;
" who might through sudden death have taken away my Life, that nei-
" ther I should have acknowledged him, nor my self. Moreover, there
" is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching Christian
" Religion; which, so long as I was in Authority, I always diligently
" set forth, and furthered to my power; neither repent I me of my
" doings, but rejoyce therein, sith that now the State of Christian Reli-
" gion cometh most near unto the Form and Order of the Primitive
" Church: which thing I esteem as a great benefit given of God both
" to you and me; most heartily exhorting you all, that this which is
" most purely set forth to you, you will with like thankfulness accept and
" embrace, and set out the same in your living; which thing if you do
" not, withoutdoubt greater mischief and calamity will follow.

When



R. White sculp.

*Angliæ Protector,
Edwardi Regis*



*Avunculus, Capite
truncatus 22 Jā. 1552.*

When he had gone so far, there was an extraordinary noise heard, as if some House had been blown up with Gun-powder; which frightened all the People, so that many run away, they knew not for what: and the Relator, who tarried still, says, it brought into his remembrance the astonishment that the band was in that came to take our Saviour, who thereupon fell backwards to the ground. At the same time Sir *Ant. Brown* came riding towards the Scaffold, and they all hoped he had brought a Pardon; upon which there was a general shouting, *Pardon, Pardon, God save the King*; many throwing up their Caps; by which the Duke might well perceive how dear he was to the People. But as soon as these disorders were over, he made a Sign to them with his Hand to compose themselves, and then went on in his Speech thus.

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“Dearly beloved Friends, there is no such matter here in hand, as you vainly hope or believe. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whose Ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient to. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my Death; which I am most willing to suffer. And let us now joyn in Prayer to the Lord for the preservation of the Kings Majesty, unto whom hitherto I have always shewed my self a most faithful and firm Subject. I have always been most diligent about his Majesty, in his Affairs both at home and abroad; and no less diligent in seeking the common Commodity of the whole Realm; (upon this the People cried out *it was most true*) unto whose Majesty I wish continual health, with all felicity, and all prosperous success. Moreover, I do wish unto all his Counsellors, the Grace and Favour of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly with justice: unto whom I exhort you all in the Lord to shew your selves obedient, as it is your bounden Duty, under the pain of condemnation; and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the Kings Majesty. Moreover, for as much as heretofore I have had Affairs with divers Men, and hard it is to please every Man, therefore if there have been any that have been offended or injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness; but especially Almighty God, whom throughout all my Life I have most grievously offended: and all other whatsoever they be that have offended me, I do with my whole Heart forgive them. Then he desired them to be quiet, lest their Tumults might trouble him; and said, Albeit the Spirit be willing and ready, the Flesh is frail and wavering; and through your quietness I shall be much more quieter. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness, that I die here in the Faith of Jesus Christ, desiring you to help me with your Prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same to my lives end.

Then Dr. *Cox*, who was with him on the Scaffold, put a Paper in his Hand, which was a Prayer he had prepared for him. He read it on his Knees, then he took leave of all about him, and undressed himself to be fitted for the Axe. In all which there appeared no change in him, only his Face was a little rudier than ordinary: he continued calling, *Lord Jesus save me*, till the Executioner severed his Head from his Body.

Thus fell the Duke of *Somerſet*: a Person of great Vertues, eminent for Piety, humble, and affable in his greatness, sincere and candid in all his Transactions. He was a better Captain, than a Counsellor: had been oft successful in his undertakings, was always careful of the Poor and

And Charles
ſter.

1551

the Oppressed, and in a word, had as many Vertues, and as few faults, as most great Men, especially when they were so unexpectedly advanced, have ever had. It was generally believed, that all this pretended Conspiracy, upon which he was condemned, was only a forgery. For both *Palmer*, and *Crane*, the chief Witnesses, were soon after discharged, as were also *Bartuile*, and *Hamond*, with all the rest that had been made Prisoners on the pretence of this Plot. And the Duke of *Northumberland* continued after that in so close a friendship with *Palmer*, that it was generally believed he had been corrupted to betray him. And indeed, the not bringing the Witnesses into the Court, but only the Depositions, and the Parties sitting Judges, gave great occasion to condemn the Proceedings against him. For it was generally thought, that all was an Artifice of *Palmer*, who had put the Duke of *Somerset* in fears of his Life, and so got him to gather Men about him for his own preservation; and that he afterwards being taken with him, seemed through fear to acknowledge all that which he had before contrived. This was more confirmed by the death of the other four formerly mentioned, who were executed on the 26th of *February*, and did all protest they had never been guilty of any design, either against the King, or to kill the Lords. *Vane* added, That his Blood would make *Northumberland's* Pillow uneasie to him. The People were generally much affected with this Execution; and many threw Handkerchiefs into the Duke of *Somerset's* Blood, to preserve it in remembrance of him. One Lady, that met the Duke of *Northumberland* when he was led through the City in *Queen Maries* Reign, shaking one of these Bloody Handkerchiefs, said, Behold the Blood of that worthy Man, that good Unkle of that excellent King, which was shed by thy malicious practice, doth now begin apparently to revenge it self on thee. Sure it is, that *Northumberland*, as having maliciously contrived this, was ever after hated by the People.

But on the other hand, great notice was taken that the Duke of *Norfolk*, (who, with his Son the Earl of *Surrey*, were believed to have fallen in all their misery, by the Duke of *Somerset's* means,) did now out-live him, and saw him fall by a Conspiracy of his own Servants, as himself and his Son had done. The Proceeding against his Brother was also remembered, for which many thought the Judgments of God had overtaken him. Others blamed him for being too apt to convert things Sacred to his own use, and because a great part of his Estate was raised out of the Spoils of many Churches: and some late Writers have made an Inference from this, upon his not claiming the Benefit of Clergy, that he was thus left of God not to plead that Benefit, since he had so much invaded the Rights and Revenues of the Church. But in this they shewed their ignorance. For by the Statute, that Felony of which he was found guilty, was not to be purged by Clergy. Those who pleased themselves in comparing the events in their own times, with the Transactions of the former Ages, found out many things to make a parallel between the Duke of *Somerset*, and *Humphrey* the good Duke of *Glocester* in *Henry* the 6th's time; but I shall leave the Reader in that to his own observation.

Now was the Duke of *Northumberland* absolute at Court, all Offices being filled with those that were his Associates. But here I stop to give a general view of Affairs beyond Sea this year, though I have a little transgressed

grasped the bounds of it, to give an account of the Duke of *Somerſet's* Fall altogether. The Siege of *Magdeburg* went on in *Germany*. But it was coldly followed by *Maurice*, who had now other deſigns. He had agreed with the *French* King, who was both to give him aſſiſtance, and to make War on the Emperor, at the ſame time when he ſhould begin. *Ferdinand* was alſo not unwilling to ſee his Brothers greatness leſſened; for he was preſſing him, not without threatnings, to lay down his Dignity; as King of the *Romans*, and thought to have eſta bliſhed it on his Son. All the other Princes of *Germany* were alſo oppreſſed by him, ſo that they were diſpoſed to enter into any alliance for the ſhaking off of that Yoke. *Maurice* did alſo ſend over to try the inclinations of *England*; if they would joyn with him, and contribute 400000 Dollars towards the expence of a War, for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and recovering the liberty of *Germany*. The Ambaſſadors were only ſent to try the Kings mind, but were not empow'ed to conclude any thing. They were ſent back with a good Answer, That the King would moſt willingly joyn in alliance with them that were of the ſame Religion with himſelf; but he deſired, that the matter of Religion might be plainly ſet down, leſt under the pretence of that, War ſhould be made for other Quarrels. He deſired them alſo to communicate their deſigns with the other Princes, and then to ſend over others more fully empow'ed. *Maurice*, ſeeing ſuch Aſſiſtances ready for him, reſolved, both to break the Emperors deſigns, and by leading on a new League againſt him, to make himſelf more acceptable to the Empire, and thereby to ſecure the Electoral Dignity in his Family. So after *Magdeburg* had endured a long Siege, he, giving a ſecret intimation to ſome Men in whom they conſided, perſwaded them about the end of *November* to ſurrender to him; and then broke up his Army: but they fell into the Dominions of ſeveral of the Popiſh Princes, and put them under very heavy Contributions. This alarmed all the Empire, only the Emperor himſelf, by a fatal ſecurity, did not apprehend it; till it came ſo near him, that he was almoſt ruined before he dreamed of any danger.

1551.

This Year the Tranſactions of *Trent* were remarkable. The Pope had called the Council to meet there, and the firſt of *May* this year there was a Seſſion held. There was a War now broken out, between the Pope, and the King of *France*, on this occaſion. The Pope had a mind to have *Parma* in his own Hands, but that Prince, fearing that he would keep it, as the Emperor did *Placentia*, and ſo he ſhould be ruined between them, implored the Protection of *France*, and received a *French* Garriſon for his ſafety. Upon this, the Pope cited him to *Rome* declaring him a Traitor if he appeared not: and this engaged the Pope in a War with *France*. At firſt he ſent a threatening Meſſage to that King, that if he would not reſtore *Parma* to him, he would take *France* from him. Upon this the King of *France* proteſted againſt the Council of *Trent*, and threatned that he would call a National Council in *France*. The Council was adjourned to the 10th of *September*. In the mean while the Emperor preſſed the *Germans* to go to it. So *Maurice*, and the other Princes of the *Ausburg* Confeſſion, ordered their Divines to conſider of the matters which they would propoſe to the Council. The Electors of *Mentz* and *Trier* went to *Trent*. But the King of *France*

Proceedings
at Trent.

1551

sent the Abbot of *Bellofana* thither, to make a Protestation, that by reason of the War that the Pope had raised, he could not send his Bishops to the Council: and that therefore he would not observe their Decrees: (for they had declared in *France*, that absent Churches were not bound to obey the Decrees of a Council: for which many Authorities were cited from the Primitive time.) But at *Trent* they proceeded for all this, and appointed the Articles about the Eucharist to be first examined: and the Presidents recommended to the Divines, to handle them according to Scripture, Tradition, and Ancient Authors, and to avoid unprofitable curiosities. The *Italian* Divines did not like this. For they said, to argue so, was but an Act of the memory, and was an old and insufficient way, and would give great advantage to the *Lutherans*, who were skilled in the Tongues; but the School-Learning was a mystical and sublime way, in which it was easier to set off or conceal matters as was expedient. But this was done to please the *Germans*: And, at the suite of the Emperor, the matter of Communicating in both kinds was postponed, till the *German* Divines could be heard. A safe Conduct was desired, by the *Germans*, not only from the Emperor, but from the Council. For at *Constance*, *John Huss*, and *Jerome of Prague*, were burnt, upon this pretence, that they had not the Councils safe conduct; and therefore when the Council of *Basil* called for the *Bohemians*, they sent them a safe Conduct, besides that which the Emperor gave them. So the Princes desired one in the same Form that was granted by those of *Basil*. One was granted by the Council, which in many things differed from that of *Basil*; particularly in one Clause, that all things should be determined according to the Scriptures, which was in that safe Conduct of *Basil*, but was now left out. In *October* an Ambassador from the Elector of *Brandenburg* came to *Trent*, who was endeavouring to get his Son settled in the Arch-bishoprick of *Magdeburg*, which made him more compliant. In his first Address to the Council, he spake of the respect his Master had to the Fathers in it, without a word of submitting to their Decrees. But in the Answer that was made in the Name of the Council, it was said, they were glad he did submit to them, and would obey their Decrees. This being afterwards complained of, it was said, that they answered him according to what he should have said, and not according to what he had said. But in the mean while, the Council published their Decrees about the Eucharist; in the first part of which, they defined, that the way of the Presence could hardly be expressed, and yet they called Transubstantiation a fit term for it. But this might be well enough defended, since that was a thing as hard to be either expressed or understood, as any thing they could have thought on. They went on next to examine Confession, and Penitence. And now, as the Divines handled the matter, they found the gathering Proofs out of Scripture grew endless and trifling; for there was not a place in Scripture where *I confess* was to be found, but they drew it in to prove Auricular Confession. From that they went on to Extream Unction. But then came the Ambassadors of the Duke of *Wittenberg*, another Prince of the *Ausburg* Confession, and shewed their Mandate to the Emperors Ambassadors, who desired them to carry it to the Presidents; but they refused to do that; since it was contrary to the Protestation, which the Princes of their Confession had made against a Council in which the Pope should preside.

preside. On the 25th of November they published the Decree of the necessity of Auricular Confession, that so the Priest might thereby know how to proportion the Penance to the sin. It was much censured, to see it defined that Christ had instituted Confession to a Priest, and not shew'd where or how it was instituted. And the reason for it, about the proportioning the Penance, was laughed at, since it was known what slight Penances were universally enjoined to expiate the greatest sins. But the Ambassadors of *Wittenberg* moving that they might have a safe Conduct for their Divines to come and propose their Doctrine; The Legate answered, that they would not upon any terms enter into any Disputation with them; but if their Divines had any scruple, in which they desired satisfaction, with a humble and obedient mind, they should be heard. And for a safe Conduct, he thought it was a distrusting the Council, to ask any other than what was already granted. Soon after this, there arrived Ambassadors from *Strasburg*, and from other five Cities, and those sent from the Duke of *Saxe* were on their Journey; so the Emperor ordered his Ambassadors to study to gain time till they came; and then an effectual course must be taken for compassing that about which he had laboured so long in vain to bring it to a happy conclusion. And thus this Year ended.

1551.

The Parliament was opened on the 23d of January, and sat till the 15th of April. So I shall begin this Year with the account of the Proceedings in it. The first Act that was put into the House of Lords, was for an Order to bring Men to Divine Service; which was agreed to on the 26th, and sent down to the Commons, who kept it long before they sent it back. On the 6th of April, when it was agreed to, the Earl of *Darby*, the Bishops of *Carlisle*, and *Norwich*, and the Lords *Sturton*, and *Windfor*, dissented. The Lords afterwards brought in another Bill, for authorizing a new Common-Prayer-Book, according to the Alterations which had been agreed on the former Year. This the Commons joyned to the former, and so put both in one Act. By it was first set forth, "That an Order of Divine Service being published, many did wilfully abstain from it, and refused to come to their Parish-Churches; therefore all are required, after the Feast of *All-hallows* next, to come every Sunday and Holy-day, to Common-Prayers, under pain of the Censures of the Church. And the King, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons, did in Gods Name require, all Arch-bishops, Bishops, and other Ordinaries, to endeavour the due execution of that Act, as they would answer before God for such Evils and Plagues, with which he might justly punish them, for neglecting that good and wholesome Law: and they were fully authorized to execute the Censures of the Church on all that should offend against this Law. To which is added, That there had been divers doubts raised about the manner of the Ministration of the Service, rather by the curiosity of the Ministers and Mistakers, than of any other worthy Cause; and that for the better explanation of that, and for the greater perfection of the Service, in some places, where it was fit to make the Prayer and fashion of Service more earnest and fit, to stir Christian People to the true honouring of Almighty God; therefore it had been by the Command of the King and Parliament perused, explained, and made more perfect. They also annexed to it the Form

1552.

A Session of Parliament.

An Act authorizing the new Common-Prayer-Book.

1552.

Form of making Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; and so appointed this new Book of Service, to be every where received after the Feast of *All-Saints* next, under the same Penalties that had been enacted three years before, when the former Book was set out.

was
much cen-
sured.

It was upon this Act said by the Papists, That the Reformation was like to change as oft as the Fashion did: since they seemed never to be at a Point in any thing, but new Models were thus continually framing. To which it was answered, That it was no wonder that the corruptions which they had been introducing for above a thousand years, were not all discovered or thrown out at once; but now the business was brought to a fuller perfection, and they were not like to see any more material Changes. Besides, any that would take the pains to compare the Offices that had been among the Papists, would clearly perceive, that in every Age there was such an encrease of additional Rites and Ceremonies, that though the old ones were still retained, yet it seemed there would be no end of new improvements and additions. Others wondered why the execution of this Law was put off so long as till the end of the Year. All the account I can give of this is, that it was expected that by that time the new Body of the Ecclesiastical Laws, which was now preparing, should be finished; and therefore, since this Act was to be executed by the Clergy; the day, in which it was to be in force, was so long delayed, till that Reformation of their Laws were concluded.

An Act con-
cerning Treas-
ons.

On the 8th of February a Bill of Treasons was put in, and agreed to by all the Lords, except the Lord *Wentworth*. It was sent down to the Commons, where it was long disputed; and many sharp things were said of those who now bore the sway; that whereas they who governed in the beginning of this Reign had put in a Bill for lessening the number of such offences, now they saw the change of Councils, when severer Laws were proposed. The Commons at last rejected the Bill, and then drew a new one, which was passed. By it they Enacted, "That if any should call the King, or any of his Heirs named in the Statute of the 35th of his Fathers Reign, Heretick, Schismatick, Tyrant, Infidel, or Usurper of the Crown; for the first offence they should forfeit their Goods and Chattels, and be imprisoned during pleasure; for the second, should be in a *Præmunire*; for the third, should be attainted of Treason: but any who should advisedly set that out in printing or writing, was for the first offence to be held a Traitor. And that those who should keep any of the Kings Castles, Artillery, or Ships, six days after they were lawfully required to deliver them up, should be guilty of Treason: that Men might be proceeded against for Treasons committed out of the Kingdom, as well as in it. They added a Proviso, That none should be Attainted of Treason on this Act, unless two Witnesses should come, and to their face averr the Fact for which they were to be tried; except such as without any violence should confess it: and that none should be questioned for any thing said or written, but within three Months after it was done.

This Proviso seems clearly to have been made with relation to the Proceeding against the Duke of *Somerſet*, in which the Witnesses were not brought to averr the Evidence to his Face, and by that means he was deprived of all the benefit and advantage which he might have had by cross examining them. It is certain, that though some false Witnesses have

have sanctified the Trade so much, that they seem to have laid off ²⁴ shame, and have a brow that cannot be daunted; yet for the greatest part a bright serenity and cheerfulness attends innocence, and a lowering complexion betrays the Guilty, when the Innocent and they are confronted together.

1552.

On the 3^d of *March* a Bill was brought in to the Lords for Holy-days and Fasting days; and sent down to the Commons on the 15th of *March*, by whom it was passed, and had the Royal Assent. In the Preamble it is set forth, "That Men are not at all times so set on the performance of Religious Duties as they ought to be; which made it necessary that there should be set times, in which labour was to cease, that Men might on those days wholly serve God: which days were not to be accounted holy of their own nature, but were so called, because of the Holy Duties then to be set about; so that the Sanctification of them (was not any Magical Vertue in that time, but) consisted in the dedicating them to Gods Service: that no day was dedicated to any Saint; but only to God, in remembrance of such Saints: that the Scripture had not determined the number of Holy-days, but that these were left to the liberty of the Church. Therefore they Enact, That all *Sundays*, with the days marked in the Calendar and Liturgy, should be kept as Holy-days: and the Bishops were to proceed by the Censures of the Church against the disobedient. A Proviso was added for the observation of St. *George's* Feast by the Knights of the Garter; and another, That Labourers or Fisher-men might, if need so required, work on those days either in or out of Harvest. The Eves before Holy-days were to be kept as Fasts; and in *Lent*, and on *Fridays* and *Saturdays*, abstinence from Flesh was Enacted: but if a Holy-day fell to be on a *Monday*, the Eve for it was to be kept on *Saturday*, since *Sunday* was never to be a Fasting-day. But it was generally observed, that in this and all such Acts, the People were ready enough to lay hold on any relaxation made by it, but did very slightly observe the stricter parts of it: so that the liberty left to Trades-men to work in cases of necessity, was carried further than it was intended, to a too publick profanation of the time so sanctified; and the other parts of it, directing the People to a conscientious observing of such times, was little minded.

On the 5th of *March*, a Bill concerning the relief of the Poor was put into the House of Lords: the Form of passing it has given occasion to some to take notice, that though it is a Bill for taxing the Subjects; yet it had its first birth in the Lords House, and was agreed to by the Commons. By it the Church-wardens were empow'ed to gather charitable Collections for the Poor; and if any did refuse to contribute, or did dissuade others from it, the Bishop of the Diocess was to proceed against them. On the 9th of *March* the Bishops put in a Bill for the security of the Clergy from some ambiguous words that were in the submission which the Convocation had made to King *Henry* in the 21st year of his Reign: by which they were under a *Premunire*, if they did any things in their Courts contrary to the Kings Prerogative; which was thought hard, since some through ignorance might transgress. Therefore it was desired, that no Prelate should be brought under a *Premunire*, unless they had proceeded in any thing, after they were prohibited by the Kings Writ: To this the Lords consented, but it was let fall by the Commons.

There

552.

An Act for
the Marriage
of the Clergy.

There was another Act brought in for the Marriage of the Clergy which was agreed to by the Lords; the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, *Rutland*, and *Bath*, and the Lords *Abergavenny*, *Stourton*, *Mounteagle*, *Sands*, *Windsor*, and *Wharton*, protesting against it. The Commons also passed it, and it was assented to by the King. By it was set forth, "That many took occasion from words in the Act formerly made about this matter, to say, that it was only permitted, as Usury and other unlawful things were, for the avoiding greater evils; who thereupon spake slanderously of such Marriages, and accounted the Children begotten in them to be Bastards; to the high dishonour of the King, and Parliament, and the Learned Clergy of the Realm, who had determined, that the Laws against Priests Marriages were most unlawful by the Law of God; to which they had not only given their Assent in the Convocation, but Signed it with all their Hands. These slanders did also occasion, that the Word of God was not heard with due reverence: whereupon it was Enacted, That such Marriages, made according to the Rules prescribed in the Book of Service, should be esteemed good and valid, and that the Children begot in them should be inheritable according to Law.

The Marquess of *Northampton* did also put in a Bill for confirming his Marriage, which was passed: only the Earl of *Darby*, the Bishops of *Carlisle*, and *Norwich*, and the Lord *Stourton*, dissented. By it, the Marriage is declared lawful, as by the Law of God indeed it was; any Decretal, Canon, Ecclesiastical Law, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding. This occasioned another Act, That no Man might put away his Wife, and marry another, unless he were formerly divorced; to which the Bishop of *Norwich* dissented; because he was of opinion, that a Divorce did not break the Marriage-Bond. But this Bill fell in the House of Commons, being thought not necessary, for the Laws were already severe enough against such double Marriages.

An Act against Usury.

By another Act, the Bishoprick of *Westminster* was quite suppressed, and re-united to the See of *London*: but the Collegiate Church, with its exempted Jurisdiction, was still continued. Another Bill was put in against Usury; which was sent from the Lords to the Commons, and passed by both, and assented to. By it, an Act passed in Parliament in the 37th year of the late Kings Reign, "That none might take above 20 per Cent. for Money lent, was repealed; which, they say, was not intended for the allowing of Usury, but for preventing further inconveniences: and since Usury was by the Word of God forbidden, and set out in divers places of Scripture as a most odious and detestable vice; which yet many continued to practice, for the filthy gain they made by it; therefore from the first of *May* all Usury or gain for Money lent, was to cease: and whosoever continued to practice to the contrary, were to suffer imprisonment, and to be fined at the Kings pleasure.

This Act has been since repealed, and the gain for Money lent has been at several times brought to several regulations. It was much questioned, whether these Prohibitions of Usury by *Moses* were not judicial Laws, which did only bind the Nation of the *Jews*; whose Land being equally divided among the Families by Lot, the making gain by lending Money was forbid to them of that Nation: yet it did not seem to be a thing of its nature sinful, since they might take increase of a Stranger. The not lending

lending Money on use was more convenient for that Nation; which a-
 bounding in People, and being shut up in a narrow Country, they were
 necessarily to apply themselves to all the ways of Industry for their subsi-
 stence; so that every one was, by that Law of not lending upon use,
 forced to employ his Money in the way of Trade or Manufacture, for
 which they were sure to have vent, since they lay near *Tyre* and *Sidon*,
 that were then the chief Places of Traffick and Navigation of the World;
 and without such Industry the Soil of *Judea* could not possibly have fed
 such vast numbers as lived on it: So that it seemed clear that this Law in the
 Old Testament properly belonged to that policy. Yet it came to be
 looked on by many Christians as a Law of perpetual obligation. It came
 also to be made a part of the Canon Law; and Absolution could not be
 given to the breakers of it, without a special faculty from *Rome*. But
 for avoiding the severity of the Law, the invention of Mortgages was
 fallen on; which at first, were only purchases made, and let back to the
 owner, for such Rent as the use of the Money came to: so that the use
 was taken as the Rent of the Land thus bought. And those who had
 no Land to sell thus, fell upon another way: The Borrower bought
 their Goods, to be paid within a Year, (for instance an hundred and
 ten Pound) and sold them back, for a Sum to be presently laid down as
 they should agree, (it may be an hundred Pound;) by this means the
 one had a hundred Pound in Hand, and the other was to have ten Pound
 or more at a years end. But this being in the way of Sale, was not called
 Usury. This Law was look'd on as impossible to be observed in a Coun-
 try, like *England*: and it could not easily appear where the immorality
 lay, of lending Money upon moderate gain, such as held proportion to
 the value of Land; provided that the perpetual Rule of Christian E-
 quity and Charity were observed, which is, not to exact above the pro-
 portion duly limited by the Law, and to be merciful in not exacting
 severally of Persons who by inevitable accidents have been disabled
 from making payment. This digression I thought the more necessary,
 because of the scruples that many good and strict Persons have still in
 that matter.

Another Act passed both Houses, against all Simoniackal Pactions, the
 reservation of Pensions out of Benefices, and the granting Advowsons
 while the Incumbent was yet alive. It was agreed to by the Lords, the
 Earls of *Derby*, *Rutland*, and *Suffex*, the Viscount *Hereford*, and the
 Lords *Mounteagle*, *Sands*, *Wharton*, and *Evers*, dissenting. But upon
 what reason I do not know, the Bill was not assented to by the King,
 who being then sick, there was a Collection made of the Titles of the
 Bills which were to have the Royal Assent, and those the King Signed,
 and gave Commission to some Lords to pass them in his Name. These
 abuses have been oft complained of, but there have been still new contri-
 vances found out, to elude all Laws against Simony: either bargains
 being made by the Friends of the Parties concerned without their ex-
 press knowledge; or Bonds of Resignation given, by which Incumbents
 lie at the mercy of their Patrons, and in these, the faultiness of some
 Clergy-men, is made the colour of imposing such hard terms upon others,
 and of robbing the Church oftentimes by that means.

A Bill against
 Simony.

552.

A Repeal of
the Entail of
the Duke of
Somerſets E-
ſtate

There was a private Bill put in, about the Duke of *Somerſets* Eſtate, which had been by Act of Parliament entailed on his Son in the 23^d. Year of the laſt Kings Reign. On the third of *March* it was ſent to the Houſe of Commons, Signed by the King, it was for the Repeal of that Act. Whether the King was ſo alienated from his Unkle, that this extraordinary thing was done by him for the utter ruine of his Family, or not, I cannot determine: but I rather incline to think it was done in hatred to the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* and her Iſſue. For the Eſtate was entailed on them by that Act of Parliament, in prejudice of the Iſſue of the former Marriage, of whom are deſcended the *Seimours* of *Devonſhire*; who were diſinherited and excluded from the Duke of *Somerſets* Honours by his Patents, and from his Eſtate by Act of Parliament; partly upon ſome jealousies he had of his former Wife, but chiefly by the power his ſecond Wife had over him. This Bill of Repeal was much oppoſed in the Houſe, though ſent to them in ſo unuſual a way, by the King himſelf. And though there was on the 8th. of *March* a Meſſage ſent from the Lords, that they ſhould make haſte towards an end of the Parliament, yet ſtill they ſtuck long upon it; looking on the breaking of Entails that were made by Act of Parliament, as a thing of ſuch conſequence, that it diſſolved the greateſt ſecurity that the Law of *England* gives for property. It was long argued by the Commons, and was fifteen ſeveral days brought in. At laſt a new Bill was deviſed, and that was much altered too: it was not quite ended till the day before the Parliament was diſſolved. But near the end of the Seſſion, a Proviſo was ſent from the Lords, to be added to the Bill, confirming the Attainder of the Duke and his Complices. It ſeems his Enemies would not try this at firſt, till they had by other things meaſured their ſtrength in that Houſe; and finding their intereſt grew there, they adventured on it; but they miſtook their meaſures, for the Commons would not agree to it. In concluſion, the Bill of Repeal was agreed to. But whereas there had been ſome Writings for a Marriage between the Earl of *Oxfords* Daughter and the Duke of *Somerſets* Son, and a Bill was put in for voiding theſe; upon a diviſion of the Houſe the 28th. of *March* there were ſixty eight that agreed, and ſixty nine that rejected it, ſo this Bill was caſt out. By this we ſee what a thin Houſe of Commons there was at that time, the whole being but 137 Members. But this was a natural effect of a long Parliament: many of thoſe who were at firſt choſen, being infirm; and others not willing to put themſelves to the charge and trouble of ſuch conſtant and long attendance. It is alſo from hence clear, how great an intereſt the Duke of *Somerſet* had in the affections of the Parliament.

The Com-
mons reſuſe to
attaint the
Biſhop of *Du-
reſme* by Bill.

Another Bill gave a more evident diſcovery how hateful the Duke of *Northumberland* was to them. The Biſhop of *Dureſme* was, upon ſome complaint brought againſt him of miſpriſion of Treason, put into the Tower about the end of *December* laſt year. What the Particulars were I do not find; but it was viſible that the ſecret reaſon was, that he being Attainted, the Duke of *Northumberland* intended to have had the Dignities and Jurisdiction of that Principality conferred on himſelf: ſo that he ſhould have been made Count Palatine of *Dureſme*. *Tonſtall* had in all Points given obedience to every Law, and to all the Injunctions that had been made: but had always in Parliament proteſted againſt the changes

changes in Religion; which he thought he might with a good Conscience submit to and obey; though he could not consent to them. Only in the matter of the Corporal Presence, he was still of the old Perswasion, and wait about it. But the *Latine* Stile of his Book is much better than the Divinity and Reasonings in it. So what he would have done, if he had been required to subscribe the Articles that were now agreed on, did not appear, for he was all this while Prisoner. There was a constant good correspondence between *Cranmer* and him: Though in many things they differed in opinion; yet *Tonstall* was both a Man of candour, and of great moderation, which agreed so well with *Cranmers* temper, that no wonder they lived always in good terms. So when the Bill for Attainting him as guilty of Misprision of Treason was passed in the House of Lords, on the 31st. of *March*, being put in on the 28th. *Cranmer* speak so freely against it, that the Duke of *Northumberland* and he were never after that in friendship together. What his Arguments were I could not recover; but when he could do no more, he protested against it, being seconded only by the Lord *Stourton*. How it came to pass that the other Popish Lords and Bishops that protested against the other Acts of this Parliament, did not joyn in this, I cannot imagine: unless it was, that they were the less concerned for *Tonstall*, because *Cranmer* had appeared to be so much his friend, or were awed by their fear of offending the Duke of *Northumberland*. But when the Bill was carried down to the Commons, with the Evidences against him, which were some Depositions that had been taken, and brought to the Lords; they who were resolved to condemn that practice for the future, would not proceed upon it now. So on the fifth of *April* they ordered the Privy-Counsellors of their House, to move the Lords, that his Accusers and he might be heard face to face: and that not being done, they went no further in the Bill.

By these Indications the Duke of *Northumberland* saw how little kindness the House of Commons had for him. The Parliament had now sat almost five years, and being called by the Duke of *Somerſet*, his Friends had been generally chose to be of it. So that it was no wonder, if upon his Fall they were not easie to those who had destroyed him: nor was there any motion made for their giving the King a Supply. Therefore the Duke of *Northumberland* thought it necessary for his Interest to call a new Parliament. And accordingly on the 15th. of *April* the Parliament was dissolved; and it was resolved to spend this Summer in making Friends all over *England*, and to have a new Parliament in the opening of the next Year.

The Convocation at this time agreed to the Articles of Religion that were prepared the last Year: which, though they have been often printed, yet since they are but short, and of so great consequence to this History, I have put them into the Collection, as was formerly told.

Thus the Reformation of Doctrine and Worship were brought to their perfection; and were not after this in a little mended or altered in this Reign, nor much afterwards; only some of the Articles were put in more general words under Queen *Elizabeth*.

Another part of the Reformation was yet unfinished, and it was the chief work of this year: that was, the giving Rules to the Ecclesiastical Courts, and for all things relating to the Government of the Church, considered.

The parliament is dissolved.

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and the exercise of the several Functions in it. In the former Volume it was told, that an Act had passed for this effect; yet it had not taken effect, but a Commission was made upon it, and these appointed by King Henry had met and consulted about it, and had made some progress in it, as appears by an Original Letter of *Cranmers* to that King in the Year 1545. in which he speaks of it as a thing then almost forgotten, and quite laid aside; for from the time of the six Articles till then, the design of the Reformation had been going backward: At that time the King began to re-assume the thoughts of it, and was resolved to remove some Ceremonies, such as the creeping to the Cross, the ringing of Bells on St. *Andrews* Eve, with other superstitious Practices; for which *Cranmer* sent him the draught of a Letter to be written in the Kings Name, to the two Arch-bishops, and to be by them communicated to the rest of the Clergy. In the Postscript of his Letter he complains much of the sacrilegious waste of the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, where the Dean and Prebendaries had been made to alienate many of their Manours upon Letters obtained by Courtiers from the King, as if the Lands had been desired for the Kings use: upon which they had surrendered those Lands, which were thereupon disposed of to the Courtiers that had an Eye upon them. This Letter should have come in in the former Volume, but I had not seen it then, so I took hold on this Occasion to direct the Reader to it in the *Collection*.

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Number 61.

It was also formerly told, that an Act had passed in this Reign, to empower thirty two Persons, who should be named by the King, to make a Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws, which was to be finished within three years. But the Revolutions of Affairs, and the other more pressing things that were still uncompleted, had kept them hitherto from setting to that work. On the first of *November* last year, a Commission was given to eight Persons to prepare the matter for the review of the two and thirty, that so it might be more easily compiled, being in a few hands, than could well be done, if so many had been to set about it. These eight were, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *Cox*, and *Peter Martyr*, two Divines, Dr. *May*, and Dr. *Taylor*, two Doctors of the Law, and *John Lucas*, and *Richard Goodrick*, two Common Lawyers. But on the 14th. of *November* the Commission was renewed, and the Bishop of *London* was named in the room of the Bishop of *Ely*; one *Traheron* in the room of *May*; and *Gosnald* in *Goodrick's* room. These, it seems, desiring more time than one year to finish it in, for two of the years were now lapsed, in the last Session of the Parliament they had three years more time offered them. But it seems the Work was believed to be in such a forwardness, that this continuation was not judged necessary, for the Royal Assent was not given to that Act. After the Parliament was ended, they made haste with it. But I find it said in the Preface to the Book, as it was printed in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, that *Cranmer* did the whole Work almost himself: which will justify the Character some give of him, that he was the greatest Canonist then in *England*. Dr. *Haddon*, that was University Orator in *Cambridge*, and Sir *Jo. Cheek*, were employed to put it in *Latine*. And they did so imitate the Stile of the *Roman* Laws, that any who reads the Book, will fancy himself to be reading a Work of the purer Ages of that State, when their Language was not yet corrupted with these

these barbarous terms which the mixture of other Nations brought in, and made it no where more nauseously rude than in the Canon 1552.

The work was digested and cast into fifty one Titles: to bring it near the Number of the Books of the Pandects, into which *Justinian* had digested the *Roman Law*. It was prepared by *February* this year, and a Commission was granted to thirty two Persons, of whom the former eight were a part: consisting of eight Bishops, eight Divines, among whom *John a Lasco* was one, eight Civilians, and eight Common Lawyers. They were to revise, correct, and perfect the Work, and so to present it to the King. They divided themselves into four Classes, eight to a Class; and every one of these were to prepare their Corrections, and so to communicate them to the rest. And thus was the work carried on, and finished; but before it received the Royal Confirmation, the King died, and this fell with him: nor do I find it was ever since that time taken up, or prosecuted with the care that a thing of such consequence deserved: and therefore I shall not think it improper for me, having before shewed what was done, in the next place to give an account of what was then intended to be done; and is now very fit to be well considered.

The first Title was of the Trinity, and the Catholick Faith; in which those who denied the Christian Religion were to suffer death, and the loss of their Goods. The Books of Scripture were numbred, these called *Apocryphal* being left out of the Canon; which, though they were read in the Church, it was only for the edification of the People, but not for the proof of the Doctrine. The power of the Church was subjected to the Scriptures: The four General Councils were received; but all Councils were to be examined by the Scripture; as were also the Writings of the Fathers, who were to be much revered, but according to what themselves have written, they were only to be submitted to when they agreed with the Scriptures. The Chief Heads of it.

The second Title contains an enumeration of many Heresies, *viz.* against the Trinity, Jesus Christ, the Scriptures, about Original sin, Justification, the Mass, Purgatory; and censured those who denied Magistracy to be lawful, or asserted the Community of Goods, or Wives; or who denied the Pastoral Office, and thought any might assume it at pleasure; or who thought the Sacraments naked Signs, who denied the Baptism of Infants, or thought none could possibly be saved that were not Baptized; or who asserted Transubstantiation, or denied the lawfulness of Marriage, particularly in the Clergy; or who asserted the Popes Power; or such as excused their ill Lives by the pretence of Predestination, as many wicked Men did: from which and other Heresies all are dissuaded, and earnestly exhorted to endeavour the extirpation of them.

The third was about the Judgments of Heresie before the Bishop of the Diocess, even in exempted Places. They were to proceed by Witnesses; but the Party, upon fame, might be required to purge himself: if he repented, he was to make publick profession of it in those places where he had spread it; and to renounce his Heresie, swearing never to return to it any more: but obstinate Hereticks were to be declared infamous, incapable of publick Trust, or to be Witnesses in any Court, or to have power to make a Testament, and were not to have the benefit of

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of the Law: Clergy-men falling into Heresie were not to return to their Benefices, unless the Circumstances were such that they required it; and thus all Capital Proceedings for Heresie were laid down.

The fourth was about Blasphemy, flowing from hatred or rage against God, which was to be punished as obstinate Heresie was.

The fifth was about the Sacraments of Baptism, and the Lords Supper. To which is added, that Imposition of Hands is to be retained in the Ordination of Pastors; that Marriages are to be solemnly made; that those who renew their Baptifinal Vow, be confirmed by the Bishop; and that the Sick should be visited by their Pastors.

The sixth was about Idolatry, Magick, Witchcraft, or consulting with Conjurers; who were to be arbitrarily punished, if they submitted; otherwise, to be excommunicated.

The seventh was about Preachers; whom the Bishops were to examine carefully, before they licensed them; and were once a year to gather together all those who were licensed in their Diocesses, to know of them the true state of their Flock; what Vices abounded, and what Remedies were most proper. Those who refused to hear Sermons, or did make disturbance in them, were to be separated from the Communion. It seems it was designed, that there should be in every Diocess, some who should go round a Precinct, and Preach like *Evangelists*, as some then called them.

The eighth was about Marriage; which was to be after asking Banns, three *Sundays*, or Holy-days. Those who were married in any other Form, than that in the Book of Service, were not to be esteemed lawfully married: those who corrupted Virgins, were to be excommunicated if they did not marry them; or if that could not be done, they were to give them the third part of their Goods, besides other arbitrary punishments. Marriages made without the consent of Parents or Guardians, were declared null. Then follow the things that may void Marriages; they are left free to all: Poligamy is forbid, Marriages made by force are declared void, Mothers are required to suckle their Children.

The ninth is about the Degrees of Marriage. All these in the Levitical Law, or those that are reciprocal to them, are forbidden: but Spiritual Kindred was not to hinder Marriage, since there was nothing in Scripture about it, nor was there any good reason for it.

The tenth was about Adultery. A Clergy-man guilty of it was to forfeit all his Goods and Estate to his Wife, and Children; or if he had none, to the Poor, or some pious use; and to lose his Benefice, and be either banished, or imprisoned during Life. A Lay-man was to restore his Wives Portion, and to give her the half of his Goods, and be imprisoned, or banished, during Life. Wives that were guilty, were to be in like manner punished. But the Innocent Party might marry again; yet such were rather exhorted, if they saw hope of amendment, to be reconciled to the offending Party. No Marriage was to be dissolved without a Sentence of Divorce. Desertion, long Absence, Capital Enmities where either Party was in hazard of their Life, or the constant perverseness or fierceness of a Husband against his Wife, might induce a Divorce: but little Quarrels might not do it; nor a perpetual Disease.

Relief

Relief in such a Misery being one of the Ends of Marriage. But all separation from Bed and Board, except during a Trial, was to be taken away.

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The 11th. was about Admission to Ecclesiastical Benefices. Patrons were to consider, the choice of the Person was trusted to them, but was not to be abused to any sacrilegious or base ends: if they did otherwise, they were to lose their right for that time. Benefices were not to be given or promised, before they were void; nor let lie destitute above six Months, otherwise they were to devolve to the Bishop. Clergy-men before their Ordination were to be examined by the Arch-deacons, with such other Triers as the Bishop should appoint to be assistant to them: and the Bishop himself was to try them, since this was one of the chief things, upon which the happiness of the Church depended. The Candidate was to give an Oath to answer sincerely, upon which he was to be examined about his Doctrine, chiefly of the whole Points of the Catechism, if he understood them aright: and what knowledge he had of the Scriptures: they were to search him well whether he held Heretical Opinions: None was to be admitted to more Cures than one; and all Privileges for Pluralities were for ever to cease: nor was any to be absent from his Cure, except for a time, and a just cause, of which he was to satisfy his Ordinary. The Bishops were to take great care to allow no absence longer than was necessary: every one was to enter upon his Cure within two Months after he was Instituted by the Bishop. Prebendaries who had no particular Cure, were to preach in the Churches adjacent to them. Bastards might not be admitted to Orders, unless they had eminent Qualities. But the Bastards of Patrons were upon no account to be received, if presented by them. Other bodily defects, unless such as did much disable them, or made them very contemptible, were not to be a barr to any. Beside the Sponsions in the Office of Ordination, they were to swear that they had made no agreement to obtain the Benefice to which they were presented, and that if they come to know of any made by others on their account, they should signify it to the Bishop; and that they should not do any thing to the prejudice of their Church.

The 12th. and 13th. were about the renouncing or changing of Benefices.

The 14th. was about purgation upon common fame, or when one was accused for any crime, which was proved incompletely, and only by presumptions. The Ecclesiastical Courts might not re-examine any thing that was proved in any Civil Court, but upon a high scandal a Bishop might require a Man to purge himself, otherwise to separate him from Holy things. The Form of a Purgation was, to swear himself innocent; and he was also to have four Compurgators of his own Rank, who were to swear, that they believed he swore true: upon which the Judge was to restore him to his Fame. Any that were under suspicion of a Crime, might by the Judge be required to avoid all the occasions from which the suspicion had risen: But all superstitious Purgations were to be rejected.

The 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th, were about Dilapidations, the selling of the Goods of the Church, the confirming the former Rules of Election in Cathedrals or Colledges, and the Collation of Benefices.

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The 19th. was about Divine Offices. In the Morning on Holy-days, the Common-Prayer was to be used, with the Communion-Service joyned to it. In Cathedrals, there was to be Communion every Sunday and Holy-day; where the Bishop, the Dean, and the Prebendaries, and all maintained by that Church, were to be present. There was no Sermon to be in Cathedrals in the Morning, lest that might draw any from the Parish Churches; but only in the Afternoons. In the Anthems, all Figured Musick, by which the Hearers could not understand what they sung, was to be taken away. In Parish Churches, there were only to be Sermons in the Morning; but none in the Afternoon, except in great Parishes. All who were to receive the Sacrament, were to come the day before, and inform the Minister of it; who was to examine their Consciences, and their Belief. On Holy-days in the Afternoon, the Catechism was to be explained for an hour. After the Evening-Prayers, the Poor were to be looked to; and such as had given open scandal were to be examined, and publick Penitence was to be enjoined them: and the Minister, with some of the Ancients of the Parish, were to commune together about the state of the People in it: that if any carried themselves indecently, they might be first charitably admonished; and, if that did not prevail, subjected to severer Censures: but none were to be excommunicated, without the Bishop were first informed, and had consented to it. Divine Offices were not to be performed in Chappels, or private Houses, lest the Churches should under that pretence be neglected, and Errors more easily disseminated; excepting only the Houses of Peers and Persons of great Quality, who had numerous Families; but in these, all things were to be done according to the Book of Common-Prayer.

The 20th. was about those that bore Office in the Church; Sextons, Church-wardens, Deacons, Priests, and Rural Deans. This last was to be a Yearly Office: he that was named to it by the Bishop, being to watch over the manners of the Clergy and People in his Precinct, was to signify the Bishops pleasure to them, and to give the Bishop an account of his Precinct every sixth Month. The Arch-deacons were to be general Visitors over the Rural Deans. In every Cathedral, one of the Prebendaries, or one procured by them, was thrice a week to expound some part of the Scriptures. The Bishops were to be over all, and to remember that their Authority was given to them for that end, that many might be brought to Christ, and that such as had gone astray might be restored by Repentance. To the Bishop all were to give obedience according to the Word of God. The Bishop was to preach often in his Church; was to Ordain none for Rewards, or rashly; was to provide good Pastors, and to deprive bad ones: he was to visit his Diocese every third year, or oftener as he saw cause; but then he was to do it at his own charge: he was to have yearly Synods, and to confirm such as were well instructed. His Family was to consist of Clergy-men, whom he should bring up to the Service of the Church; (so was St. *Austins*, and other Ancient Bishops Families constituted.) This being a great means to supply the great want of good and faithful Ministers. Their Wives and Children were also to avoid all levity or vain dressing. They were
never

never to be absent from their Diocesses, but upon a publick and urgent cause: and when they grew sick or infirm, they were to have Coadjutors. If they became scandalous or heretical, they were to be deprived by the King's Authority. The Archbishops were to exercise the Episcopal Function in their Diocess; and were once to visit their whole Province, and to oversee the Bishops, to admonish them for what was amiss, and to receive and judge Appeals, to call Provincial Synods upon any great occasion, having obtained Warrant from the King for it. Every Bishop was to have a Synod of his Clergy some time in *Lent*, so that they might all return home before *Palm-Sunday*. They were to begin with the Litany, a Sermon, and a Communion; then all were to withdraw into some private place, where they were to give the Bishop an account of the state of the Diocess, and to consult of what required advice; every Priest was to deliver his opinion, and the Bishop was to deliver his Sentence, and to bring matters to as speedy a Conclusion as might be; and all were to submit to him, or to appeal to the Archbishop.

The 21st, 22^d, 23^d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th Titles are about Church-wardens, Universities, Tithes, Visitations, Testaments, Ecclesiastical Censures, Suspension, Sequestration, Deprivation.

The 30th. is about Excommunication, of which, as being the chief Ecclesiastical Censure, I shall set down their Scheme the more fully.

Excommunication they reckon an Authority given of God to the Church, for removing scandalous or corrupt Persons, from the use of the Sacraments, or fellowship of Christians, till they give clear signs of their repentance, and submit to such Spiritual punishments, by which the Flesh may be subdued, and the Spirit saved. This was trusted to Churchmen, but chiefly, to Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans, and any other appointed for it by the Church. None ought to be excommunicated but for their obstinacy in great faults; but it was never to be gone about rashly; and therefore the Judge who was to give it, was to have a Justice of Peace with him, and the Minister of the Parish where the Party lived, with two or three learned Presbyters, in whose Presence the matter was to be examined, and Sentence pronounced, which was to be put in writing. It was to be intimated in the Parish where the Party lived, and in the neighbouring Parishes, that all Persons might be warned to avoid the company of him that was under Excommunication: and the Minister was to declare what the nature and consequences of Excommunication were, the Person so censured being cut off from the Body of Christ: after that, none was to eat, or drink, or keep company with him, but those of his own Family: whosoever did otherwise, if being admonished they continued in it, were also to be Excommunicated. If the Person censured continued forty days without expressing any repentance, it was to be certified into the *Chancery*, and a Writ was to issue for taking and keeping him in Prison, till he should become sensible of his offences; and when he did confess these, and submitted to such punishments as should be enjoined, the Sentence was to be taken off, and the Person publicly reconciled to the Church. And this was to take place against those, who, being condemned for capital Offences, obtained the Kings Pardon, but were notwithstanding to be subject to Church-censures.

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Their design concerning the use of Excommunication.

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Then follows the Office of receiving Penitents. They were first to stand without the Church, and desire to be again received into it, and so to be brought in: the Minister was to declare to the People the hainousness of sin, and the mercies of God in the Gospel, in a long Discourse, of which the Form is there prescribed: Then he was to shew the People, that as they were to abhor hardned sinners, so they were to receive with the Bowels of true Charity, all sincere Penitents: he was next to warn the Person, not to mock God, and deceive the People, by a feigned Confession: he was thereupon to repeat, first a general Confession, and then more particularly to name his sin, and to pray to God for mercy to himself, and that none by his ill example might be defiled; and finally to beseech them all to forgive him, and to receive him again into their Fellowship: Then the Minister was to ask the People, whether they would grant his desires, who were to answer, they would: Then the Pastor was to lay his Hand on his Head, and to absolve him from the punishment of his offences, and the bond of Excommunication; and so to restore him to his place in the Church of God. Then he was to lead him to the Communion-Table, and there to offer up a Prayer of Thanksgiving to God for reclaiming that sinner. For the other Titles, they relate to the other parts of the Law of those Courts, for which I refer the Reader to the Book it self.

How far any of those things, chiefly the last about Excommunication, may be yet brought into the Church, I leave to the Consultations of the Governors of it, and of the two Houses of Parliament. It cannot be denied, that Vice and Immorality, together with much impiety, have over-run the Nation; and though the charge of this is commonly cast on the Clergy, who certainly have been in too many places wanting to their duty; yet on the other hand, they have so little power, or none at all, by Law, to censure even the most publick sins, that the blame of this great defect ought to lie more universally on the whole Body of the Nation, that have not made effectual provision for the restraining of vice, the making ill Men ashamed of their ways, and the driving them from the Holy Mysteries, till they change their course of Life.

There was another thing proposed this Year for the correcting the great disorders of Clergy-men, which were occasioned by the extream misery and poverty to which they were reduced. There were some motions made about it in Parliament, but they took not effect: so one writ a Book concerning it, which he dedicated to the Lord Chancellor, then the Bishop of *Ely*. He shewed, that without Rewards or Encouragements few would apply themselves to the Pastoral Function, and that those in it, if they could not subsist by it, must turn to other employments: so that at that time, many Clergy-men were Carpenters, and Taylors, and some kept Ale-houses. It was a reproach on the Nation, that there had been so profuse a zeal for superstition, and so much coldness in true Religion. He complains of many of the Clergy who did not maintain Students at the Universities according to the Kings Injunctions; and that in Schools, and Colledges, the poor Scholars Places were generally filled with the Sons of the Rich; and that Livings were most scandalously sold; and the greatest part of the Country-Clergy were so ignorant, that they could do little more than read. But there was no hope of doing any thing effectually for redressing so great a calamity,

A Project for
relieving the
Clergy reduced
to great
poverty.

calamity, till the King should be of Age himself to set forward such Laws as might again recover a competent maintenance for the Clergy. 1552.

This Year, both *Heath* of *Worcester*, and *Day* Bishop of *Chichester*, were put out of their Bishopricks. For *Heath*, it has been already said, that he was put in prison for refusing to consent to the Book of Ordinances. But for *Day*, whether he refused to submit to the new Book, fell into other transgressions, I do not know. Both these were afterwards deprived, not by any Court consisting of Church-men, but by Secular Delegates, of whom three were Civilians, and three Common Lawyers, as King *Edwards* Journal informs us. *Dayes* Sentence is something ambiguously expressed, in the Patent that *Scory* Bishop of *Roche-*
ster had to succeed him; which bears date the 24th. of *May*, and mentions his being put there in the room of *George* late Bishop of that See, who had been deprived or removed from it: In *June* following, upon *Hollbeach* Bishop of *Lincoln's* death, *Taylor* that had been Dean of *Lincoln*, was made Bishop. This Year the Bishoprick of *Glocester* was quite suppressed, and converted into an exempted Arch-deaconry; and *Hooper* was made Bishop of *Worcester*. In the *December* before, *Worcester* and *Glocester* had been united, by reason of their Voicinage, and their great poverty, and that they were not very populous; so they were to be for ever after one Bishoprick with two Titles, as *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and *Bath* and *Wells* were; and *Hooper* was made Bishop of *Worcester* and *Glocester*. But now they were put into another method, and the Bishop was to be called only Bishop of *Worcester*. In all the vacancies of Sees, there were a great many of their best Lands taken from them: and the Sees that before had been profusely enriched, were now brought to so low a condition, that it was scarce possible for the Bishops to subsist: and yet, if what was so taken from them had been converted to good uses, to the bettering the condition of the poor Clergy over *England*, it had been some mitigation of so hainous a Robbery; but these Lands were snatched up by every hungry Courtier, who found this to be the easiest way to be satisfied in their pretensions: and the World had been so possessed with the opinion of their excessive Wealth, that it was thought they never could be made poor enough.

This Year a Passage fell out, relating to *Ireland*, which will give me occasion to look over to the Affairs of that Kingdom. The Kings of *England* had formerly contented themselves with the Title of Lords of *Ireland*: which King *Henry* the 8th. in the 33d. Year of his Reign had in a Parliament there, changed into the Title of a Kingdom. But no special Crown or Coronation was appointed, since it was to follow the Crown of *England*. The Popes and the Emperors have pretended, that the conferring Titles of Sovereign Dignity belonged to them. The Pope derived his claim from what our Saviour said, *That all Power in Heaven and in Earth was given to him*, and by consequence to his Vicar. The Emperors, as being a dead shadow of the *Roman* Empire, which Title, with the designation of *Cesar*, they still continued to use, and pretended, that as the *Roman* Emperors did anciently make Kings, so they had still the same right: though because those Emperors made Kings in the Countreys which were theirs by Conquest, it was an odd stretch to infer, that those who retained nothing of their Empire, but the Name, should

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should therefore make Kings in Countries that belonged not to them: and it is certain, that every entire or independent Crown or State may make for or within it self what Tules they please. But the And prior the Crown of *England* had in *Ireland* was not then so entire, as by the many Rebellions that have fallen out since, it is now become. The Heads of the *Gaels* and Names had the Conduct of all their several Tribes, who were led on by them to what designs they pleased: And though within the *English Pale*, the King was obeyed, and his Laws executed almost as in *England*; yet the native *Irish* were an uncivilized and barbarous Nation, and not yet brought under the Yoke: and for the greatest part of *Ulster*, they were united to the *Scots*, and followed their Interests.

There had been a Rebellion in the second Year of this Reign. But Sir *Anthony St. Leiger*, then Deputy, being recalled, and Sir *Edm. Bellinghame* sent in his room, he subdued *O-Cannor*, and *O-More*, that were the chief Authors of it: and not being willing to put things to extremities, when *England* was otherwise distracted with Wars, he perswaded them to accept of Pensions of 100 *L.* a-piece, and so they came in and lived in the *English Pale*. But the Winter after, there was another Rebellion designed in *Ulster*, by *O-Neal*, *O-Dennel*, *O-Docart*, and the Heads of some other Tribes; who sent to the Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, to procure them assistance from *France*, and they would keep up the disorders in *Ireland*. The Bishop of *Valence*, being then in *Scotland*, was sent by her to observe their strength, that he might accordingly perswade the King of *France* to assist them. He cross'd the Seas, and met with them, and with *Wauchop*, a *Scotch-man*, who was the Bishop of *Armagh* of the Popes making, and who, though he was blind, was yet esteemed one of the best at Riding Post in the World. They set out all their greatness to the *French* Bishop, to engage him to be their friend at the Court of *France*: but he seemed not so well satisfied of their ability to do any great matter, and so nothing followed on this. One passage fell out here, which will a little discover the temper of that Bishop. When he was in *O-Docarts* House, he saw a fair Daughter of his, whom he endeavoured to have corrupted, but she avoided him carefully. Two *English* Gray-Friars, that had fled out of *England* for their Religion, and were there at that time, observing the Bishops inclinations, brought him an *English* Whore, whom he kept for some time. She one night looking among his things, found a Glass full of somewhat that was very odoriferous, and poured it all down her Throat: which the Bishop perceiving too late, fell into a most violent passion; for it had been presented to him by *Soliman* the Magnificent, at his leaving that Court, as the richest Balm in *Egypt*; and was valued at 2000 Crowns. The Bishop was in such a rage, that all the House was disturbed with it; whereby he discovered both his lewdness and passion at once. This is related by one that was then with him, and was carried over by him to be Page to the *Scotch* Queen; Sir *James Melvil*, who lived long in that Court, under the Constable of *France*, and was afterwards much employed by the Prince Elector *Palatine* in many Negotiations; and coming home to his own Country, was sent on many occasions to the Court of *England*, where he lived in great Esteem. He in his old Age writ a Narrative of all the Affairs that himself had been concerned in. which is
one

one of the best and perfectest Pieces of that nature that I have seen. The Original is yet extant under his own Hand in *Scotland*: a Copy of it was shew'd me by one descended from him, from which I shall discover many considerable Passages, though the Affairs in which he was most employed, were something later than the time of which I am to write. But to return to *Ireland*. Upon the Peace made with *France* and *Scotland*, things were quieted there; and Sir *Ant. St. Leiger* was in *Aug.* 1550. again sent over to be Deputy there. For the Reformation, it made but a small progress in that Kingdom. It was received among the *English*, but I do not find any endeavours were used to bring it in among the *Irish*. This Year *Bale* was sent into *Ireland*. He had been a busie Writer upon all occasions, and had a great deal of Learning, but wanted Temper, and did not write with the decency that became a Divine, or was suitable to such matters; which it seems made those who recommended Men to preferment in this Church, not think him so fit a Person to be employed here in *England*. But the Bishoprick of *Offery* being void, the King propos'd him to be sent thither. So in *August* this Year Dr. *Goodaker* was sent over to be Bishop of *Armagh*, and *Bale* to be Bishop of *Offery*. There were also two other, who were *Irish* Men, to be promoted. When they came thither, the Archbishop of *Dublin* intended to have consecrated them according to the old Pontifical; for the new Book of Ordination had not been yet used among them. *Goodaker* and the two others were easily perswaded to it, but *Bale* absolutely refused to consent to it: who being assisted by the Lord Chancellor, it was carried, that they should be ordained according to the new Book. When *Bale* went into his Diocese, he found all things there in dark Popery; but before he could make any Reformation there, King *Edwards* death put an end to his and all such designs.

In *England* nothing else that had any relation to the Reformation pass'd this Year, unless what belongs to the change made in the Order of the Garter may be thought to relate to it. On the 23^d. of *April* the former Year, being St. *George's* day, a Proposition was made to consider the Order and Statutes, since there was thought to be a great deal of superstition in them; and the Story upon which the Order was founded, concerning St. *George's* fighting with the Dragon, looked like a Legend formed in the darker Ages, to support the humour of Chivalry, that was then very high in the World. And as the Story had no great credibility in it self, so it was delivered by no Ancient Author. Nor was it found that there had been any such Saint: there being among Ancient Writers none mentioned of that Name, but *George of Alexandria*, the *Arrian* Bishop, that was put in when *Athanasius* was banished. Upon this motion in the former Year, the Duke of *Somerset*, the Marquess of *Northampton*, and the Earls of *Wiltshire*, and *Warwick*, were appointed to review the Statutes of the Order. So this Year the whole Order was changed; and the Earl of *Westmorland* and Sir *Andrew Dudley*, who were now to be installed, were the first that were received according to the new Model, (which the Reader will find in the Collection, as it was translated into *Latin* out of the *English*, by the King himself, written all with his own Hand, and it is the third Paper after his Journal.) The Preamble of it sets forth the noble design of the Order, to animate great Men to gallant Actions, and to associate them into a Fraternity, for

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A Change
made in the
Order of the
Garter.

King *Edward*
Remains,
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for their better encouragement and assistance ; but says, it had been much corrupted by superstition, therefore the Statutes of it were hereafter to be these,

It was no more to be called the Order of St. George, nor was he to be esteemed the Patron of it ; but it was to be called the Order of the Garter. The Knights of this Order were to wear the Blew Ribond or Garter as formerly ; but at the Collar, in stead of a George, there was to be on one side of the Jewel, a Knight carrying a Book upon a Sword point, on the Sword to be written *Protectio*, on the Book *Verbum Dei* ; on the Reverse, a Shield, on which should be written *Fides* ; to express their resolution both with offensive and defensive Weapons to maintain the Word of God. For the rest of the Statutes I shall refer the Reader to the Paper I mentioned. But this was repealed by Queen Mary, and so the old Rules took place again, and do so still. This design seems to have been chiefly intended, that none but those of the Reformed Religion might be capable of it ; since the adhering to, and standing for the Scriptures, was then taken to be the distinguishing Character between the Papists and the Reformers.

This is the sum of what was either done or designed this Year with relation to Religion. As for the State, there was a strict enquiry made of all who had cheated the King in the suppression of Chantries, or in any other thing that related to Churches ; from which the Visitors were believed to have embezeled much to their own uses, and there were many Sutes in the *Star-Chamber* about it. Most of all these Persons had been the Friends or Creatures of the Duke of *Somerſet* : and the enquiry after these things seems to have been more out of hatred to him, than out of any design to make the King the richer by what should be recovered for his use. But on none did the Storm break more severely than on the Lord *Paget*. He had been Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and was charged with many misdemeanours in that Office, for which he was fined in 6000 *l*. But that which was most severe, was, that on St. George's Eve, he was degraded from the Order of the Garter, for divers offences ; but chiefly, because he was no Gentleman, neither by Fathers side nor Mothers side. His chief offence was his greatest Vertue. He had been on all occasions a constant Friend to the Duke of *Somerſet* : for which the Duke of *Northumberland* hated him mortally, and so got him to be degraded to make way for his own Son. This was much censured, as a barbarous Action, that a Man who had so long served the Crown in such publick Negotiations, and was now of no meaner Blood than he was when King *Henry* first gave him the Order, should be so dishonoured, being guilty of no other fault, but what is common to most Courtiers, of enriching himself at his Masters cost ; for which his Fine was severe enough for the expiation. But the Duke of *Northumberland* was a Person so given up to violence and revenge, that an ordinary disgrace did not satisfy his hatred.

Sir *Ant. St. Leiger*, another Knight of the Order, was at the same time accused, upon complaint sent from the Archbishop of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, for some high words that he had used. But these being examined, he was cleared, and admitted to his Place among the Knights at the Garter. Many others that were obnoxious came in, upon this violent prosecution, to purchase the favour of *Northumberland*, who was much

Paget degraded from being a Knight of the Garter.

much set on framing a Parliament to his mind, and so took those methods which he thought likeliest to work his ends. It being ordinary for Men of insolent and boisterous tempers, who are generally as abject when they are low, as they are puffed up with prosperity, to measure other People by themselves; therefore knowing that the methods of reason and kindness would have no operation on themselves, and that height and severity are the only ways to subdue them, they use that same way on gaining others which they find most effectual with themselves.

This Year the King went on, in paying his Debts, reforming the Coin, and other ways that might make the Nation great and wealthy. And one great Project was undertaken, which has been the chief beginning and foundation of the great Riches, and strength of Shipping, to which this Nation has attained since that time. From the days of King Henry the third, the free Towns of Germany, who had assisted him in his Wars, obtained great Priviledges in England: they were made a Corporation, and lived together in the *Still-yard* near the Bridge. They had in Edward the 4th's time been brought into some trouble, for carrying their Priviledges further than their Charter allowed them: and so Judgment was given that they had forfeited it, but they redeemed themselves out of that, by a great Present which they made to the King. That which chiefly supported them at Court, was, that they trading in a Body were not only able to take the Trade out of all other Persons Hands, by underselling them, but they had always a great stock of Money; and so when the Government was in a strait, they were ready, upon a good Security, to lend great Sums: and on lesser occasions could obtain the favour of a States-man by the Presents they made him. But now Trade was raised much above what it had been, and Courts becoming more magnificent than formerly, there was a greater consumption, particularly of Cloth, than had ever been known. The discovery of the *Indies* had raised both Trade and Navigation, so that there was a quicker circulation of the Wealth of the World, than had been in former Ages.

Antwerp, and *Hamburg*, lying both conveniently, the one in the mouth of the *Elb*, and the other near the mouth of the *Rhine*, which were the two greatest Rivers that fell into those Seas, the Merchants of those two Cities at that time had the chief Trade of the World. The *English* began to look on those Easterlings with envy. All that was Imported or Exported came for most part in their bottoms: all Markets were in their Hands, so that Commodities of foreign growth were vented by them in *England*, and the Product of the Kingdom was bought up by them. And all the Nation being then set much on Pasture, they had much advanced their Manufacture; in so much that their own Wooll, which had been formerly wrought at *Antwerp*, was now made into Cloth in *England*, which the *Still-yard* Men obtained leave to carry away. At first they Shipped not above eight Cloaths in a year, after that an hundred, then a thousand, then six thousand; but this last year there was Shipped in their Name 4,000 Cloaths; and not above 100 by all others that traded within *England*.

The Merchant Adventurers found they could not hold out, unless this Company was broke. So they put in their complaint against them in the beginning of this year, to which the *Still-yard* Men made answer, and they

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1552. they replied. Upon this, the Council made a Decree, that the Charter was broken, and so dissolved the Company. Those of *Hamburg*, and *Lubeck*, and the Regent of *Flanders*, solicited the Council to have this redressed, but in vain: for the advantage the Nation was to receive, was too visible to admit of any interposition. But the design of Trade being thus set on foot, another Project of a higher nature followed it. The War was now begun between the Emperor and the King of *France*. And that, with the persecution raised in *Flanders* against all that leaned to the Doctrine of the Protestants, made many there think of changing their seats. It was therefore proposed here in *England* to open a free Trade, and to appoint some Mart Towns, that should have greater Priviledges and Securities for encouraging Merchants to live in them, and should be easier in their Customs than they were any where else. *Southampton* for the Cloth Trade, and *Hull* for the Northern Trade, were thought the two fittest Places. And for the advantages and disadvantages of this design, I find the young King had ballanced the matter exactly; for there is a large Paper all written with his own Hand, containing what was to be said on both sides. But his death, and Queen *Maries* marrying the Prince of *Spain*, put an end to this Project: though all the Addresses her Husband made, seconding the desires of the *East-Englings*, could never prevail to the setting up of that Company again. If the Reader would understand this matter more perfectly, he may find a great deal of it in the Kings Journal, and in the fourth Paper that follows it, where the whole Affair seems to be considered on all hands: but Men that know Merchandize more perfectly will judge better of these things.

King Edwards
reigns.

Cardan in
England.

This Summer, *Cardan*, the great Philosopher of that Age, passed thorough *England*. He was brought from *Italy* on the account of *Hamilton* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, who was then desperately sick of a Dropsie. *Cardan* cured him of his Disease: but being a Man much conversant both in Astrology, and Magick, as himself professed, he told the Archbishop, that though he had at present saved his Life, yet he could not change his fate; for he was to die on a Gallows. In his going through *England* he waited on King *Edward*, where he was so entertained by him, and observed his extraordinary Parts and Vertues so narrowly, that on many occasions he writ afterwards of him, with great astonishment, as being the most wonderful Person he had ever seen.

The Affairs of
Scotland.

But the mention of the Scotch Archbishops sickness leads me now to the Affairs of *Scotland*. The Queen had passed thorough *England* from *France* to *Scotland* last year. In her Passage she was treated by the King with all that respect that one Crowned Head could pay to another. The Particulars are in his Journal, and need not be recited here. When she came home, she set her self much to perswade the Governour to lay down the Government, that it might be put in her Hands; to which he, being a soft Man, was the more easily induced, because his Brother, who had great power over him, and was a violent and ambitious Man, was then so sick, that there was no hope of his Life. He had also received Letters from *France*, in such a Style, that he saw he must either lay down the Government, or not only lose the Honour and Pension he had there, but be forced to struggle for what he had in his own Country. Whether the *French* understood any thing by their Spies in the Court of *England*, that it

it had been proposed there to perswade him to pretend to the Crown, and were therefore the more earnest to have the Government out of his Hands, I do not know : but though I have seen many hundreds of Letters that passed in those times between *England* and *Scotland*, I could not find by any of them that he ever entred into any Treaty about it.

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It seems his base Brother had some thoughts of it. For when he was so far recovered that he could enquire after news, and heard what his Brother had done, he flew out in a passion, and called him *a Beast for parting with the Government, since there was none but a* *Las between him and the Crown.* I set down his own words, leaving space void for an Epithete he used of the young Queen, scarce decent enough to be mentioned. There had been a great Consultation in *France* what to do with the Queen of *Scotland*. Her Unkles pressed the King to marry her to the *Dolphin*; For thereby another Kingdom would be added to *France*, which would be a perpetual Thorn in the side of *England*; She had also some Prospect of succeeding to the Crown of *England*; so that on all accounts it seemed the best Match in *Europe* for the *Dolphin*. But the wise Constable had observed, that the *Spaniards* lost by their Dominions that lay so remote from the chief Seat of their Government; though these were the richest Countries in *Europe*; namely, *Sicily, Naples, Millain, and the Netherlands*; and wisely apprehended that *France* might suffer much more, by the accession of such a Crown, which not only was remote, but where also the Country was poor, and the People not easily governed. It would be a vast charge to them, to send Navies, and to pay Armies there: The Nobility might when they would, by confederating with *England*, either shake off the *French* Government, or put them to a great expence to keep it: so that whereas *Scotland* had been hitherto, by a Pension, and sometimes by a little assistance, kept in a perpetual alliance with *France*, he apprehended by such a Union it might become their Enemy, and a great weight on their Government. This the Constable pressed much, both out of his care of his Masters Interest, and in opposition to the House of *Guise*. He advised the King rather to marry her to some of his Subjects, of whom he was well assured, and to send her and her Husband home into *Scotland*; by which means the perpetual amity of that Kingdom might be preserved on easie terms. But the King was so possessed with the notion of the Union of that Crown to *France*, that he gave no ear to this wise advice; thinking it flowed chiefly from the hatred and enmity which he knew the Constable bore the Family of *Guise*. This the Constable himself told *Melvil*, from whose Narrative I have it. The Queen Mother of *Scotland* being possessed of the Government, found two great Factions in it. The Head of the one was the Arch-bishop, who now recovering, and finding himself neglected, and the Queen governed by other Councils, set himself much against her, and drew the Clergy for the most part into his Interests. The other Faction was of those who hated him, and them both, and inclined to the Reformation. They set up the Prior of *St. Andrews*, who was their young Queens natural Brother, as their Head, and by his means offered their Service to the Queen now made Regent: they offered that

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they would agree with her to send the Matrimonial Crown to the *Dolphin*, and consent to the Union of both Kingdoms : only they desired her protection from the violence of the Clergy, and that they might have secretly Preachers in their Houses to instruct them in the Points of Religion. This Offer the Queen readily accepted of, and so by their assistance carried things till near the end of her Regency with great moderation and discretion. And now the Affairs of *Scotland* were put in a Channel, in which they held long steady and quiet, till about six Years after this, that upon the Peace with the King of *Spain* there were cruel Councils laid down in *France*, and from thence sent over into *Scotland*, for extirpating Heresie. But of that we shall discourse in its proper place.

* As for the Affairs of *Germany*, there was this year a great and sudden turn of things there ; with which the Emperor was surprized by a strange supineness, that proved as fatal to him, as it was happy to the Empire ; though all the World besides saw it coming on him. Upon the delivery of *Magdeburg*, *Maurice* of *Saxe's* Army, pretending there was an Arrear due to them, took up their Winter Quarters, near *Saxe*, in the Dominions of some Popish Princes : where they were very unwelcome Guests. The Sons of the *Landgrave*, being required by their Father, pressed the Duke of *Saxe* on his Honour, to free their Father, or to become their Prisoner in his room, since they had his faith for his liberty : so he went to them, and offered them his Person ; but though he did not trust them with his whole design ; yet he told them so much that they were willing to let him go back. The Emperors Counsellors were allarumed with what they heard from all hands. And the Duke of *Alva* (well known afterwards by his cruelties in the *Netherlands*) advised him to send for *Maurice* to come and give an account of all those suspicious passages, to take the Army out of his hands ; and to take such securities from him, as might clear all the jealousies, for which his carriage had given great cause. But the Bishop of *Arras* was on the other hand so assured of him, that he said, the giving him any suspicion of the Emperors distrust might really engage him into such designs ; and that such deep Projects as they heard he was in, were too fine conceits for *Dutch* drunken Heads. He also assured them he had two of his Secretaries in Pension, so that he was advertised of all his motions. But the Duke of *Saxe* came to know that those his Secretaries were the Emperors Pensioners ; and dissembled it so well, that he used them in all appearance with more confidence than formerly : he held all his Consultations in their presence, and seemed to open his heart so to them, that they possessed the Bishop with a firm confidence of his sincerity and steadiness to the Emperors Interests. Yet his lingering so at the Town of *Magdeburg*, with the other dark Passages concerning him, made the Emperor conceive at last a jealousy of him, and he writ for him to come and clear himself : Then he refined it higher ; for having left Orders with the Officers whom he had made sure to him, to follow with the Army in all the haste they could ; he himself took Post, with as small a Train as his Dignity could admit of, and carried one of those corrupted Secretaries with him : but on the way he complained of pains in his side, so that he could not hold on his Journey : but sent forward his Secretary,

cretary, who gave such an account of him, that it, together with his coming so readily a great part of his way in so secure a manner, made the Emperor now lay down all his former distrusts. The Emperor writ to *Trent*, and to many other Places, that there was no cause of fear from *Maurice*. And *Maurice*, to colour the matter more compleatly, had sent his Ambassadors to *Trent*, and had ordered *lancthon*, and his other Divines, to follow them slowly, that as soon as the safe Conduct was obtained, they might go on and defend their Doctrine.

Upon their coming to *Trent*, and proposing their desires, that all *Proce* might be again considered; the Legates rejected the Proposition with much scorn. The Emperors Ambassadors and Prelates pressed that it might be well received. The Arch-bishop of *Toledo* shew'd how much Christ had born with the Scribes and Pharisees; and that in imitation of him, they ought to leave nothing undone that might gain upon them. So it was resolved, that the Council should make a Protestation, that the usage they gave them was out of Charity, which is above all Law; since it was against the Decretals to have any Treaty with professed Hereticks. At the same time the Imperialists dealt no less earnestly with the Ambassadors from the Protestant Princes, not to ask too much at once, but to go on by degrees; and assured them they had a mind to lessen the Popes greatness as much as they had. The Ambassadors first step was to be for obtaining a safe Conduct. They excepted to that which the Council had given, as different from that the Council of *Basil* had sent to the *Bohemians*, in four material Points. The first was, That their Divines should have a decisive Voice. 2. That all Points should be determined according to the Scriptures; and according to the Fathers, as they were conformable to those. The third, That they should have the exercise of their Religion within their own Houses. 4. That nothing should be done in contempt of their Doctrine. So they desired that the safe Conduct might be word for word the same with that of *Basil*.

But the Legates abhorred the Name of that Council, that had endeavoured so much to break the Power of the Popedom, and had consented to that extraordinary safe Conduct, only to unite *Germany*, and to gain them by such compliance to be of their side against the Pope. Yet the Legates promised to consider of it. The Ambassadors were received in a Congregation, which differed from a Session of the Council, just as a Committee of a whole House of Parliament, differs from the House, when set according to its Forms. They began their Speech with this Salutation, *Most Reverend and most Mighty Fathers and Lords*; they added a cold Complement, and desired a safe Conduct. At this time the Pope hearing that the Emperor was resolved to bring on the old designs of some Councils for lessening his greatness, and that the *Spanish* Bishops were much set on it, united himself to *France*, and resolved to break the Council as soon as it was possible; and therefore he ordered the Legates to proceed in the decision of the Doctrine, hoping that the Protestants would despair of obtaining any thing, and so go away. So the safe Conduct they had desired was not granted them, and another was offered in its room, containing

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taining only full security for their Persons. Upon this security, such as it was, Divines came both from *Wittenberg*, and the *Town of Strasburg*. But as they were going on to treat of Matrimony, the War of *Germany* broke out, and the bishops of the Empire, with the other Ambassadors, immediately went home. The Legates laid hold on this opportunity, that though the Session was to have been held on the second of *May*, they called an extraordinary one on the 28th of *April*, and suspended the Council for two years.

And being to have no other occasion to say any thing more of this Council, I shall only add, that there had been a great expectation over Christendom, of some considerable event of a General Council for many years. The Bishops and Princes had much desired it, hoping it might have brought the differences among Divines to a happy composition; and have settled a Reformation of those abuses, which had been long complained of, and were still kept up by the Court of *Rome*, for the ends of that Principality that they had assumed in Sacred things. The Popes for the same reasons were very apprehensive of it, fearing that it might have lessened their Prerogatives; and by cutting off abuses, that brought in a great Revenue to them, have abridged their Profits. But it was, by the cunning of the Legates, the dissensions of Princes, the great number of poor *Italian* Bishops, and the ignorance of the greatest part of the other, so managed, that in stead of composing differences in Religion, things were so nicely defined, that they were made irreconcilable. All those abuses, for which there had been nothing but practice, and that much questioned before, were now, by the Proviso's, and Reservations, excepted for the Privileges of the *Roman* See, made warrantable. So that it had in all Particulars an Issue quite contrary to what the several Parties concerned had expected from it, and has put the World ever since out of the humour of desiring any more General Councils, as they are accustomed to call them. The History of that Council was writ with as much Life, and Beauty, and Authority, as had been ever seen in any humane Writing, by Frier *Paul* of *Venice*, within half an Age of the time in which it was ended; when the thing was yet fresh in Mens Memories, and many were alive who had been present: and there was not one in that Age that engaged to write against it. But about forty years after, when Father *Paul*, and all his friends who knew from what Vouchers he writ, were dead; *Pallavicini*, a Jesuit, who was made a Cardinal, for this Service, undertook to answer him, by another History of that Council, which, in many matters of Fact, contradicts Father *Paul*; upon the credit (as he tells us) of some Journals and Memorials of such as were present, which he perused, and cites upon all occasions. We see that *Rome* hath been in all Ages so good at forging those things which might be of use to its Interests, that we know not how to trust that Shop of false Wares in any one thing that comes out of it. And therefore it is not easie to be assured of the truth and genuineness of any of the Materials, out of which the Jesuit composed his Work. But as for the main Thread of the Story, both his and Father *Paul's* Accounts do so agree, that whosoever compares them, will clearly see, that

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Histories of it.

that all things were managed by Intrigues and secret Practises; so that it will not be easie for a Man of common sense, after he has read over *Pallavicini's* History to fancy that there was any extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghost hovering over and directing their Councils. And the care they took for palliating all the corruptions then complained of was so apparent, that their Historian had no other way by which to excuse it, but to set up a new Hypothesis, which a French Writer since has wittily called *the Cardinals New Gospel*; "That there must be a Temporal Principality in the Church, that all things which support that Principality are to be at least tolerated, though they be far contrary to the Primitive Patterns, and to the first delivery of the Gospel by Christ and his Apostles. That which was then set up, he accounts a state of Infancy, to which Milk was proper; but the Church being since grown to its full state and strength, other things are now necessary for the maintaining and preserving of it.

But to return to *Maurice*, he having possessed the Emperor with an entire confidence in him, gathered his Army together, took *Ausburg*, with many other Imperial Cities; and displaced the Magistrates which the Emperor had put in them, and restored their old ones, with the banished Ministers: so that every thing began to put on a new face. *Ferdinand* King of the Romans did Mediate; both on his own account, for the *Turks* were falling into *Hungary*; and on the Emperors, for the King of *France* was come with a great Army to the Confines of the Empire: and the Constable, pretending that he only desired passage through the Town of *Metz*, entred it, and possessed himself of it. *Toul* and *Verdun* fell also into his Hands: and the *French* were endeavouring to be admitted into *Strasburg*. The Emperor was now in great disorder, he had no Army about him; those he had confided in were declared against him; his own Brother was not ill pleased at his misfortune, the *French* were like to gain ground on his Hereditary Dominions. Being thus perplexed, and irresolved, he did not send a speedy Answer to *Maurice's* Demands, which he had sent by his Brother; for the setting of the Landgrave at liberty, restoring the freedoms of the Empire, and particularly in matters of Religion. But to lose no time the meanwhile, *Maurice* marched on to *Innspruck*, where the Emperor lay: and surprized a Pass to which he had trusted, so that he was within two Miles of him before he was aware of it. Upon this the Emperor rose from Supper in great haste, and by Torch-light fled away to make his escape into *Italy*. He gave the Duke of *Saxe* his liberty; but he generously resolved to follow him in this his calamity: and perhaps he was not willing to owe his liberty to his Cousin *Maurice*. Thus all that design, which the Emperor had been laying so many years, was now broken off on a sudden: he lost all the advantages he had of his former Victories, and was forced to set the Prisoners at liberty, and to call in the Proscriptions; and in conclusion, the Edict of *Passum* was made, by which the several Princes and Towns were secured in the free exercise of their Religion.

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I have made this digression, which I thought not disagreeable to the matter of my History, to give account of the extream danger in which Religion was in *Germany*, and how strangely it was recovered; in which he who had been the chief Instrument of the misery it had groaned under, was now become its unlooked-for deliverer. I have enlarged on some Passages that are in none of the Printed Histories, which I draw from *Melvil's Memoires*, who says he had them from the Elector Palatines own Mouth.

The Emperor
is much cast
down.

But the Emperors misfortunes redoubled on him. For having made Peace in the Empire, he would against all reason, or probability of success, sit down before *Metz*. But the Duke of *Guise* defended the Place to against him, and the time of the year was so unseasonable, being in *December*, that after a great loss of Men, and vast expence of Treasure, he was forced to raise his Siege. From thence he retired into *Flanders*; where his afflictions seized so violently on him, that for some time he admitted none to come near him: Some said he was frantick, others, that he was fullen and Melancholly. The *English* Ambassadors at *Brussels* for many Weeks could learn nothing certain concerning him. Here, it is said, he began to reflect on the vanity of the World; when, he who had but a year before given Law to Christendome, was now driven to so low an ebbe, that as he had irrecoverably lost all his footing in *Germany*; so in all other things his Councils were unlucky. It was one of the notablest turns of Fortune that had been in many Ages; and gave a great demonstration, both of an over-ruling Providence, that disposes of all humane Affairs at pleasure, and of a particuler care that God had of the Reformation, in thus recovering it when it seemed gone without hope in *Germany*.

These Reflections made deep impressions on his mind, and were believed to have first possessed him with the design which not long after he put in execution, of laying down his Crowns, and retiring to a private course of Life. In his retirement having time to consider things more impartially, he was so much changed in his opinion of the Protestant Religion, that he who hitherto had been a most violent opposer of it, was suspected of being turned to it before he died.

1553.

A Regulation
of the Privy-
Council.

King Edwards
Remains,
Number 6.

A new Par-
liament.

Thus ended this Year; and now I come to the last and fatal Year of this young Kings Life and Reign: The first thing done in it, was, a regulation of the Privy-Council, which was divided into so many Committees, and every one of these had its proper Work, and days appointed for the receiving and dispatching of all Affairs. In all these things a Method was prescribed to them, of which the Reader will see a full account in the sixth Paper of those that follow King Edwards Journal; which Paper, though it is not all written with his Hand, as the others be, yet it is in so many places inscribed by him, that he seems to have considered it much, and been well pleased with it. His second Parliament was opened on the first of *March*. On the sixth of *March* it was moved in the House of Commons to give the King two Tenths and two Fifteenths with

with a Subsidy for two years: It was long argued at first, and at the passing the Bill it was again argued, but at last the Commons agreed to it. The Preamble of it is a long Accusation of the Duke of *Somerset*, for involving the King in Wars, wasting his Treasure, engaging him in much Debt, embasing the Coin, and having given occasion to a most terrible Rebellion. In fine, considering the great Debt the King was left in by his Father, the loss he put himself to in the reforming the Coin, and they finding his temper to be set wholly on the good of his Subjects, and not on enriching himself; therefore they give him two Tenths, and two Fifteenths, with one Subsidy for two years. Whether the debate in the House of Commons was against the Subsidies in this Act, or against the Preamble, cannot be certainly known: but it is probable the Debate at the engrossing the Bill was about the Preamble, which the Duke of *Northumberland* and his Party were the more earnestly set on, to let the King see how acceptable they were, and how hateful the Duke of *Somerset* had been. The Clergy did also, for an expression of their affection and duty, give the King six Shillings in the Pound of their Benefices. There was also a Bill sent down from the Lords, that none might hold any Spiritual Promotion, unless he were either Priest or Deacon: But after the third reading it was cast out. The reason of it was, because many Noblemen and Gentlemens Sons had Prebends given them, on this pretence, that they intended to fit themselves by Study for entering into Orders; but they kept these, and never advanced in their Studies: upon which the Bishops prevailed to have the Bill agreed to by the Lords, but could carry it no further.

Another Act passed for the suppressing the Bishoprick of *Duresme*, which is so strangely mis-represented by those who never read more than the Title of it, that I shall therefore give a more full account of it. It is set forth in the Preamble, "That that Bishoprick being then void of a Prelate, so that the Gift thereof was in the Kings pleasure: and the compass of it being so large, extending to so many Shires so far distant, that it could not be sufficiently served by one Bishop; and since the King, according to his godly disposition, was desirous to have Gods Holy Word preached in these Parts, which were wild and barbarous, for lack of good Preaching, and good Learning; therefore he intended to have two Bishopricks for that Diocess: the one at *Duresme*, which should have 2000 Marks Revenue; and another at *Newcastle*, which should have 1000 Marks Revenue: and also to Found a Cathedral Church at *Newcastle*, with a Deanry and Chapter, out of the Revenues of the Bishoprick: therefore the Bishoprick of *Duresme* is utterly extinguished and dissolved, and Authority is given for Letters Patents to erect the two new Bishopricks together with the Deanry and Chapter at *Newcastle*: with a Proviso that the Rights of the Deanry, Chapter, and Cathedral of *Duresme* should suffer nothing by this Act.

The Bishoprick of *Duresme* suppressed, and two new ones appointed.

When this Bill is considered, that dissolution that was designed by it will not appear to be so sacrilegious a thing as some Writers have

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have represented it. For whosoever understandeth the value of old Rents, especially such as these were near the Marches of an Enemy, where the Service of the Tenants in the War made their Lands be set at very low rates, will know, that 3000 Marks of Rent being reserved, besides the endowing of the Cathedral, which could hardly be done under another thousand Marks, there could not be so great a Prey of that Bishoprick as has been imagined. *Ridley*, as himself writes in one of his Letters, was named to be Bishop of *Duresme*, being one of the Natives of that Country; but the thing never took effect. For in May, and no sooner, was the Temporality of the Bishoprick turned into a County Palatine, and given to the Duke of *Northumberland*. But the Kings sickness, and soon after his death, made that and all the rest of these designs prove abortive.

How *Tonstall* was deprived, I cannot understand. It was for misprision of Treason, and done by Secular Men. For *Cranmer* refused to meddle in it. I have seen the Commission given by Queen *Mary* to some Delegates to examine it: in which it is said, That the Sentence was given only by Lay-men; and that *Tonstall* being kept Prisoner long in the Tower, was brought to his Trial, in which he had neither Counsel assigned him, nor convenient time given him for clearing himself; and that after divers Protestations, they had, notwithstanding his Appeal, deprived him of his Bishoprick. He was not only turned out, but kept Prisoner, till Queen *Mary* set him at liberty.

At the end of this Parliament the King granted a free Pardon: concerning which, this is only remarkable, That whereas it goes for a Maxime, that the Acts of Pardon must be passed without changing any thing in them, the Commons, when they sent up this Act of Pardon to the Lords, desired that some words might be amended in it; but it is not clear what was done, for that same day the Acts were passed, and the Parliament was dissolved.

In it the Duke of *Northumberland* had carried this Point, That the Nation made a publick Declaration of their dislike of the Duke of *Somersets* Proceedings; which was the more necessary, because the King had let fall words concerning his death, by which he seemed to reflect on it with some concern, and look'd on it as *Northumberland's* deed. But the Act had passed with such difficulty, that either the Duke did not think the Parliament well enough disposed for him; or else he resolved totally to vary from the Measures of the Duke of *Somerset*, who continued the same Parliament long, whereas this that was opened on the first was dissolved on the last day of *March*.

Visitors were soon after appointed to examine, what Church-plate, Jewels, and other Furniture, was in all Cathedrals and Churches; and to compare their account with the Inventories made in former Visitations; and to see what was embezeled, and how it was done. And because the King was resolved to have Churches and Chappels furnished with that that was comely and convenient for the Administration of the Sacraments; they were to give one or two Chalice

A Visitation
for the Plate
in the Churches

ce of Silver, or more, to every Church, Chappel, or Cathedral, as their discretions should direct them; and to distribute comely Furniture for the Communion-Table, and for Surplices; and to sell the rest of the Linnen, and give it to the Poor: and to sell Copes, and Alter-Cloaths, and deliver all the rest of the Plate and Jewels to the Kings Treasurer Sir *Edm. Pecham*. This is spitefully urged by one of our Writers, who would have his Reader infer from it, that the King was ill principled as to the matters of the Church, because when this Order was given by him he was now in the 16th. Year of his Age. But if all Princes should be thus judged by all Instructions that pass under their Hands, they would be more severely censured than there is cause. And for the particular matter that is charged on the Memory of this young Prince, which, as it was represented to him, was only a calling for the superfluous Plate and other Goods that lay in Churches more for pomp than for use; though the applying of it to common uses, except upon extream necessities, is not a thing that can be justified; yet it deserved not so severe a censure; especially the Instructions being signed by the King in his sickness; in which it is not likely that he minded Affairs of that kind much, but set his Hand easily to such Papers as the Council prepared from him.

These Instructions were directed, in the Copy that I have perused, to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lord President of the *North*: upon which occasion, I shall here make mention of that which I know not certainly in what year to place, namely, the Instructions that were given to that Earl when he was made President of the *North*. And I mention them the rather, because there have been since that time some Contests about that Office, and the Court belonging to it. There was by his Instructions a Council to be assistant to him; whereof some of the Members were at large, and not bound to attendance, others were not to leave him without licence from him: and he was in all things to have a negative Voice in it. For the other Particulars, I refer the Reader to the Copy, which he will find in the *Collection*. One Instruction among them belongs to Religion; that he and the other Councillors, when there was at any time Assemblies of People before them, should perswade them to be obedient chiefly to the Laws about Religion, and especially concerning the Service set forth in their own Mother-Tongue. There was also a particular charge given them concerning the abolished Power of the Bishop of *Rome*: whose abuses they were by continual inculcation so to beat into the minds of the People, that they might well apprehend them, and might see that those things were said to them from their Hearts, and not from their Tongues only for Forms sake. They were also to satisfy them about the abrogation of many Holy-days appointed by the same Bishop; who endeavoured to perswade the World that he could make Saints at his pleasure: which by leading the People to idleness, gave occasion to many vices and inconveniences. These Instructions were given after the Peace was made with *Scotland*; otherwise there must have been a great deal in them relating to that War; but the Critical time of them I do not know.

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Instructions
for the President of the
North.Collection,
Number 56.

1552.

The Form of
the Bishops
Letters Pa-
tents.

This Year *Harly* was made Bishop of *Hereford*, instead of *Skip*, who died the last Year. And he being the last of those who were made so by Letters Patents, I shall give the Reader some satisfaction concerning that way of making Bishops. The Patents began with the mention of the vacancy of the See, by death, or removal: upon which the King being informed of the good qualifications of such a one, appoints him to be Bishop, during his natural Life, or so long as he shall behave himself well: giving him power to ordain and deprive Ministers, to confer Benefices, judge about Wills, name Officials, and Commissaries, exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, visit the Clergy, inflict Censures, and punish scandalous Persons, and to do all the other parts of the Episcopal Function that were found by the Word of God to be committed to Bishops; all which they were to execute and do in the Kings Name and Authority. After that in the same Patent follows the restitution of the Temporalities. The day after, a Certificate in a Writ called a *Significavit* was to be made of this, under the Great Seal, to the Archbishop, with a Charge to consecrate him.

The first that had his Bishoprick by the Kings Patents was *Barlow* that was removed from *St. Davids* to *Bath* and *Wells*. They bear date the third of *February*, in the second Year of the Kings Reign: and so *Ferrar*, Bishop of *St. Davids*, was not the first, as some have imagined, for he was made Bishop the first of *August* that Year. This *Ferrar* was a rash indiscreet Man, and drew upon himself the dislike of the Prebendaries of *St. Davids*. He was made Bishop upon the Duke of *Somerset*s favour to him. But last Year many Articles were objected to him: some, as if he had incurred a *Premunire* for acting in his Courts not in the Kings, but his own Name, and some for neglecting his Charge; and some little indecencies were objected to him, as going strangely habited, travelling on foot, whistling impertinently, with many other things, which if true, shewed in him much weakness and folly. The heaviest Articles he denied: yet he was kept in Prison, and Commissioners were sent into *Wales* to examine Witnesses, who took many Depositions against him. He lay in Prison till *Queen Maries* time; and then he was kept in on the account of his Belief. But his suffering afterwards for his Conscience, when *Morgan*, who had been his chief Accuser before on those other Articles, being then made his Judge, condemned him for Heresie, and made room for himself to be Bishop by burning him, did much turn the Peoples Censures from him, upon his Successor.

By these Letters Patents it is clear, that the Episcopal Function was acknowledged to be of Divine appointment, and that the Person was no other way named by the King than as Lay-Patrons present to Livings; only the Bishop was legally authorized, in such a part of the Kings Dominions, to execute that Function which was to be derived to him by Imposition of Hands. Therefore here was no pretence for denying that such Persons were true Bishops, and for saying, as some have done, that they were not from Christ, but from the King.

Upon this occasion it will not be improper to represent to the Reader how this matter stands according to the Law at this day, which

is the more necessary, because some superficial Writers have either mis-understood, or mis-represented it. The Act that authorized those Letters Patents, and required the Bishops to hold their Courts in the Kings Name, was repealed both by the 1 Mar. Chap. 2. and 1, and 2 Phil. and Mary Chap. 8. The latter of these that repealed only a part of it, was repealed by the 1 Eliz. Chap. 1. and the former by the 1 Jac. Chap. 25. So some have argued, that since those Statutes which repealed this Act of Edward the 6th. 1 Par. Chap. 2. are since repealed, that it stands now in full force. This seems to have some colour in it, and so it was brought in question in Parliament in the fourth year of King James: and great debate being made about it, the King appointed the two Chief Justices to search into the matter: they upon a slight enquiry agreed, that the Statute of Edw. the 6th. was in force by that Repeal; but the Chief Baron, and the other Judges, searching the matter more carefully, found, that the Statute had been in effect repealed by the first of Eliz. Ch. 1. where the Act of the 25 Hen. 8. concerning the Election and Jurisdiction of Bishops, as formerly they had exercised it, was revived: so that being in full force the Act of Edw. the 6th. that repealed it, was thereby repealed. To this all the Learned Men of the Law did then agree; so that it was not thought so much as necessary to make an explanatory Law about it, the thing being indeed so clear, that it did not admit of any ambiguity.

In May this Year the King by his Letters Patents authorized all School-masters to teach a new and fuller Catechisme, compiled, as is believed, by Poinet.

These are all the Passages in which the Church is concerned this Year. The Forreign Negotiations were important. For now the ballance began to turn to the French side; therefore the Council resolved to mediate a Peace between the French and the Emperor. The Emperor had sent over an Ambassador in September last year, to desire the King would consider the danger in which Flanders was now, by the French Kings having Metz, with the other Towns in Lorrain, which did in a great measure divide it from the assistance of the Empire: and therefore moved, that according to the ancient League between England and the House of Burgundy, they would enter into a new League with him. Upon this occasion the Reader will find how the Secretaries of State bred the King to the understanding of business, with relation to the Studies he was then about: for Secretary Cecil set down all the Arguments for and against that League, with little Notes on the Margent, relating to such Topics from whence he brought them; by which it seems the King was then learning Logick. It is the fifth of those Papers after his Journal.

King Edwards
Remains,
Number 5.

It was resolved on, to send Sir Richard Morison, with instructions to complement the Emperor upon his coming into Flanders, and to make an offer of the Kings assistance against the Turks, who had made great Depredations that year both in Hungary, Italy, and Sicily. If the Emperor should, upon that, complain of the French King, and say, that he had brought in the Turks, and should have asked assistance against him: he was to move the Emperor to send over an Ambassador.

A Treaty with
the Emperor.

1553.
Collection
Number 57.

Ambassador to treat about it; since he that was then Resident in *England* was not very acceptable. These Instructions (which are in the *Collection*) were Signed in *September*, but not made use of till *January* this year. And then new Orders were sent to propose the King to be a Mediator between *France* and the Emperor. Upon which, the Bishop of *Norwich*, and Sir *Phil. Hobbey* were sent over to joyn with Sir *Richard Morison*: and Sir *William Pickering*, and Sir *Iho. Chaloner*, were sent into *France*. In *May* the Emperor fell sick, and the *English* Ambassadors could learn nothing certainly concerning him: but then the Queen of *Hungary*, and the Bishop of *Arras*, treated with them. The Bishop of *Arras* complained, that the *French* had begun the War, had taken the Emperors Ships at *Barcelona*, had robbed his Subjects at Sea, had stirred up the Princes of *Germany* against him, had taken some of the Towns of the Empire from him; while the *French* Ambassadors were all the while swearing to the Emperor, that their Master intended nothing so much as to preserve the Peace: so that now, although the *French* were making several Overtures for Peace, they could give no credit to any thing that came from them. In fine, the Queen and Bishop of *Arras*, promised the *English* Ambassadors to let the Emperor know of the Kings offering himself to mediate; and afterwards told them, that the Emperor delayed giving answer till he were well enough to do it himself.

On the 26th. of *May*, the Ambassadors writ over that there was a Project sent them out of *Germany*, of an Alliance between the Emperor, *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, the King of *England*, and the Princes of the Empire. They did not desire that the King should offer to come into it of his own accord; but *John Frederick* of *Saxe* would move *Ferdinand* to invite the King into it. This way they thought would give least jealousy. They hoped the Emperor would easily agree to the conditions that related to the Peace of *Germany*, since he was now out of all hopes of making himself Master of it. The Princes neither loved, nor trusted him; but loved his Brother, and relied much on *England*. But the Emperor having proposed, that the *Netherlands* should be included in the perpetual League of the Empire, they would not agree to that, unless the Quota's of their Contribution were much changed: for these Provinces were like to be the Seats of Wars, therefore they would not engage for their defence, but upon reciprocal advantages and easie terms.

When the *English* Ambassadors in the Court of *France*, desired to know on what terms a Peace might be mediated, they found they were much exalted with their success: so that (as they writ over on the first of *May*) they demanded the restitution of *Milan*, and the Kingdoms of *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Navarre*, the Sovereignty of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and the Town of *Tournay*; they would also have *Siena* to be restored to its liberty, and *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, to continue under the Protection of *France*. These terms the Council thought so unreasonable, that, though they writ them over as News to their Ambassadors in *Flanders*, yet they charged them not to propose

propose them. But the Queen of *Hungary* asked them what Propositions they had for a Peace, knowing already what they were; and from thence studied to inflame the Ambassadors, since it appeared how little the *French* regarded their Mediation, or the Peace of Christendom, when they asked such high and extravagant things upon a little success.

On the 9th. of *June* the Emperor ordered the Ambassadors to be brought into his Bed-Chamber, whither they were carried by the Queen of *Hungary*. He looked pale, and lean; but his Eyes were lively, and his Speech clear. They made him a Complement upon his Sickness, which he returned with another for their long attendance. Upon the matter of their Embassy, he said, the King of *France* had begun the War, and must likewise begin the Propositions of Peace: But he accepted of the Kings Offer very kindly, and said, They should always find in him great inclinations to a just Peace. On the first of *July* the Council writ to their Ambassadors. First, assuring them, that the King was still alive, and they hoped he should recover; they told them, they did not find that the *French* would offer any other terms than those formerly made: and they continued still in that mind, that they could not be offered by them as Mediators; yet they ordered them to impart them unto the Emperor as News, and carefully to observe his looks and behaviour upon their opening of every one of them.

But now the Kings death broke off this Negotiation, together with all his other Affairs. He had last year, first the Measels, and then the Small-Pox, of which he was perfectly recovered: In his Progress, he had been sometimes violent in his Exercises, which had cast him into great Colds: but these went off, and he seemed to be well after it. But in the beginning of *January* this year he was seized with a deep Cough; and all Medicines that were used did rather encrease than lessen it; upon which a suspicion was taken up, and spread over all the World, (so that it is mentioned by most of the Historians of that Age) that some lingering Poison had been given him: but more than Rumours, and some ill-favoured Circumstances, I could never discover concerning this. He was so ill, when the Parliament met, that he was not able to go to *Westminster*; but ordered their first meeting, and the Sermon to be at *White-hall*. In the time of his sickness, Bishop *Ridley* preached before him, and took occasion to run out much on Works of Charity; and the obligation that lay on Men of high Condition to be eminent in good Works. This touched the King to the quick: So that presently after Sermon he sent for the Bishop. And after he had commanded him to sit down by him, and be covered, he resumed most of the Heads of the Sermon, and said, he looked on himself as chiefly touched by it: he desired him, as he had already given him the Exhortation in general, so to direct him how to do his duty in that Particular. The Bishop, astonished at this tenderness in so young a Prince, burst forth in Tears, expressing how much he was overjoyed to see such Inclinations in him: but told him he must take time to think on it, and craved leave to consult with the Lord Major and Court of Aldermen. So the King writ

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The Kings sickness.

His care of the Relief of the Poor.

1553.

by him to them to consult speedily how the Poor should be relieved. They considered there were three sorts of Poor; such as were so by natural infirmity or folly, as impotent Persons, and Mad-men, or Ideots; such as were so by accident, as sick, or maimed Persons; and such as by their idleness did cast themselves into poverty. So the King ordered the *Gray-Friars* Church near *Newgate* with the Revenues belonging to it, to be a House for Orphans: *St. Bartholomews* near *Smith-field* to be an Hospital: and gave his own House of *Bridewell* to be a Place of Correction and Work for such as were willfully idle. He also confirmed and enlarged the grant for the Hospital of *St. Thomas* in *Southwark*, which he had erected and endowed in *August* last. And when he set his Hand to these Foundations, which was not done before the 26th. of *June* this Year: He thanked God, that had prolonged his Life, till he had finished that design. So he was the first Founder of those Houses, which, by many great Additions since that time have risen to be among the Noblest in *Europe*.

Several Mar-
riages.

He expressed in the whole course of his Sickness great submission to the Will of God, and seemed glad at the approaches of death; only the consideration of Religion and the Church touched him much; and upon that account he said, he was desirous of Life. About the end of *May*, or beginning of *June*, the Duke of *Suffolks* three Daughters were married: The eldest, *Lady Jane*, to the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, the fourth Son of the Duke of *Northumberland*, (who was the only Son whom he had yet unmarried:) The second, the *Lady Katharine*, to the Earl of *Pembroke's* eldest Son, the Lord *Herbert*: The third, the *Lady Mary*, who was crooked, to the Kings Groom-Porter *Martin Keys*. The Duke of *Northumberland* married his two Daughters, the eldest to Sir *Henry Sidney*, Son to Sir *William Sidney*, that had been Steward to the King when he was Prince; the other was married to the Lord *Hastings*, Son to the Earl of *Huntington*. The People were mightily inflamed against this insolent Duke, for it was generally given out, that he was sacrificing the King to his own extravagant ambition. He seemed little to regard their Censures, but attended on the King most constantly, and expressed all the care and concern about him that was possible. And finding that nothing went so near his Heart as the ruine of Religion, which he apprehended would follow upon his death, when his Sister *Mary* should come to the Crown: Upon that, he and his Party took advantage to propose to him to settle the Crown by his Letters Patents on the *Lady Jane Gray*. How they prevailed with him to pass by his Sister *Elizabeth*, who had been always much in his favour, I do not so well understand. But the King being wrought over to this, the Dutchesse of *Suffolk*, who was next in King *Henry's* Will, was ready to devolve her Right on her Daughter, even though she should come afterwards to have Sons. So on the 11th. of *June*, *Mountague* that was Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, and *Baker*, and *Bromley*, two Judges with the Kings Attorney, and Solicitor, were commanded to come to Council. There they found the King with some Privy-Councillors about him. The King told them, he did now apprehend the

He is perswa-
ded to leave
the Crown to
the *Lady Jane*.Which the
Judges at first
opposed.

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the danger the Kingdom might be in, if upon his death his Sister *Mary* should succeed; who might marry a Stranger, and so change the Laws and the Religion of the Realm. So he ordered some Articles to be read to them, of the way in which he would have the Crown to descend. They objected, that the Act of Succession, being an Act of Parliament, could not be taken away by any such device: yet the King required them to take the Articles, and draw a Book according to them: they asked a little time to consider of it. So having examined the Statute of the first Year of this Reign, concerning Treasons, they found that it was Treason, not only after the Kings death, but even in his Life, to change the Succession. Secretary *Petre* in the mean while pressed them to make haste: When they came again to the Council, they declared they could not do any such thing; for it was Treason; and all the Lords should be guilty of Treason if they went on in it. Upon which the Duke of *Northumberland*, who was not then in the Council-Chamber, being advertised of this, came in great fury, calling *Mountague* a Traitor, and threatned all the Judges; so that they thought he would have beaten them. But the Judges stood to their Opinion. They were again sent for, and came, with *Gosnold* added to them, on the 15th. of June. The King was present, and he somewhat sharply asked them, Why they had not prepared the Book as he had ordered them? They answered, That what ever they did would be of no force without a Parliament. The King said, he intended to have one shortly. Then *Mountague* proposed; that it might be delayed till the Parliament met. But the King said, He would have it first done, and then ratified in Parliament; and therefore he required them on their Allegiance to go about it; and some Counsellors told them, if they refused to obey that, they were Traitors. This put them in a great consternation; and old *Mountague*, thinking it could not be Treason what ever they did in this matter while the King lived, and at worst, that a Pardon under the Great Seal would secure him, consented to set about it, if he might have a Commission requiring him to do it, and a Pardon under the Great Seal when it was done. Both these being granted him, he was satisfied. The other Judges, being asked if they would concur, did all agree, being overcome with fear; except *Gosnold*, who still refused to do it. But he also, being sorely threatned, both by the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, consented to it the next day. So they put the Entail of the Crown in Form of Law, and brought it to the Lord Chancellor to put the Seal to it. They were all required to set their Hands to it, but both *Gosnold* and *Hales* refused. Yet the former was wrought on to do it, but the latter, though a most steady and zealous Man for the Reformation, would upon no consideration yield to it: After that the Lord Chancellor, for his Security, desired that all the Counsellors might set their Hands to it; which was done on the 21st. of June by thirty three of them; it is like, including the Judges in the Number. But *Cranmer*, as he came seldom to Council after the Duke of *Somersets* Fall, so he was that day absent on design. *Cecil*, in a Relation which he made one write of this Transaction, for clearing himself afterwards, says, That when he had heard *Gosnold* and *Hales* declare how much it was against Law, he refused to set his Hand to it as a Counsellor, and that he only Signed as a Witness.

But through
fear all yielded
except
Judge *Hales*.

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Cranmer was
very hardly
brought to
consent to it.

Witness to the Kings Subscription. But Cranmer still refused to do it after they had all Signed it, and said he would never consent to the disinheriting of the Daughters of his late Master. Many Consultations were had to perswade him to it. But he could not be prevailed on, till the King himself set on him; who used many Arguments, from the danger Religion would otherwise be in, together with other Perswasions; so that, by his Reasons, or rather Importunities, at last he brought him to it. But whether he also used that distinction of *Cecils*, that he did it as a Witness, and not as a Counsellor, I do not know: but it seems probable that if that liberty was allowed the one, it would not be denied the other.

But though the settling this business gave the King great content in his mind, yet his Distemper rather encreased than abated; so that the Physicians had no hope of his recovery. Upon which, a confident Woman came, and undertook his Cure, if he might be put into her Hands. This was done, and the Physicians were put from him, upon this pretence, that they having no hopes of his recovery, in a desperate Cause desperate Remedies were to be used. This was said to be the Duke of *Northumberland*s advice in particular; and it encreased the Peoples jealousy of him, when they saw the King grow very sensibly worse every day after he came under the Womans care: which becoming so plain, she was put from him, and the Physicians were again sent for, and took him into their charge. But if they had small hopes before, they had none at all now. Death thus hastening on him, the Duke of *Northumberland*, who knew he had done but half his work, except he had the Kings Sisters in his hands, got the Council to write to them in the Kings Name, inviting them to come and keep him company in his sickness. But as they were on the way, on the sixth of *July*, his Spirits and Body were so sunk, that he found death approaching; and so he composed himself to die in a most devout manner. His whole exercise was in short Prayers and Ejaculations. The last that he was heard to use was in these words: *Lord God deliver me out of this miserable and wretched Life, and take me among thy Chosen; Howbeit not my Will but thine be done; Lord, I commit my Spirit to thee. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy Chosens sake send me Life and Health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God, bless my People, and save thine Inheritance; O Lord God, save thy chosen People of England; O Lord God, defend this Realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I and my People may praise thy Holy Name, for Jesus Christ his sake.* Seeing some about him, he seemed troubled, that they were so near, and had heard him: but with a pleasant countenance he said, he had been praying to God. And soon after, the Pangs of death coming on him, he said to Sir *Henry Sidney*, who was holding him in his Arms, *I am faint, Lord have mercy on me, and receive my Spirit*; and so he breathed out his Innocent Soul. The Duke of *Northumberland*, according to *Cecils* Relation, intended to have concealed his death for a fortnight, but it could not be done.

His last Prayer

His Death and
Character.

Thus died King *Edward* the sixth, that incomparable young Prince. He was then in the sixteenth Year of his Age, and was counted the wonder of that Time. He was not only learned in the Tongues, and other Li-
beral

beral Sciences, but knew well the State of his Kingdom. He kept a Book, in which he writ the Characters that were given him, of all the chief Men of the Nation, all the Judges, Lord-Lieutenants, and Justices of the Peace over *England*: in it he had marked down their way of living, and their zeal for Religion. He had studied the matter of the Mint, with the Exchange, and value of Money; so that he understood it well, as appears by his Journal. He also understood Fortification, and designed well. He knew all the Harbours and Ports, both of his own Dominions, and of *France*, and *Scotland*; and how much Water they had, and what was the way of coming in to them. He had acquired great knowledge in Forreign Affairs; so that he talked with the Ambassadors about them in such a manner, that they filled all the World with the highest opinion of him that was possible; which appears in most of the Histories of that Age. He had great quickness of apprehension; and being mistrustful of his memory, used to take Notes of almost every thing he heard: he writ these first in *Greek* Characters, that those about him might not understand them; and afterwards writ them out in his Journal. He had a Copy brought him of every thing that passed in Council, which he put in a Chest, and kept the Key of that always himself.

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In a word, the natural and acquired perfections of his mind were wonderful; but his Vertues and true Piety were yet more extraordinary. He was such a Friend to Justice, that though he loved his Unkle the Duke of *Somerſet* much, yet when he was possessed of a belief of his designing to murder his Fellow-Councillors, he was alienated from him: and being then but fourteen, it was no wonder if that was too easily infused in him. His chief Favourite was *Barnaby Fitz-Patrick*, to whom he writ many Letters and Instructions when he sent him to be bred in *France*. In one of his Letters to him, he writ, That he must not think to live like an Ambassador, but like a private Gentleman, who was to be advanced as he should deserve it. He allowed him to keep but four Servants: he charged him to follow the company of Gentlemen, rather than of Ladies: that he should not be superfluous in his Apparel: that he should go to the Campagne, and observe well the Conduct of Armies, and the Fortification of strong Places: and let the King know always when he needed Money, and he would supply him. All these with many other directions the King writ with his own Hand: and at his return, to let him see he intended to raise him by degrees, he gave him a Pension only of 150 Pound. This *Fitz-Patrick* did afterwards fully answer the opinion this young King had of him. He was bred up with him in his Learning; and as it is said, had been his whipping Boy, who according to the Rule of educating our Princes, was alway to be whipt for the Kings faults. He was afterwards made by Queen *Elizabeth* Baron of *Upper Ossory* in *Ireland*, which was his Native Country.

King *Edward* was tender and compassionate in a high measure: so that he was much against the taking away the Lives of Hereticks; and therefore said to *Cranmer*, when he perswaded him to Sign the Warrant for the burning of *Jean of Kent*, that he was not willing to do it, because he thought that was to send her quick to Hell. He expressed great tenderness to the miseries of the Poor in his sickness, as hath been already shewn.

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shewn. He took particular care of the Sutes of all poor Persons; and gave Dr. Cox special charge to see that their Petitions were speedily answered, and used oft to consult with him how to get their matters set forward. He was an exact keeper of his word; and therefore, as appears by his Journal, was most careful to pay his Debrs, and to keep his credit: knowing that to be the chief Nerve of Government; since a Prince that breaks his Faith, and loses his Credit, has thrown up that which he can never recover, and made himself liable to perpetual distrusts, and extream contempt.

He had above all things a great regard to Religion. He took Notes of such things as he heard in Sermons, which more specially concerned himself: and made his measures of all Men by their zeal in that matter. This made him so set on bringing over his Sister Mary to the same Perswasions with himself; that when he was pressed to give way to her having Mass, he said, That he would not only bazard the loss of the Emperors friendship, but of his Life, and all he had in the World, rather than consent to what he knew was a sin: and he cited some Passages of Scripture that obliged Kings to root out Idolatry; by which he said he was bound in Conscience not to consent to her Mass; since he believed it was Idolatry; and did argue the matter so learnedly with the Bishops, that they left him, being amazed at his knowledge in Divinity. So that *Cranmer* took *Cheek* by the Hand upon it, and said, He had reason all the days of his Life to rejoyce that God had honoured him to breed such a Scholar. All Men who saw and observed these qualities in him, looked on him as one raised by God for most extraordinary ends; and when he died, concluded that the sins of *England* must needs be very great, that had provoked God to take from them a Prince under whose Government they were like to have seen such blessed times. He was so affable and sweet natured, that all had free access to him at all times; by which he came to be most universally beloved, and all the high things that could be devised were said by the People to express their esteem of him. The Fable of the Phoenix pleased most; so they made his Mother one Phoenix, and him another, rising out of her Ashes. But graver Men compared him to *Josiah*; and long after his death I find both in Letters and Printed Books they commonly named him *Our Josias*, others called him *Edward the Saint*.

A Prince of such qualities; so much esteemed and loved, could not but be much lamented at his death; and this made those of the Reformation abhor the Duke of *Northumberland*, who they suspected had hastened him to such an untimely end: which contributed, as much as any thing, to the establishing of Queen *Mary* on the Throne; for the People reckoned none could be so unworthy to govern, as those who had poisoned so worthy a Prince, and so kind a Master. I find nothing of opening his Body for giving satisfaction about that which brought him to his end; though his lying unburied till the eight of *August* makes it probable that he was opened.

But indeed the sins of *England*, did at this time call down from Heaven heavy Curses on the Land. They are sadly expressed in a Discourse that *Ridley* writ soon after, under the Title of the Lamentation of *England*: he says Lechery, Oppression, Pride, Covetousness, and a hatred

and

and scorn of Religion, were generally spread among all People : chiefly those of the higher Rank. *Cranmer* and he had been much disliked : the former for delivering his Conscience so freely on the Duke of *Somerset's* death ; and both of them for opposing so much the rapine and spoil of the Goods of the Church, which was done without Law or Order. Nor could they engage any to take care of relieving the Poor, except only *Dobbs*, who was then Lord Major of *London*. These sins were openly preached against, by *Latimer*, *Lever*, *Bradford*, and *Knox*, who did it more severely, and by others who did it plainly, though more softly. One of the main causes *Ridley* gives of all these evils, was, that many of the Bishops, and most of the Clergy, being all the while Papists in Heart, who had only complied to preserve their Benefices, took no care of their Parishes, and were rather well pleased that things were ill managed. And of this that good Bishop had been long very apprehensive when he considered the sins then prevailing, and the Judgments which they had reason to look for ; as will appear by an excellent Letter, which he sent about to his Clergy to set them on to such Duties as so sad a Prospect required : It will be found in the *Collection* ; and though it belongs to the former Year, yet I choose rather to bring it in on this occasion. These things having been fully laid open in the former parts of this Work, I shall not insist on them here, having mentioned them only for this cause, that the Reader may from hence gather, what we may still expect, if we continue guilty of the same or worse sins, after all that illumination and knowledge with which we have been so long blest in these Kingdoms.

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The END of the First BOOK.



Nata 18 Feb. 1516
Regnare cepit 6^{to}

Julij 1553. Obijt.
17. Novemb: 1558

BOOK II.

THE
LIFE
AND
REIGN
OF
Queen MARY.

UPon the Death of King *Edward*, the Crown devolved, according to King *Henry's* Will, and the Act of Parliament, made in the 35th. Year of his Reign, on his Eldest Sister, the now Queen *Mary*. She was on her way to *London*, in obedience to the Letters that had been writ to her, to come and comfort her Brother in his Sickness; and was come within half a days Journey of the Court, when she received an Advertisement from the Earl of *Arundel*, that her Brother was dead; together with an account of what was done about the Succession. The Earl also informed her, that the King's Death was concealed, on design to entrap her before she knew of it; and therefore he advised her to retire. Upon this, she knowing that the Duke of *Northumberland* was much hated in *Norfolk*, for the great slaughter he had made of the Rebels, when he subdued them in the third Year of the last Reign; therefore chose to go that way to the Castle of *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*: Which Place being near the Sea, she might, if her Desigus should miscarry, have an opportunity from thence to fly over to the Emperor that was then in *Flanders*.

At *London*, it seems, the whole Business of setting up the Lady *Jane*, had been carried very secretly; since if Queen *Mary* had heard any

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Q. Mary succeeds, but is in great danger.

And retires to *Suffolk*.

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She writes to
the Council.

hint of it, she had certainly kept out of the way, and not adventured to have come so near the Town. It was an unaccountable Error in the Party for the Lady *Jane*, that they had not, immediately after the Seal was put to the Letters Patents, or at furthest, presently after the King's Death, sent some to make sure of the King's Suters; instead of which they thus lingered, hoping they would have come into their Toils, in an easier and less violent way. On the 8th. of July, they writ to the English Ambassadors at *Brussels* the news of the King's Death, but said nothing of the Succession. On the 9th. of July, they perceived the King's Death was known; for Queen *Mary* writ to them, from *Kenning-Hall*; that she understood the King her Brother was dead; which how sorrowful it was to her, God only knew, to whose Will she did humbly submit her Will. The Provision of the Crown to her, after his Death, she said, was well known to them all; but she thought it strange, that he being three days dead, she had not been advertised of it by them. She knew what Consultations were against her, and what Engagements they had entred into; but was willing to take all their Doings in good part, and therefore did give Pardon for all that was past, to such as would accept of it, and required them to proclaim her Title to the Crown in *London*.

Who declare
for the Lady
Jane.

Upon this Letter, they saw the death of the King could no longer be concealed; so the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Duke of *Northumberland*, went to *Durham-House*, where the Lady *Jane* lay, to give her notice of her being to succeed to the Crown, in the room of the deceased King. She received the News with great sorrow for King *Edward's* Death; which was not at all lessened, but rather encreased, by that other part of their Message, concerning her being to succeed him.

Lady *Jane's*
Character.

She was a Lady that seemed indeed born for a great Fortune; for as she was a beautiful and graceful Person, so she had great Parts, and greater Vertues. Her Tutor was Dr. *Elmer*, believed to be the same that was afterwards made Bishop of *London* by Queen *Elizabeth*. She had learned from him the Latin and Greek Tongues to great perfection; so that being of the same Age with the late King, she seemed superior to him in those Languages. And having acquired the helps of Knowledge, she spent her time much in the study of it. *Roger Ascham*, Tutor to the Lady *Elizabeth*, coming once to wait on her at her Father's House in *Leicestershire*, found her reading *Plato's* Works in Greek; when all the rest of the Family were hunting in the Park: He asked her, How she could be absent from such pleasant Diversions? She answered, The Pastimes in the Park were but a shadow to the delight she had in reading *Plato's Phedon*, which then lay open before her; and added, That she esteemed it one of the greatest Blessings that God ever gave her, that she had sharp Parents, and a gentle Schoolmaster, which made her take delight in nothing so much, as in her Study. She read the Scriptures much, and had attained great knowledge in Divinity. But with all these Advantages of Birth and Parts, she was so humble, so gentle, and pious, that all People both admired and loved her, and none more than the late King. She had a Mind wonderfully raised above the World, and at the Age wherein others are but imbibing the Notions of Philosophy, she had attained to the practice of the highest

highest Precepts of it. She was neither lifted up with the hope of a Crown, nor cast down when she saw her Palace made afterwards her Prison; but carried her self, with an equal temper of Mind, in those great inequalities of Fortune, that so suddenly exalted and depressed her. All the Passion she expressed in it was, that which is of the noblest sort, and is the indication of tender and generous Natures, being much affected with the Troubles her Father and Husband fell in, on her account.

The mention of the Crown, when her Father, with her Father-in-Law, saluted her, Queen, did rather heighten her disorder upon the King's Death. She said, She knew, by the Laws of the Kingdom, and by natural Right, the Crown was to go to the King's Sisters; so that she was afraid of burdening her Conscience, by assuming that which belonged to them; and that she was unwilling to enrich her self by the spoils of others. But they told her, all that had been done was according to the Law, to which all the Judges and Counsellors had set their Hands. This joyned with their Persuasions, and the Importunities of her Husband, who had more of his Fathers temper, than of her Philosophy in him, at length prevailed with her to submit to it: Of which her Father-in-Law did afterwards say in Council, She was rather, by enticement of the Counsellors, and force, made to accept of the Crown, than came to it by her own seeking and request.

Upon this, Order was given for proclaiming her Queen the next day. And an Answer was writ to Queen Mary, signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland; the Marquesses of Winchester and Northampton; the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Huntington, Bedford, and Pembroke; the Lords, Cobham and Darcy; Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir William Petre, Sir William Cecil, Sir John Cheek, Sir John Mason, Sir Edward North, and Sir Robert Bowes, in all one and twenty; letting her know, 'That Queen Jane was now their Sovereign, according to the Ancient Laws of the Land, and the late King's Letters Patents, to whom they were now bound by their Allegiance. They told her, That the Marriage between her Father and Mother, was dissolved by the Ecclesiastical Courts, according to the Laws of God, and of the Land. That many noble Universities in Christendom had consented to it; That the Sentence had been confirmed in Parliaments, and she had been declared illegitimate, and uninheritable to the Crown. They therefore required her to give over her Pretences, and not to disturb the Government; and promised, that if she shewed her self Obedient, she should find them all ready to do her any Service which in Duty they could.

The day following they proclaimed Queen Jane. The Proclamation will be found in the *Collection*. It sets forth, 'That the late King had, by his Letters Patents, limited the Crown, that it should not descend to his two Sisters, since they were both illegitimated by Sentences in the Spiritual Courts, and Acts of Parliament, and were only his Sisters by the Half-Blood, who (though it were granted they had been legitimate) are not inheritable by the Law of England. It was added, That there was also great cause to fear, that the King's Sisters might marry Strangers, and so change the Laws of the Kingdom, and

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Her unwillingness to accept of the Crown.

Council writes to Q. Mary.

Lady Jane proclaimed Queen. *collection*, Number 1.

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subject it to the Tyranny of the Bishops of *Rome*, and other Foreign Laws. For these Reasons they were excluded from the Succession; and the Lady *Frances*, Dutches of *Suffolk*, being next the Crown, it was provided, that if she had no Sons at the death of the King, the Crown should devolve immediately on her eldest Daughter *Jane*, and after her, and her Issue, to her Sisters; since she was born within the Kingdom, and already married in it. Therefore she was proclaimed Queen, promising to be most benign and gracious to all her People, to maintain God's Holy Word, and the Laws of the Land, requiring all the Subjects to obey and acknowledge her. When this was proclaimed, great multitudes were gathered to hear it; but there were very few that shouted with the Acclamations ordinary on such Occasions. And whereas a Vintner's Boy did some-way express his scorn at that which was done, it was ordered, that he should be made an Example the next day, by being set on a Pillory, and having his Ears nail'd to it, and cut off from his Head; which was accordingly done; a Herald in his Coat, reading to the multitude that was called together, by sound of Trumpet, the nature of his Offence.

Censures
pass'd upon it.

Upon this, all People were in great distraction; The Proclamation, opening the new Queens Title, came to be variously descanted on. Some who thought the Crown descended by right of Blood, and that it could not be limited by Parliament, argued, that the King having his Power from God, it was only to descend in the natural way of Inheritance; therefore they thought the next Heir was to succeed. And whereas the King's two Sisters were both by several Sentences and Acts of Parliament, declared *Bastards*; and whether that was well judged, or not, they were to be reputed such as the Law declared them to be, so long as it stood in force; therefore they held that the Queen of *Scotland* was to succeed; who, though she pretended this upon Queen *Mary's* Death, yet did not claim now, because by the Papal Law, the Sentence against Queen *Mary* was declared *Null*. Others argued, that though a Prince were named by an immediate appointment from Heaven, yet he might change the course of Succession, as *David* did, preferring *Solomon* before *Adonijah*: But this, it was said, did not belong to the Kings of *England*, whose right to the Crown, with the extent of their Prerogative, did not come from any Divine Designation, but from a long Possession, and the Laws of the Land: and that therefore the King might by Law limit the Succession, as well as he and other Kings had in some Points limited the Prerogative, (which was clearly *Sir Thomas More's* Opinion;) and that therefore the Act of Parliament, for the Succession of the King's Sisters, was still strong in Law. It was also said, That if the King's Sisters were to be excluded for Bastardy, all *Charles Brandon's* Issue were in the same predicament; since he was not lawfully married to the French Queen, his former Wife *Mortimer* being then alive, and his Marriage with her was never dissolved; (for though some English Writers say they were divorced, yet those who wrote for the Queen of *Scots* Title, in the next Reign denied it;) But in this the difference was great between them; since the King's Sisters were declared Bastards in Law, whereas this against *Charles Brandon's* Issue, was only a Surmise. Others objected, That if the Blood gave an Indefeasible Title, how came it that the L. *Jane's* Mother did not Reign? It is true, *Maud* the Empress,

Empress, and *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, were satisfied that their Sons, *Henry* the Second, and *Henry* the Seventh, should reign in their Rights; but it had never been heard of, that a Mother had resigned to her Daughter, especially when she was yet under Age. But this was imputed to the Duke of *Suffolk's* weakness, and the Ambition of the Duke of *Northumberland*. That Objection concerning the Half-Blood, being a Rule of Common Law in the Families of Subjects, to cut off from Step-Mothers the Inclinations and Advantages of destroying their Husbands Children, was not thought applicable to the Crown: Nor was that of Ones being born out of the Kingdom, which was hinted at to exclude the Queen of *Scotland*, thought pertinent to this Case: since there was an Exception made in the Law for the King's Children, which was thought to extend to all their Issue. But all People agreed in this, that though by Act of Parliament, King *Henry* was empowered to provide or limit the Crown, by his Letters Patents; yet that was a Grant particularly to him, and did not descend to his Heirs: So that the Letters Patents made by King *Edward*, could have no force to settle the Crown, and much less when they did expressly contradict an Act of Parliament. The proceeding so severely against the Vintner's Boy, was imputed to the violent temper of the Duke of *Northumberland*. And though when a Government is Firm, and Factions are weak, the making some publick Examples, may intimidate a Faction otherwise disheartned; yet Severities, in such a juncture as this, when the Council had no other support but the assistance of the People, seemed very unadvised; and all thought it was a great Error to punish him in that manner.

This made them reflect on the rest of *Northumberland's* Cruelties; His bringing the Duke of *Somerset*, with those Gentlemen that suffered with him, to their End, by a foul Conspiracy; but above all things, the Suspicions that lay on him, of being the Author of the late King's untimely Death, enraged the People so much against him, that without considering what they might suffer under Queen *Mary*, they generally inclined to set her up.

The Duke of
Northumber-
land much ha-
ted.

The Lady *Jane* was proclaimed in many Towns near *London*, yet the People were generally running to Queen *Mary*: Many from *Norfolk* came to her, and a great Body of *Suffolk* Men gathered about her, who were all for the Reformation. They desired to know of her, whether she would alter the Religion set up in King *Edward's* Days; to whom she gave full Assurances, that she would never make any Innovation or Change, but be contented with the private Exercise of her own Religion. Upon this they were all possessed with such a belief of her sincerity, that it made them resolve to hazard their Lives and Estates in her Quarrel. The Earls of *Bath* and *Suffex* raised Forces, and joyned with her; so did the Sons of the Lord *Wharton* and *Mordant*; with many more.

Many declare
for Q. *Mary*.

Upon this the Council resolved to gather Forces for the dispersing of theirs, and sent the Earl of *Huntington's* Brother to, raise *Buckinghamshire*, and others to other parts, ordering them to meet the Forces that should come from *London*, at *New-Market*. It was at first proposed to send the Duke of *Suffolk* to command them, but the Lady *Jane* was so much concerned in her Father's preservation, that she urged, he might not be sent; and he being but a soft Man, was easily excused. So

The Council
orders Forces
to be sent a-
gainst her.

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it fell next on the Duke of *Northumberland*, who was now much distracted in his Mind. He was afraid, if he went away, the City might declare for Queen *Mary*; nor was he well assured of the Council, who seemed all to comply with him, rather out of fear, than good will. *Cecil* would not officiate as Secretary, as himself relates; the Judges would do nothing; and the Duke plainly saw, that if he had not (according to the custom of our Princes, on their first coming to the Crown) gone with the Lady *Jane*, and the Council, into the *Tower*, whereby he kept them as Prisoners, the Council were inclined to desert him. This divided him much in his Thoughts. The whole success of his Design depended on the dispersing of the Queens Forces: And it was no less necessary to have a Man of courage continue still in the *Tower*. There was none there whom he could entirely trust, but the Duke of *Suffolk*, and he was so mean spirited, that he did not depend much on him. But the progress the Queens Forces made, pressed him to go, and make head against her. So he laid all the heavy Charges he could on the Council, to look to Queen *Jane*, and to stand firmly to her Interests; and left *London* on the 14th. of *July*, marching out with 2000 Horse, and 6000 Foot. But as he rode through *Bishops-gate* street, and *Shoreditch*, though there were great Crouds looking on, none cried out to wish him success, which gave a sad indication how ill they were affected to him.

And write to
the Emperor.

The Council writ to the Emperor by one *Shelley*, whom they sent to give notice of the Lady *Jane's* Succession, complaining that the Lady *Mary* was making Stirs, and that his Ambassador had officiously meddled in their Affairs; but that they had given Orders for reducing the Lady *Mary* to her Duty. They also desired the continuance of his Friendship, and that he would command his Resident to carry himself as became an Ambassador. Sir *Philip Hobbey* was continued Ambassador there; the others were ordered to stay and prosecute the Mediation of the Peace; but the Emperor would not receive those Letters; and in a few days there went over others from Queen *Mary*.

Ridley preaches
for the L.
Jane's Title.

Ridley was appointed to set out Queen *Jane's* Title, in a Sermon at *Pauls*; and to warn the People of the Dangers they would be in, if Queen *Mary* should reign: which he did, and gave an account in his Sermon of what had passed between him and her, when he went and offered to preach to her. At the same time the Duke of *Northumberland*, at *Cambridge*, where himself was both Chancellor of the University, and Steward of the Town, made the Vice-Chancellor preach to the same purpose. But he held in more general terms, and managed it so, that there was great Offence taken on either hand.

Q. *Mary's*
Party grows
strong.

But now the Queen had made her Title be proclaimed at *Norwich*; and sent Letters all over *England*, requiring the Peers, and others of great Quality, to come to her assistance. Some Ships had been sent about, to lie on that Coast for intercepting her, if she should fly away; but those who commanded them were so dealt with, that instead of acting against her, they declared for her. Sir *Edward Hastings* having raised 4000 Men in *Lincolnshire*, instead of joyning with the Duke of *Northumberland*, went over with them into her Service. Many were also from all Places every day running to her, and in several Counties of

of *England* she was proclaimed Queen. But none came in to the Duke of *Northumberland*, so he writ earnestly to the Lords at *London*, to send him more Supplies.

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They understanding, from all the Corners of *England*, that the Tyde grew every-where strong for the Queen, entred into Consultations how to redeem their passed Faults, and to reconcile themselves to her. The Earl of *Arundel* hated *Northumberland* on many accounts. The Marquess of *Winchester* was famous for his dexterity in shifting sides all ways to his own Advantage. To them joyned the Earl of *Pembroke*, the more closely linked to the Interests of the Lady *Jane*, since his Son had married her Sister; which made him the more careful to disentangle himself in time. To those, Sir *Thomas Cheney*, Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Sir *John Mason*, with the two Secretaries, came over. It was said, that the French and Spanish Ambassadors had desired an Audience in some Place in the City; and it was proposed to give it in the Earl of *Pembroke's* House; who being the least suspected, it was agreed to, by the Duke of *Suffolk*, that they should be suffered to go from the *Tower* thither. They also pretended, that since the Duke of *Northumberland* had writ so earnestly for new Forces, they must go and treat with my Lord Mayor and the City of *London* about it. But as soon as they were got out, the Earl of *Arundel* pressed them to declare for Queen *Mary*: And to perswade them to it, he laid open all the Cruelty of *Northumberland*, under whose Tyranny they must resolve to be enslaved, if they would not now shake it off. The other consenting readily to it, they sent for the Lord Mayor, with the Recorder, and the Aldermen; and having declared their Resolutions to them, they rode together into *Cheapside*, and there proclaimed Queen *Mary*, on the 19th. of *July*: From thence they went to Saint *Pauls*, where *Te Deum* was sung. An Order was sent to the *Tower*, to require the Duke of *Suffolk* to deliver up that Place, and to acknowledge Queen *Mary*: and that the Lady *Jane* should lay down the Title of *Queen*. To this, as her Father submitted tamely, so she expressed no sort of Concern in losing that imaginary Glory, which now had for nine days been rather a Burden, than any Matter of Joy to her. They also sent Orders to the Duke of *Northumberland* to disband his Forces, and to carry himself as became an Obedient Subject to the Queen. And the Earl of *Arundel*, with the Lord *Paget*, were sent to give her an account of it, who continued still at *Framingham* in *Suffolk*.

And the Council turn to her.

And proclaimed her Queen.

The Duke of *Northumberland* had retired back to *Cambridge*, to stay for new Men from *London*; but hearing how Matters went there, before ever the Councils Orders came to him, he dismissed his Forces, and went to the Market-place, and proclaimed the Queen, ringing up his own Hat for joy, and crying, *God save Queen Mary*. But the Earl of *Arundel* being sent by the Queen to apprehend him, it is said, That when he saw him, he fell abjectly at his Feet to beg his favour. This was like him, it being not more unusual for such Insolent Persons to be most basely sunk with their Misfortunes, than to be out of measure blown up with success. He was, on the 25th. of *July*, sent to the *Tower*, with the Earl of *Warwick* his eldest Son, *Ambrose* and *Henry* two of his other Sons. Some other of his Friends were made Prisoners, among whom was Sir *Thomas Palmer*, the wicked Instrument of

The Duke of Northumberland submitted, and taken.

With many more Prisoners who were sent to the Tower of London.

the

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the Duke of *Somerſet's* fall, who was become his moſt intimate Confi-
dent; and *Dr. Sands* the Vicechancellor of *Cambridge*.

Now did all People go to the Queen to implore her Mercy. She re-
ceived them all very favourably, except the Marquels of *Northampton*,
Dr. Ridley, and Lord *Robert Dudley*. The firſt of theſe had been a
ſubmiſſive ſawner on the Duke of *Northumberland*; the ſecond had
incurred her diſpleaſure by his Sermon, and the gladly laid hold on any
colour to be more ſevere to him, that way might be made for bringing
Bonner to *London* again; the third had followed his Father's Fortunes.
On the 27th, the Lords Chief Juſtices, *Cholmley* and *Montague*, were
ſent to the *Tower*; and the day after, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and
Sir *John Cheek*, went after them; the Lady *Jane* and her Husband be-
ing ſtill detained in the *Tower*. Three days after an Order came to ſet
the Duke of *Suffolk* at liberty, upon engagement to return to Priſon
when the Queen required it, for it was generally known that he had
been driven on by *Dudley*; and as it was believed, that he had not
been faulty out of Malice, ſo his great weakneſs made them little ap-
prehenſive of any Dangers from him; and therefore the Queen being
willing to expreſs a ſignal Act of Clemency at her firſt coming to the
Crown, it was thought beſt to let it fall on him.

The Queen
enters London.

Now did the Queen come towards *London*, being met on the way
by her Siſter *Elizabeth*, with a thouſand Horſe, who had gathered
about her, to ſhew their Zeal to maintain both their Titles, which in
this late conteſt had been linked together. She made her entry to
London on the third of *Auguſt*, with great ſolemnity and pomp. When
ſhe came to the *Tower*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had been almoſt
ſeven Years in it; *Gardiner*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that had been
five Years there; the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, that had been kept there
near two Years; and the Lord *Courtney*, (whom ſhe made afterwards
Earl of *Devonſhire*) that was Son to the Marquels of *Exeter*, and had
been kept there ever ſince his Father was Attainted, had their Liberty
granted them. So now ſhe was peaceably ſetled in the Throne, with-
out any effuſion of Blood; having broke through a Confederacy
againſt her, which ſeemed to be ſo ſtrong, that if he that was the Head
of it, had not been univerſally odious to the Nation, it could not have
been ſo eaſily diſſipated. She was naturally pious and devout, even to
ſuperſtition; had a generous diſpoſition of Mind, but much corrupted
by Melancholy, which was partly natural in her, but much increaſed by
the croſs Accidents of her Life, both before and after her Advance-
ment; ſo that ſhe was very peeviſh, and ſplenetic, towards the
end of her Life. When the Differences became irreconcilable between
her Father and Mother, ſhe followed her Mother's Interests, they being
indeed her own and for a great while could not be perſwaded to ſub-
mit to the King, who being impatient of contradiction from any, but
eſpecially from his own Child, was reſolved to ſtrike a terror in all his
People, by putting her openly to death. Which her Mother coming
to know, writ her a Letter of a very devout ſtrain, which will be
found in the *Collections*. In which, 'She encouraged her to ſuffer
'cheerfully, to truſt in God, and keep her heart clean. She charged
'her, in all things, to obey the King's Commands, except in the Mat-
'ters of Religion. She lent her two Latin Books, the one of the Life
'of

She had been
in danger in
her Father's
time.

Coll. Numb. 2.

of Christ, (which was perhaps the famous Book of *Thomas a Kempis*) and the other St. *Jerom's* Letter. She bid her divert her self at the Virginals or Lute, but above all things to keep her self pure, and to enter into no treaty of Marriage, till these ill times should pass over; of which her Mother seemed to retain still good hopes. This Letter should have been in my former Volumn, if I had then seen it, but it is no improper Place to mention it here. At Court, many were afraid to move the King for her; both the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner* look'd on, and were unwilling to hazard their own Interests to preserve her. But (as it was now printed, and both these appealed to) *Crommer* was the only Person that would adventure on it. In his gentle way, he told the King, that she was young and indiscreet, and therefore it was no wonder if she obstinately adhered to that which her Mother, and all about her, had been infusing into her for many Years: but that it would appear strange if he should for this Cause so far forget he was a Father, as to proceed to Extremities with his own Child: that if she were separated from her Mother, and her People, in a little time there might be ground gained on her; but to take away her Life, would raise horror through all *Europe* against him. By these means he preserved her at that time.

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And was pre-
sented by Crom-
mer's means.

After her Mother's Death, in *June* following, she changed her note; for besides the Declaration she then signed, which was inserted in the former part of this Work; she writ Letters of such submission, as shew how expert she was at dissembling. Three of these to her Father, and one to *Cromwell*, I have put in the *Collection*; in which she, with the most studied Expressions, declaring her sorrow for her past stubbornness, and disobedience to his most just and vertuous Laws, implores his Pardon, as lying prostrate at his Feet: and considering his great Learning and Knowledg, she puts her Soul in his Hand, resolving that he should for ever thereafter direct her Conscience, from which she vows she would never vary. This she repeats in such tender words, that it shews she could command her self to say any thing that she thought fit for her ends. And when *Cromwell* writ to her, to know what her Opinion was about Pilgrimages, Purgatory, and Reliques, she assures him she had no Opinion at all, but such as she should receive from the King, who had her whole Heart in his keeping; and he should imprint upon it, in these and all other Matters, whatever his inestimable Vertue, high Wisdom, and excellent Learning, should think convenient for her. So perfectly had she learned that stile, that she knew was most acceptable to him. Having copied these from the Originals, I thought it not unfit to insert them, that it may appear how far those of that Religion can comply, when their Interest leads them to it.

She submitted
to her Father.

collected. Numb.
3, 4, 5, 6.

From that time this Princess had been in all Points most exactly compliant to every thing her Father did. And after his Death, she never pretended to be of any other Religion, than that which was established by him: So that all that she pleaded for, in her Brother's Reign, was only the continuance of that way of Worship, that was in use at her Father's Death. But now, being come to the Crown, that would not content her; yet when she thought where to fix, she was distracted between two different Schemes that were presented to her.

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The Designs
for changing
Religion.

Gardiner's
Policy.

On the one hand, *Gardiner* and all that Party, were for bringing Religion back to what it had been at King *Henry's* Death; and afterward, by slow degrees, to raise it up to what it had been before his breach with the Papacy. On the other hand, the Queen, of her own Inclination, was much disposed to return immediately to the Union of the Catholick Church, as she called it: and it was necessary for her to do it, since it was only by the Papal Authority that her Illegitimation was removed. To this it was answered, that all these Acts and Sentences that had passed against her, might be annulled, without taking any notice of the Pope. *Gardiner* finding these things had not such weight with her as he desired, for she looked on him as a crafty temporizing Man, sent over to the Emperor, on whom she depended much, to assure him, that if he would perswade her to make him Chancellor, and to put Affairs into his Hands, he should order them so, that every thing she had a mind to, should be carried in time. But *Gardiner* understood she had sent for Cardinal *Pool*; so he writ to the Emperor, that he knew his Zeal for the Exaltation of the Popedom, would undo all; therefore he pressed him to write to the Queen for moderating her heat, and to stop the Cardinal's coming over. He said, that *Pool* stood Attainted by Law, so that his coming into *England* would alarm the Nation. He observed, that upon a double account they were averse to the Papacy: The one was, for the Church Lands, which they had generally bought from the Crown on very easie terms, and they would not easily part with them. The other was, The fear they had of Papal Dominion and Power, which had been now for about 25 Years set out to the People, as the most intollerable Tyranny that ever was. Therefore, he said, it was necessary to give them some time to wear out these Prejudices; and the precipitating of Councils might ruin all. He gave the Emperor also secret Assurances of serving him in all his Interests. All this *Gardiner* did the more warily, because he understood that Cardinal *Pool* hated him as a false and deceitful Man. Upon this the Emperor writ to the Queen several Letters with his own hand, which is so hardly legible, that it was not possible for me, or some others to whom I shewed them, to read them, so well as to copy them out: and one that was written by his Sister, the Queen of *Hungary*, and signed by him, is no better; but from many half Sentences, I find, that all was with a design to temper her, that she should not make too much hast, nor be too much led by Italian Counsels. Upon the return of this Message, the Seal, which had been taken from *Goodrick*, Bishop of *Ely*, and put for some days in the keeping of *Hare*, Master of the Rolls, was, on the 13th of *August*, given to *Gardiner*, who was declared Lord Chancellor of *England*, and the conduct of Affairs was chiefly put in his hands. So that now the measure of the Queens Councils, was to do every thing slowly, and by such sure steps as might put them less in hazard.

He is made
Chancellor.

The Duke of
Northumber-
land and o-
thers Tried.

The first thing that was done, was, the bringing the Duke of *Northumberland* to his Trial. The old Duke of *Norfolk* was made Lord High Steward; the Queen thinking it fit to put the first Character of honour on him, who had suffered so much for being the Head of the Popish Party. And here a subtle thing was started, which had been kept a great Secret hitherto. It was said, the Duke of *Norfolk* had never

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never been truly attainted ; and that the Act against him was not a true Act of Parliament ; so that without any Pardon, or restitution in Blood, he was still Duke of *Norfolk*. This he had never mentioned all the last Reign, lest that should have procured an Act to confirm his Attainder. So he came now in upon his former Right, by which, all the Grants that had been given of his Estate, were to be declared void by Common Law. The Duke of *Northumberland*, with the Marquess of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, were brought to their Tryals. The Duke desired two Points might be first answered by the Judges, in matter of Law. The one, Whether a Man acting by the Authority of the Great Seal, and the Order of the Privy Council, could become thereby guilty of Treason ? The other was, Whether those who had been equally guilty with him, and by whose Direction and Commands he had acted, could sit his Judges ? To these the Judges made answer, That the Great Seal of one that ~~was not lawful~~ Queen, could give no Authority, nor Indemnity, to those that acted on such a Warrant : and that any Peer that was not, by an Attainder upon Record, convicted of such accession to his Crime, might sit his Judge, and was not to be challenged upon a Surmise or Report. So these Points, by which only he could hope to have defended himself, being thus determined against him, he confessed he was guilty, and submitted to the Queens Mercy. So did the Marquess of *Northampton*, and the Duke's Son, the Earl of *Warwick*, who (it seems by this Trial) had a Writ for sitting in the House of Peers ; they were all three found guilty. Judgment also passed next day, in a Jury of Commoners, against Sir *John Gates*, and his Brother Sir *Humphrey* ; Sir *Andrew Dudley*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, confessing their Indictments. But of all these it was resolved, that only the Duke of *Northumberland*, and Sir *John Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, should be made Examples ; *Heath*, Bishop of *Worcester*, was employed to instruct the Duke, and to prepare him for his Death. Whether he had been always in heart what he then professed, or whether he only pretended it, hoping that it might procure him favour, is variously reported : but certain it is, that he said, he had been always a Catholick in his Heart ; yet this could not save him. He was known to be a Man of that temper, ~~given~~, both to revenge and dissimulation, that his Enemies saw it was necessary to put him out of the way, lest if he had lived, he might have insinuated himself into the Queens favour, and then turn'd the danger upon them. So the Earl of *Arundel*, now made Lord Steward of the Household, with others, easily obtained that his Head should be cut off, together with Sir *John Gates*'s, and Sir *Thomas Palmers*.

And condemned.

At his Death he professes he had been always a Papist.

On the 22d of *August* he was carried to the Place of Execution. On the way, there was some expostulation between *Gates* and him ; They, as is ordinary for Complices in ill Actions, laying the blame of their Miseries on one another : Yet they professed they did mutually forgive, and so died in Charity together. It is said, that he made a long Speech, accusing his former ill Life, and confessing his Treasons. But that part of it which concerned Religion, is only preserved. In it, he exhorted the People to stand to the Religion of their Ancestors, and to reject that of latter date, which had occasioned all the misery of the foregoing thirty Years : and desired, as they would prevent the like for the future,

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that they would drive out of the Nation these Trumpets of Sedition, the new Preachers; that for himself, what-ever he had otherwise pretended, he believed no other Religion than that of his fore-fathers; in which he appealed to his Ghostly Father, the Bishop of *Worcester*, then present with him; but being blinded with Ambition, he had made wreck of his Conscience, by temporising, for which he professed himself sincerely penitent. So did he, and the other two, end their days. *Palmer* was little pitied, as being believed a treacherous Conspirator against his former Master, and Friend, the Duke of *Somerſet*.

His Character.

Thus died the ambitious Duke of *Northumberland*. He had been, in the former parts of his Life, a great Captain, and had the reputation of a wise Man: He was generally successful, and they that are so, are always esteemed wise. He was an extraordinary Man in a lower size, but had forgot himself much when he was raised higher, in which his Mind seemed more exalted than his Fortunes. But as he was transported by his Rage and Revenge out of measure, so he was as servile and mean in his Submissions. *Fox*, it seems, was informed, that he had hopes given him of his Life, if he should declare himself to be of the Popish Religion, even though his Head were laid on the Block: but which way soever he made that Declaration, either to get his Life by it, or that he had really been always what he now professed; it argued that he regarded Religion very little, either in his Life, or at his Death. But whether he did any thing to hasten the late King's Death, I do not find it was at all enquired after: Only those who considered how much Guilt disorders all People, and that they have a black Cloud over their Minds, which appears, either in the violence of Rage, or the abjectness of Fear, did find so great a change in his deportment, in these last Passages of his Life, from what was in the former parts of it, that they could not but think there was some extraordinary thing within him from whence it flowed.

King Edwards
Funeral.

And for King *Edward's* Death, those who had Affairs now in their Hands, were so little careful of his Memory, and indeed so glad of his Death, that it is no wonder they made little search about it. It is rather strange that they allowed him such Funeral Rites. For the Queen kept a solemn Exequie, with all the other Remembrances of the Dead, and Manes for him, used in the Roman Church, at the *Tower*, on the 8th of *August*, the same day that he was buried at *Westminster*: the Lord Treasurer, (who was the Marquess of *Winchester*, still continued in that Trust) the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, and *Pembroke*, being the principal Mourners. *Day*, that was now to be restored to his See of *Chichester*, was appointed to Preach the Funeral Sermon: In which he commended and excused the King, but loaded his Government severely; and extolled the Queen much, under whom he promised the People happy days. It was intended that all the Burial Rites should have been according to the old Forms that were before the Reformation. But *Cranmer* opposed this vigorously, and insisted upon it, That as the King himself had been a zealous promoter of that Reformation, so the English Service was then established by Law: upon this he stoutly hindered any other way of officiating, and himself performed all the Offices of the Burial; to which he joined the solemnity of a Communion. In these, it may be easily imagined, he did every thing with a very lively sorrow; since

since as he had loved the King beyond expression, so he could not but look on his Funeral, as the Burial of the Reformation, and in particular as a step to his own.

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On the 12th of *August*, the Queen made an open declaration in Council, that although her Conscience was staied in the Matters of Religion, yet she was resolved not to compel or strain others, otherwise than as God should put into their Hearts, a perswasion of that Truth she was in; and this she hoped should be done by the opening His Word to them, by godly, vertuous, and learned Preachers. Now all the deprived Bishops looked to be quickly placed in their Sees again. *Bonner* went to St. *Pauls* on the 13th of *August*, being *Sunday*, where *Bourn*, that was his Chaplain, preached before him. He spake honourably of *Bonner*, with sharp Reflections on the Proceedings against him in the Time of King *Edward*. This did much provoke the whole Audience, who as they hated *Bonner*, so could not hear any thing said that seemed to detract from that King. Hereupon there was a great Tumult in the Church; some called to pull him down, others flung Stones, and one threw a Dagger towards the Pulpit with that force, that it stuck fast in the timber of it; *Bourn*, by stooping, saved himself from that danger: and *Rogers*, and *Bradford*, two eminent Preachers, and of great credit with the People, stood up, and gently quieted the heat; and they, to deliver *Bourn* out of their hands, conveyed him from the Pulpit, to a House near the Church.

The Queen declares she will force no Man's Conscience.

A Tumult at Paul's Cross.

This was such an Accident as the Papists would have desired; for it gave them a colour to proceed more severely, and to prohibit Preaching, which was the first step they intended to make. There was a Message sent to the Lord Mayor, to give a strict charge, that every Citizen should take care of all that belonged to him, and see that they went to their own Parish Church, and kept the Peace; as also to acquaint them with what the Queen had declared in Council on the 13th of *August*. And on the 18th, there was published an Inhibition in the Queens Name, to this effect; 'That she, considering the great Danger that had come to the Realm, by the Differences in Religion, did declare for her self, that she was of that Religion that she had professed from her Infancy, and that she would maintain it during her time; and be glad that all her Subjects would charitably receive it: Yet she did not intend to compel any of her Subjects to it, till publick Order should be taken in it by common Assent: requiring all, in the meanwhile, not to move Sedition or Unquietness, till such Order should be settled, and not to use the Names of *Papist*, or *Heretick*, but to live together in Love, and in the Fear of God: but if any made Assemblies of the People, she would take care they should be severely punished: and she straitly charged them, that none should preach, or expound Scripture, or print any Books, or Plays, without her special License. And required her Subjects, that none of them should presume to punish any on pretence of the late Rebellion, but as they should be authorized by her: Yet she did not thereby restrain any from informing against such Offenders: She would be most sorry to have cause to execute the severity of the Law, but she was resolved not to suffer such Rebellionous Doings to go unpunished, but hoped her Subjects would not drive her to the extream execution of the Laws.

An Inhibition of all preaching.

When

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Censures past
upon it.

When this was published, which was the first thing that was set out in her Name since she had come to the Crown, it was much descanted on. The Profession she made of her Religion to be the same it had been from her Infancy, shewed it was not her Fathers Religion, but entire Popery that she intended to restore. It was also observed, that whereas before she had said plainly she would compel none to be of it; now that was qualified with this, till publick Order should be taken in it; which was, till they could so frame a Parliament, that it should concur with the Queens Design. The equal forbidding of Assemblies, or ill Names, on both sides, was thought intended to be a Trap for the Reformed, that they should be punished if they offended, but the others were sure to be rather encouraged. The restraint of preaching without License, was pretended to be copied from what had been done in King *Edward's* Time: Yet then there was a Liberty left for a long time to all to Preach in their own Churches, only they might preach no where else without a License: And the power of Licensing was also lodged at first with the Bishops in their several Diocesses, and at last with the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, as well as with the King; whereas now, at one stroke, all the Pulpits of *England* that were in the hands of the Reformed, were brought under an Interdict; for they were sure to obtain no Licenses. But the cunningest part of these Inhibitions, was, the declaring that the Queen would proceed with rigour against all that were guilty of the late Rebellion, if they should provoke her; many about *London* had some way or other expressed themselves for it, and these were the hottest among the Reformed: So that here was a sharp threatening hanging over them, if they should express any more Zeal about Religion.

She requites
the Service of
the Men of
Suffolk ill.

When this was put out, the Queen understanding, that in *Suffolk*, those of that Profession took a little more liberty than their Neighbours, presuming on their great Merit, and the Queens Promises to them; there was a special Letter sent to the Bishop of *Norwich's* Vicar, himself being at *Brussels*, to see to the execution of these Injunctions, against any that should preach without License. Upon this, some came from *Suffolk* to put the Queen in mind of her Promise. This was thought insolent; and she returned them no other answer, But that they being Members, thought to rule her that was their Head; but they should learn, that the Members ought to obey the Head, and not to think to bear Rule over it. One of these had spoken of her Promise with more confidence than the rest, his Name was *Dobbe*; so he was ordered to stand three days in the Pillory, as having said that which tended to the defamation of the Queen. And from hence all saw what a severe Government they were to come under, in which the claiming of former Promises, that had been made by the Queen when she needed their Assistance, was to be accounted a Crime. But there was yet a more unreasonable Severity shewed to *Bradford* and *Rogers*, who had appeased the Tumult the *Sunday* before, and rescued the Preacher from the Rage of the People. It was said, that their appeasing it, so easily, shewed what Interest they had with the People, and was a presumption that they had set it on; so without any further Proof, the one was put in the *Tower*, and the other confined to his House.

But

But now the deprived Bishops, who were *Bonner of London, Gardiner of Winchester, Tonstall of Duresm, Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester*, were to be restored to their Sees. I have only seen the Commission for restoring *Bonner and Tonstall*; but the rest were no doubt in the same strain, with a little variation. The Commission for *Bonner* bearing date the 22^d of *August*, was directed to some Civilians, setting forth, that he had petitioned the Queen to examine the Appeal he had made from the Delegates that had deprived him; and that therefore the Sentence against him being unjust and illegal, he desired it might be declared to be of no effect. Upon which, these did, without any great hesitation, return the Sentences void, and the Appeals good. So, thus they were restored to their Sees. But because the Bishoprick of *Duresm* was by Act of Parliament dissolved, and the Regalities of it, which had been given to the Duke of *Northumberland*; were now by his Attainder fallen into the Queens hand, She granted *Tonstall* Letters Patents, erecting that Bishoprick again of new; making mention that some wicked Men, to enrich themselves by it, had procured it to be dissolved.

1553.

The Popish Bishops restored.

On the 29th of *August* Commission was granted to *Gardiner* to give Licences under the Great Seal to such Grave, Learned and discreet Persons, as he should think meet and able to preach God's Word. All who were so licensed, were qualified to preach in any Cathedral or Parochial Church, to which he should think it convenient to send them. By this the Reformers were not only out of hope to obtain any Licences, but likewise saw a way laid down for sending such Men as *Gardiner* pleased into all their Pulpits, to infect their People. Upon this they considered what to do. If there had been only a particular Interdiction of some private persons, the considerations of Peace and Order being of a more publick nature than the consequence of any one Man's open Preaching could be, they judged it was to be submitted to: but in such a case, when they saw this Interdiction was general, and on design to stop their mouths till their Enemies should seduce the People, they did not think they were bound in Conscience to give Obedience. Many of them therefore continued to preach openly; others, instead of Preaching in Churches, were contented to have only the Prayers and other Service there; but for instructing their People, had private Conferences with them. The Council hearing that their Orders had been disobeyed by some in *London*, two in *Coventry*, and one in *Amersham*, they were sent for, and put in Prison. And *Coverdale* Bishop of *Exeter*, and *Hooper* of *Glocester*, being cited to appear before the Council, they came and presented themselves on the 29th and 30th of *August*; and on the first of *September*, *Hooper* was sent to the Fleet, and *Coverdale* appointed to wait their pleasure.

The Confutations among the Reformed Doctors.

At this time the Popish Party, growing now insolent over *England*, began to be as forward in making Changes, before the Laws warranted them, as these of the Reformation had been in King *Edward's* time: so that in many places they set up Images, and the Latin Service, with the old Rites again. This was plainly against Law; but the Council had no mind to hinder it: but on the other hand encouraged it all they could. Upon which Judge *Hales*, who thought he might with the more assurance speak his mind, having appeared so steadily for the Queen, did at the Circuits in *Kent*, give a Charge to the Justices to see to the execution

The barbarous usage of Judge Hales.

1552

execution of King Edward's Laws, which were still in force and unappealed. Upon this he was, without any regard to his former Zeal, put first into the Marshalsea: from thence he was removed to the Counters and later that to the Fleet: where the good old Man was so disordered with the Cruelties that the Warden told him were continuing, against that would not change their Religion, that it turned his Brain, so that he endeavoured to have kill'd himself with a Pocket-knife. He was afterwards, upon his Submission, set at liberty; but he never came to himself again: so he, not being well looked to, drowned himself. This, with the usage of the *Suffolk* Men, was much considered; and from thence it was said, that no Merits or Services could excuse any from the Cruelties of that Religion. And it appeared in another signal Instance, how the Actions of Men were not so much considered as their Religion. The Lord Chief Justice *Mountague*, who had very unwillingly drawn the Letters Patents for the Lady *Jane's* Succession, was turned out of his Place, kept six weeks in Prison, fined in a Thousand pounds, and some Lands that had been given him by King *Edward*, were taken from him; though he had sent his Son with Twenty Men to declare for the Queen, and had a great Family of Seventeen Children, six Sons and eleven Daughters: whereas Judge *Bromley* that had concurred in granting the Letters Patents without any reluctance, was made Lord Chief Justice: The true Reason was, *Bromley* was a Papist in his heart, and *Mountague* was for the Reformation.

In many other places, where the People were Popishly affected, they drove away their Pastors. At *Oxford*, *Peter Martyr* was so ill used, that he was forced to fly for his safety to *Lambeth*, where he could not look for any long protection, since *Cranmer* himself was every day in expectation of being sent to Prison. He kept himself quiet, and was contriving how to give some Publick and Noble Testimonies to the Doctrine that he had so long professed, and indeed had been the chief promoter of in this Church. But his quiet behaviour was laid hold on by his Enemies, and it was given out, that he was resolved to comply with every thing the Queen had a mind to. So I find *Banner* wrote to his Friend Mr. *Lechmore* on the 6th of September, in that Letter which is in the Collection: 'He gives him notice that the day before he had been restored to his Bishoprick, and *Ridley* repulsed; for which he is very witty. *Ridley* had a Steward for two Manours of his, whose name was *Ship-side*, his Brother-in-law; upon which he plays as if he had been *Ship-side's* head. He orders *Lechmore* to look to his Estate, and he should take care at the next Parliament that both the *Sheepheads* and the *Calves-heads* should be used as they deserved. He adds that *Cranmer*, whom in scorn he calls Mr. *Canterbury*, was become very humble, and ready to submit himself in all things; but that would not serve his turn: and it was expected that he should be sent to the Tower that very day. These reports being brought to *Cranmer*, some advised him to fly beyond Seas: he said he would not dissuade others from that course, now that they saw a Persecution rising; but considering the station he was in, and the hand he had in all the Changes that were made, he thought it so indecent a thing for him to fly, that no entreaties should ever persuade him to it. So he by *Peter Martyr's* advice, drew up a Writing, that I have put in the Collection (in Latin, as it was at that time translated.)

Cranmer declared openly against the Mass.

Banners Information. Coll. Numb. 7.

Cranmer's Declaration. Coll. Numb. 8.

translated.) The substance of it was to this effect; 'That as the Devil 1553.
' had at all times set on his Instruments by Lies to defame the Servants of
' God, so he was now more than ordinarily busie. For whereas King
' Henry had begun the correcting of the abuses of the Mass, which his
' Son had brought to a further perfection: and so the Lords Supper
' was restored to its first Institution, and was celebrated according to
' the pattern of the Primitive Church; now, the Devil intending to
' bring the Mass again into its room, as being his own invention, had
' stirred up some to give out that it had been set up in *Canterbury* by
' his the said *Cranmer's* Order; and it was said that he had undertaken
' to sing Mass to the Queens Majesty, both at King *Edward's* Funeral,
' at *Paul's*, and other places: and though for these twenty years he
' had despised all such vain and false Reports, as were spread of him; yet
' now he thought it not fit to lye under such misrepresentations. There-
' fore he protested to all the World, that the Mass was not set up at
' *Canterbury* by his Order; but that a fawning hypocritical Monk (this
' was *Thornton* Suffragan of *Dover*,) had done it without his know-
' ledge; and for what he was said to have undertaken to the Queen, her
' Majesty knew well how false that was: offering if he might obtain
' her Leave for it, to maintain, that every thing in the Communion Ser-
' vice that was set out by their most innocent and good King *Edward*,
' was according to Christs Institution, and the practice of the Apostles,
' and the ancient Church for many Ages: to which the Mass was con-
' trary, being full of errors and abuses; and although *Peter Martyr* was
' by some called an ignorant Man, he with him or other four or five, such
' as he should choose, would be ready to defend not only their Book
' of Common Prayer, and the other Rites of their Service, but the
' whole Doctrine and Order of Religion, set forth by the late King; as
' more pure, and more agreeable to the Word of God, than any sort of
' Religion that had been in *England* for a thousand years before it: pro-
' vided that all things should be judged by the Scriptures, and that the
' Reasonings on both sides should be faithfully written down.

This he had drawn, with a Resolution to have made a publick use
of it: but *Scory*, who had been Bishop of *Chichester*, coming to him, he
showed him the Paper, and bade him consider of it. *Scory* indiscreetly
gave Copies of it, and one of these was publickly read in *Chesham*, on
the fifth of *September*. So on the eighth of that month he was called be-
fore the *Star Chamber*, and asked whether he was the Author of that se-
ditionous Bill, that was given out in his Name; and if so, whether he was
sorry for it. He answered, that the Bill was truly his; but he was very
sorry it had gone from him in such a manner; for he had resolved to
have enlarged it in many things and to have ordered it to be affixed
to the doors of *Pauls*, and of the other Churches in *London*, with
his Hand and Seal to it. He was at that time, contrary to all mens ex-
pectation, dismissed. *Cranmer* plainly saw he could not expect to suc-
ceed him, and that the Queen had designed that See for Cardinal *Pool*,
to whom he was so proud and preserve *Cranmer* all he could. Some move-
ment that he should be brought from his sick-bed, and have a small
Prison assigned him, with a charge to keep him in a Confinement, and
not to meddle with matters of Religion. He was generally beloved
for the gentleness of his temper, so it was thought that proceeding se-
verely

Published
without his
knowledge.

But swayed by
him before the
Council.

1553.

He and *Latimer* sent to the Tower.

The Forreigners sent out of England.

Many of the fly. becom.

verely with him, might alienate some from them, and embroil the affairs in the next Parliament. Others objected, that if he, who had been the chief promoter of Heresie, was used with such tenderness, it would encourage the rest to be more obstinate. And the Queen who had forgot the Services he did her in her Father's time, remembering rather that he had pronounced the Sentence of Divorce against her Mother, was easily induced to proceed severely. So on the thirteenth of September both he and *Latimer* were called before the Council; *Latimer* was that day committed; but *Cranmer* was respited till next day, and then he was sent to the Tower, both for matters of Treason, against the Queen, and for dispersing of seditious Bills. *Tylor* of *Hadlee*, and several other Preachers, were also put in Prison; and upon an Information brought against *Horn* Dean of *Duresm*, he was sent for.

The Forreigners, that were come over upon publick Faith and encouragement, were better used: for *Peter Martyr* was preserved from the rage of his enemies, and suffered to go beyond Sea. There was also an Order sent to *John a Lasco* and his Congregation to be gone; their Church being taken from them, and their Corporation dissolved. And an hundred seventy five of them went away in two Ships to *Denmark*, on the seventeenth of September, with all their Preachers; except two, who were left to look to those few, which stayed behind, and being engaged in Trade, resolved to live in *England*, and follow their Consciences in the matters of Religion in private, with the Assistance of those Teachers. But *a Lasco*, after a long and hard passage, arriving at *Denmark*, was as ill received there, as if it had been a Popish Country, when they understood that he and his Company were of the *Helvetian* Confession: so that, though it was *December*, and a very severe Winter, they were required to be gone within two days, and could not obtain so much as liberty to leave their Wives or Children behind them, till they could provide a place for them. From thence they went, first to *Lubeck*, then to *Wisnar*, and *Hamburg*, where they found the disputes about the manner of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament, had raised such violent animosities, that after much barbarous usage, they were banished out of all those Towns, and could find no place to settle in, till about the end of *March*, that they came to *Friseland*, where they were suffered to plant themselves.

Many in *England*, seeing the Government was set on severe courses so early, did infer that this would soon grow up to an extream Persecution; so that above a thousand Persons fled beyond Seas: most of them went in the company, and as the Servants, of French Protestants, who having come over in King *Edward's* time, were now required, as the *Germanians* had been, to return into their own Country. The Council understanding this, took care that no Englishman should escape out of their hands; and therefore sent an Order to the Ports, that none should be suffered to go over as Frenchmen, but those who brought Certificates from the French Ambassador. Among those that had got over, some eminent Divines went; who, either having no Sures, or being turned out of their Benefices, were not under such ties to any Flock, so that they judged themselves disengaged, and therefore did not, as Hirelings leave their Flock to the Persecution then imminent, but rather went to look after those who had now left.

left *England*. The chief of these that went at first were *Cox*, *Sands*, *Grindal*, and *Horn*. *Cox* was without any good colour turned out, both of his Deanery of *Christ Church*, and his Prebendary at *Westminster*. He was put into the *Marshalsea*, but on the 19th. of *August* was discharged. *Sands* was turned out for his Sermon before the Duke of *Northumberland* at *Cambridge*: On what account *Grindal* was turned out, I know not; *Horn*, soon after he got beyond Sea, printed an Apology for his leaving his Country: he tells that he heard there was some Crimes against the State objected to him, which made him come up from *Duresme* to clear himself: It was said that three Letters had been written to him in the Queens Name, requiring him to come up, and intimating that they were resolved to charge him with contempt, and other points of State. He protests that he had never received but one, which was given him on the Road; but seeing how he was like to be used, he withdrew out of *England*: upon which he takes occasion in that discourse to vindicate the Preachers in King *Edward's* time, against whom it was now objected, that they had neglected Fasting and Prayer, and had allowed the People all sorts of Liberty: This he said was so false, that the ruling Men in that time were much offended at the great freedom which the Preachers then took, so that many of them would hear no more Sermons; and he says for himself, that though *Tunstal* was now his great enemy, he had refused to accept of his Bishoprick, and was ill used, and threatned, for denying to take it.

All these things tended much to inflame the People. Therefore great care was taken, first, to oblige all those Noblemen who had assisted the Queen at her coming to the Crown; since a grateful acknowledgment of past Services is the greatest encouragement, both to the same Persons to renew them, and to others to undertake the like upon new occasions. The Earl of *Arundel* was made Lord Steward; Sir *Edward Hastings* was made Master of the Horse, and afterwards Lord *Hastings*; Sir *John Gage*, Lord Chamberlain; Sir *John Williams*, who had Proclaimed the Queen in *Oxfordshire*, was made Lord *Williams*; and Sir *Henry Jermyingham*, that first gathered the Men of *Norfolk* about her, was made Captain of her Guard: but *Ratcliff* Earl of *Suffex* had done the most considerable Service of them all; for to him she had given the chief Command of her Army, and he had managed it with that Prudence, that others were thereby encouraged to come in to her Assistance; and an unusual Honour was contrived for him, that he might cover his head in her Presence: which passed under the Great Seal the second of *October*; he being the only Peer of *England* in whom this Honour was ever conferred, as far as I know. The like was granted to the Lord Courcy baron of *King'sale* in *Ireland*, whose Posterity enjoy it to this day: but I am not so well informed of that Family, as to know by which of our Kings it was first granted. The Queen having summoned a Parliament to the tenth of *October*, was Crowned on the first of that month, by *Gardiner*, who with ten other Bishops, all in their Mitres, Copes, and Croziers, performed that Ceremony with great Solemnity. Day

1553.

The Queen rewards those who had served her.

The Queen is crowned, and charges all

But *Gardiner* had prepared a Larges of an extraordinary nature for the

1553.

the Queen to distribute that sum among her Poor, besides her general Pardon; he caused a Proclamation to be published, which did set forth, That whereas the good Subjects of *England* had always exhibited Aid to their Princes, when the good of the Publick, and Honour of the Realm required it; and though the Queen, in her coming to the Crown, found the Treasury was marvellously exhausted, by the evil Government of late years, especially since the Duke of *Northumberland* bare Rule; though she found her self charged with divers great Sums of her Father and Brothers Debts, which for her own Honour, and the Honour of the Realm, she determined to pay in times convenient and reasonable; yet having a special regard to the welfare of her Subjects, and accounting their loving hearts and prosperity the chiefest Treasure which she desired, next to the Favour and Grace of God; therefore, since in her Brother's late Parliament, two Tenths, two Fifteenths, and a Subsidy both out of Lands and Goods, were given to him for paying his Debts; which were now due to her; she of her great Clemency did fully pardon and discharge these Subsidies; trusting her said good Subjects will have loving consideration thereof for their parts, whom she heartily requires, to bend themselves wholly to God, to serve him sincerely, and with continual Prayer, for the honour and advancement of the Queen, and the Commonwealth.

A Parliament
summoned.

And thus Matters were prepared for the Parliament; which was opened the tenth of *October*. In the Writ of Summons, and all other Writs, the Queen retained still the Title of *Supream Head*. *Taylor* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and *Harley* Bishop of *Hereford* came thither, resolving to justify their Doctrine. Most of the other reformed Bishops were now in Prison: for besides these formerly mentioned, on the fourth of *October* the Archbishop of *York* was put in the *Tower*, no cause being given, but heinous Offences only named in general. When the Mass begun, it is said that those two Bishops with drew, and were upon that never suffered to come to their Places again. But one *Beal* the Clerk of the Council in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, reports this otherwise, and more probably; that Bishop *Taylor* took his Place in his Robes, but refusing to give any reverence to the Mass, was violently thrust out of the House. He says nothing of *Harley*, so it is probable that he followed the other. The same Writer also informs us, that in many Places of the Country, Men were chosen by Force and Threats; in other Places those imployed by the Court, did by violence hinder the Commons from coming to Chuse; in many Places false Returns were made; and that some were violently turned out of the House of Commons: upon which Reasons he concludes that it was no Parliament, since it was under a Force; and so might be annulled, as the Parliament held at *Coventry* in the 38th. year of King *Henry the 6th.* was, upon Evidence of the like Force, declared afterwards to be no Parliament. The Journals of the House of Lords in this Parliament are lost; so there is no light to be had of their Proceedings, but from the imperfect Journals of the House of Commons.

Bishops violently thrust
out for not
worshipping
the Mass.

Great Disorder
in Elections.

On the second day of the Session, one moved in the House of Commons for a review of King *Edward's* Laws. But that being a while argued, was at this time laid aside, and the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage was put in. Then followed a Debate upon Dr. *Nowell's* being returned from

from *Loe* in *Cornwal*, whether he being a Prebendary of *Westminster* could sit in that House? and the Committee being appointed to search for Presidents, it was reported, that he being represented in the Convocation House, could not be a Member of that House; so he was cut out. The Bill of Tonnage and Poundage was sent up to the Lords, who sent it down to the Commons to be reformed in two Proviso's that were not according to former Presidents. How far this was contrary to the Rights of the Commons, who now say that the Lords cannot alter a Bill of Money, I am not able to determine. The only publick Bill that passed in this short Session was for a Declaration of Treasons and Felonies: by which it was ordained that nothing should be judged Treason, but what was within the Statute of Treasons in the twenty-fifth of *Edward* the third; and nothing should be so judged Felony, that was not so before the 1st. year of King *Henry* the eight, excepting from any benefit of this Act, all such as had been in Prison before the last of *September*; who were also excepted out of the Queens Pardon at her Coronation. Two private Bills also passed: the one for the restoring of the Wife of the late Marquess of *Exeter*, who had been Attainted in the 32^d. year of King *Henry's* Reign; and the other for her Son *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*. And so the Parliament was Prorogued from the 21st. to the 24th. of *October*, that there might be a Session of Parliament consisting only of Acts of Mercy; though this Repeal of additional Treasons and Felonies, was not more than what had passed in the beginning of King *Edward's* Reign, without the clog of so severe a Proviso, by which many were cut off from the Favour designed by it.

1553.
An Act for
moderating
some severe
Laws.

Some have thought, that since Treasons had been reduced by the second Act of *Edward* the 6th. to the standard of the 25th. of *Edward* the third, that therefore there was somewhat else designed by this Act, than barely the repealing some late severe Acts, which being done the 1st. of *Edward* the 6th. needed not be now repealed, if it imported no more. And since this Act as it is worded, mentions, or rather excepts, those Treasons that are declared and expressed in the 25th. of *Edward* the 3^d. they have inferred that the power of Parliaments declaring of Treasons *Ex post facto*, which was reserved by that Statute, is hereby taken away; and that nothing is now to be held Treason, but what is enumerated in that Statute. Yet this is still liable to Debate; since the one may be thought to be declared and expressed in general words, as well as the other specialities are in more particular words; and is also still in force. So nothing seems comprehended within this Repeal, but the Acts passed in King *Edward's* Reign, declaring other Crimes to be Treason: some are added in the same Act, and others in that of the 3^d. and 4th. of his Reign, *chap. 5*. Nor is it likely, that if the Parliament had intended to have delivered the Subjects from the apprehensions of all Acts of Attainder, upon a Declaration of new Treasons, they would not have expressed it more plainly; since it must have been very grateful to the Nation, which had groaned heavily under Arbitrary Attainders of late years.

When the Parliament met again, the first Bill the Commons entred on, was that of Tonnage and Poundage, which they passed in two days. Then was the Bill about King *Henry's* Marriage with the Queens Mother sent down on the 26th. by the Lords, and the Commons passed it on the 28th. so strangely was the stream turned, that a Divorce that had

the Marriage
Queen Ka-
therine to King
Henry Confir-
med

been

1553.

been for seven years much desired by the Nation, was now repeated upon fewer days consultation. In the Preamble it was said, ' That truth how much soever obscured and born down, will in the end break out : and that therefore they declared that King *Henry* the 2th. being lawfully married to Queen *Katherine* by the consent of both their Parents, and the advice of the wisest Men in the Realm, and of the best and notablest Men for Learning in Christendom, did continue that state twenty years, in which God blessed them with her Majesty and other Issue, and a course of great happiness ; but then a very few malicious Persons did endeavour to break that happy agreement between them, and studied to possess the King, with a scruple in his Conscience about it : and to support that, caused the Seals of some Universities to be got against it, a few Persons being corrupted with money for that end. They had also by sinistrous ways, and secret threatnings, procured the Seals of the Universities of this Kingdom, and finally *Thomas Cranmer* did most ungoddily, and against Law, judge the Divorce, upon his own unadvised understanding of the Scriptures, upon the Testimonies of the Universities, and some bare and most untrue conjectures ; and that was afterwards confirmed by two Acts of Parliament, in which was contained the Illegitimacy of her Majesty : But that Marriage not being prohibited by the Law of God, and lawfully made, could not be so broken ; since what God hath joyned together, no Man could put asunder : all which they considering, together with the many miseries that had fallen on the Kingdom since that time, which they did esteem Plagues sent from God for it ; therefore they declare that Sentence given by *Cranmer* to be unlawful, and of no force from the beginning : and do also repeal the Acts of Parliament that had confirmed it.

Which was much Censured.

By this Act, *Gardiner* had performed his Promise to the Queen, of getting her Illegitimation taken off, without any relation to the Popes Authority. But in the drawing of it, he shewed that he was past all shame : when he could frame such an Act, of a business which himself had so violently and servilely promoted. The falsehood of that pretence of corrupting Universities has been shewn in the former Volume : but it was all they had now to say. The laying it all upon *Cranmer* was as high a pitch of malice and impudence as could be devised : for as *Gardiner* had been setting it on, long before *Cranmer* was known to King *Henry* ; so he had been joyned with him in the Commission, and had given his assent to the Sentence which *Cranmer* gave. Nor was the Divorce grounded meely upon *Cranmer's* understanding of the Scriptures, but upon the fullest and most studied Arguments, that had perhaps been in any Age brought together in one particular Case : and both Houses of Convocation had condemned the Marriage before his Sentence. But because in the right of his See he was *Legate to the Pope*, therefore to make the Sentence stronger, it went only in his name, though he had but a small share in it, compared to what *Gardiner* had.

The Queen's
affection to
her daughter
the Lady
Elizabeth
born.

By this Act, there was also a second Illegitimation brought on the Lady *Elizabeth*, to whom hitherto the Queen had been very kind, using her on all occasions with the tenderness of a Sister : but from this time forwards she handled her more severely. It was perhaps occasioned by

by this Act, since before they stood both equally illegitimated; but now the Act that legitimated the Queen, making her most certainly a Bastard in Law, the Queen might think it now too much to use her as she had done formerly. Others suggest a more secret reason of this distast. The new Earl of *Devonshire* was much in the Queens favour, so that it was thought she had some inclinations to marry him; but he, either not presuming so high, or really having an aversion to her, and an inclination to her Sister, who of that moderate share of beauty that was between them, had much the better of her, and was nineteen years younger, made his Addresses with more than ordinary concern to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and this did bring them both in trouble, as shall be afterwards shewn.

The next Bill that was sent from the Lords to the Commons, was for the repealing King *Edward's* Laws about Religion. It was sent down on the 31st. of *October*, and argued six days in the House of Commons: but in the end it was carried, and sent back to the Lords. The Preamble of it sets forth the great disorders that had fallen out in the Nation by the changes that had been made in Religion, from that which their Fore-fathers had left them by the Authority of the Catholick Church: thereupon all the Laws that had been made in King *Edward's* time about Religion were now repealed; and it was Enacted that, from the 20th. of *December* next, there should be no other Form of Divine Service but what had been used in the last year of King *Henry* the 8th leaving it free to all till that day, to use either the Books appointed by King *Edward*, or the old ones at their pleasure.

Another Act was passed, which the Commons sent up to the Lords, against all those who by any overt Act should molest or disquiet any Preacher, because of his Office, or for any Sermon that he might have Preached; or should any way disturb them when they were in any part of the Divine Offices, that either had been in the last year of King *Henry*, or should be afterwards set forth by the Queen; or should break or abuse the holy Sacrament, or break Altars, Crucifixes, or Crosses; those that did any of these things should be presented to the Justices of Peace, and be by them put in Prison, where they should lye three Months, or till they were penitent for their Offences: and if any rescued them, they should be liable to the same punishment. But to this a Proviso was added by the Lords, that this Act should no way derogate from the Authority of the Ecclesiastical Laws and Courts, who might likewise proceed upon such Offences: and a Certificate from the Ordinaries, that such Offenders were punished by them, being brought to the Justices of Peace, they were to proceed no further: or if the Justices made a Certificate that they had punished them according to Law, the Ordinary might not punish them a second time. But the Commons were now so heated, that they sent up another Bill to the Lords against those who came not to Church, nor to Sacraments, after the old Service should be again set up: the inflicting of the Punishments in these cases being left to the Ecclesiastical Courts. This fell in the House of Lords, not so much from any opposition that was made, as that they were afraid of alarming the Nation too much, by many severe Laws at once.

Another Law was made for securing the publick Peace against unlawful Assemblies.

1553.

The Laws made by King Edward repealed.

An Act against the offending Priests.

An Act against unlawful Assemblies.

1553.

lawful and rebellious Assemblies: that if any to the number of twelve or above, should meet to alter any thing of Religion established by Law, and being required by any, having the Queens Authority, to disperse themselves, should continue after that an hour together, it should be Felony: or if that number met to break Hedges or Parks, to destroy Deer or Fish, &c. and did not disperse upon Proclamation, it should be Felony: or if any, by ringing of Bells, Drums, or firing of Beacons, gathered the People together, and did the things before mentioned, it was Felony: if the Wives or Servants of Persons so gathered, carried Meat, Money, or Weapons to them, it should be Felony: and if any above the number of two, and within twelve, should meet for these ends, they should suffer a years imprisonment; empowering the Sheriffs or Justices to gather the Country for the resistance of Persons so offending, with Penalties on all, between eighteen and sixty, that, being required to come out against them, should refuse to do it. When this Act was known, the People then saw clearly how they had been deceived by the former Act, that seemed so favourable, repealing all Acts of new Treasons and Felonies; since there was so soon after it an Act passed that renewed one of the severest Laws of the last Reign, in which so many things, that might flow from sudden heats, were made Felonies, and a great many new and severe Proviso's were added to it. The Queens discharge of the Subsidy was confirmed by another Act.

The Marquess
of Northampton's 2d. Marriage is annulled.

There followed two private Acts, which occasioned more Debate than the publick ones had done: The one was, the repeal of the Act that had confirmed the Marquess of *Northampton's* Marriage: It was much argued in the House of Commons, and on the 28th. of *November* it was agreed to. It contains, that the Act of confirming the Divorce, and the second Marriage, was procured more upon untrue surmises and private respects, than for any publick good, and increase of vertue: and that it was an encouragement for sensual Persons, to practise by false allegations that they might be separated from their Wives, rather than a President to induce People to live with their Wives in a godly sort: thereupon the Act was repealed, and declared void and of no effect. In this it seems, the Arguments that were against it in the House of Commons had so moderated the Style of it, that it was not repealed as an Act sinful in it self, but it was only declared that in that particular case the Divorce was unlawfully made: for it is reasonable to believe that the Bishops had put in the first draught of the Bill, a simple repeal of it, and of all such Divorces, founded on the indissolubleness of the Marriage Bond.

Duke
of Norfolk.

The other Act was about the Duke of *Norfolk*, for declaring his Attainder void. The Patentees that had purchased some parts of his Estate from the Crown, desired to be heard to plead against it. But the Session of the Parliament being near at an end, the Duke came down himself to the House of Commons on the 4th. of *December*; and desired them earnestly to pass his Bill; and said, that the difference between him and the Patentees was referred to Arbiters, and if they could not agree it, he would refer it to the Queen. It was long argued after that, but in the end it was agreed to. It sets forth, that the Act, by which he was Attainted, had no special matter in it, but only Treasons in general, and a pretence that out of the Parliaments care for the King,

and

and his Son the Prince, it was necessary to attain him. That the Reasons they pretended, were, his using Coats of Arms, which he and his Ancestors had and might lawfully use. It further says, That the King died the next night after the Commission was given for passing the Bill; and that it did not appear, that the King had given his Assent to it. That the Commission was not signed by the King's hand, but only by his Stamp; and that was put to the neather end, and not to the upper part of the Bill, which shewed it was done in disorder; and that it did not appear that these commissioned for it had given the *Royal Assent* to it. Upon which Considerations, that pretended Act is declared void and null by the common Laws of the Land. And it is further declared, That the Law was, and ever hath been, that the Royal Assent should be given, either by the King being present, or in his absence, by a Commission under the Great Seal, signed with his hand, and publickly notified to the Lords and Commons.

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The last Act of which I shall give an account, was the Confirmation of the Attainders that had been made. On the 3^d of November, Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, and the Lady *Jane* his Wife, with two other Sons of the Duke of *Northumberland*, (which were all, except the Lord *Robert*, who was reserved for greater Fortunes,) were brought to their Trial. These all confessed their Endictments. Only *Cranmer* appealed to those that judged him, how unwillingly he had consented to the exclusion of the Queen; that he had not done it, till those whose profession it was to know the Law had signed it: upon which he submitted himself to the Queens Mercy. But they were all attainted of High-Treason, for levying War against the Queen, and conspiring to set up another in her room. So these Judgments, with those that had passed before, were now confirmed by Act of Parliament.

Cranmer and others attainted.

And now *Cranmer* was legally devested of his Arch-Bishoprick, which was hereupon void in Law, since a Man that is attainted can have no right to any Church-Benefice; his Life was also at the Queens Mercy. But it being now designed to restore the Ecclesiastical Exemption and Dignity to what it had been anciently, it was resolved, that he should be still esteemed Arch-Bishop, till he were solemnly degraded, according to the Canon Law. The Queen was also inclined to give him his Life at this time, reckoning, that thereby she was acquitted of all the Obligations she had to him; and was resolved to have him proceeded against for Heresie, that so it might appear she did not act out of revenge, or on any personal account. So all that followed on this against *Cranmer*, was a Sequestration of all the Fruits of his Arch-Bishoprick; himself was still kept in Prison: Nor were the other Prisoners proceeded against at this time. The Queen was desirous to seem willing to pardon Injuries done against her self, but was so heated in the Matters of Religion, that she was always inexorable on that Head.

But the See of Canterbury is not declared void.

Having given this Account of Publick Transactions, I must relate next what were more secretly carried on, but breaking out at this time, occasioned the sudden Dissolution of the Parliament.

Cardinal *Dardano*, that was then the Pope's Legate at the Emperors Court, sent over *Commendone* (afterwards a Cardinal) to bring him a certain Account of the Queens Intentions concerning Religion; he gave him in charge, to endeavour to speak with her in private, and to perswade her to reconcile her Kingdom to the Apostolick See. This

The Queen tries about a Reconciliation with Rome.

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was to be managed with great secrecy, for they did not know whom to trust in so important a Negotiation : It seems, they neither confided in *Gardiner*, nor in any of the other Bishops. *Commendone*, being thus instructed, went to *Newport*, where he gave himself out to be the Nephew of a Merchant, that was lately dead at *London*; and hired two Servants to whom he was unknown, and so he came over unsuspected to *London*. There he was so much a Stranger, that he did not know to whom he should address himself. By accident he met with one *Lee*, a Servant of the Queen's, that had fled beyond Sea during the former Reign, and had been then known to him; so he trusted him with the Secret of his Business in *England*. He procured him a secret Audience of the Queen, in which she freely owned to him her Resolution of reconciling her Kingdom to the See of *Rome*, and so of bringing all things back to the state in which they had been before the Breach made by her Father : but she said, It was absolutely necessary to manage this Design with great Prudence and secrecy, lest in that Confusion of Affairs, the discovery of it might much disturb her Government, and obstruct her Design. She writ by him to the Pope, giving him assurance of her filial Obedience, and so sent *Commendone* to *Rome*. She also writ by him to Cardinal *Pool*, and ordered *Commendone* to move the Pope, that he might be sent over with a Legatine Power. Yet he that writ that Cardinal's Life insinuates, that the Queen had another design in desiring that *Pool* might be sent over; for she ask'd him, Whether the Pope might not dispence with the Cardinal to marry, since he was only in Deacons Orders? Before *Commendone* left *England*, he saw the Duke of *Northumberland* executed, and soon after he made all the haste that was possible to carry those acceptable Tidings to *Rome*; and by his dexterity in this Negotiation, he laid the foundation of those great Fortunes, to which he was afterwards advanced. There was no small Joy in the Consistory, when the Pope and the Cardinals understood, that a Kingdom, from which they had drawn so much Wealth in former times, was now to become again tributary to them. So there was a publick rejoycing for three days, in which the Pope said Mass himself, and distributed his ordinary Largess of Indulgences, of which he was the more bountiful, because he hoped they should come in credit again, and be purchased at the Rates at which they had been formerly sold. Yet in the Consistory, *Commendone* did not positively say he was sent by the Queen, that being only communicated to the Pope : all he told the Cardinals, was, That he understood from very good hands, that the Queen was very well disposed to that See; and that she desired, that a Legate might be sent over with full Powers. Many of the Cardinals thought this was too bare a Message; and that it was below the Papal Dignity, to send a Legate, till the Pope was earnestly desired to do it, by an express Message, and an Embassy sent by the Queen. But it was said, that *Commendone* had said nothing but by the Queens express Orders, who was yet in so unsettled condition, that till she held a Session of Parliament, it might much endanger her to appear openly in such a Matter : They were to remember, how *England* had been lost by too much stiffness formerly; and they were to imitate the Shepherd in the Parable, who left his ninety nine Sheep, to seek the one that was strayed. So it was granted, that *Pool* should go Legate, with a full Power. But *Gardiner* coming to know

know this, sent to the Emperor to stop his Journey, assuring him, that things were going well on, and that his coming over would spoil all. At this time the Emperor began to think of marrying his Son *Philip* to the Queen, who, though she was above nine years elder than he, yet being but thirty seven years old, was not out of hopes of having Children. The Emperor saw, that if *England* were united to the Spanish Crown, it would raise that Monarchy to a great height, they should have all the Trade of the World in their hands, and so enclose *France*, and it seemed as probable a step to the Universal Monarchy, as that he had lately lost in *Germany*. When this Match was first proposed, I do not know; but I have read some parts of a Letter concerning it, (for it is not all legible) which was written by the Queen of *Hungary*, and signed by the Emperor, in the beginning of *November*; this, tho it was not the first Proposition, yet seems to have followed soon after it. The Queen entertained the Motion easily, not trusting to the Affections of her People, nor thinking it possible to have the Papal Authority set up, nor the Church-Lands restored, without a forreign Force to assist her. It is said, and I have shewn some ground to believe, that she had some inclinations to *Cardinal Pool*; and that the Emperor, fearing that might be an hindrance to his Design, therefore the Cardinal's coming over was stopp'd, till the Queen was married to his Son *Philip*. But of this I find no certain footsteps. On the contrary, *Gardiner*, whose eye was chiefly upon the Arch-Bishoprick of *Cantuar*, would rather have promoted *Pool's* pretensions to the Queen; since her marrying a Subject, and not a Stranger, would have made the Covenant much easier, and more acceptable to the People; and it would have been the best thing he could do for himself, if he could have persuaded her to marry him, who alone was like to stand between him and that Dignity.

The true Account of it, is: The Emperor pressed her, first to settle the State, and consummate her Marriage; and that would more easily make way for what was to follow: for *Gardiner* had assured him, the bringing in of the Papal Power, and making up the Marriage both at once, would be things of such ill digestion, that it would not be easie to carry them together; and therefore it was necessary to let a considerable Interval go between. This being resolved on, it was apparent the Marriage ought to go first, as that which would give them more strength to conclude the other. And this was the true reason of stopping *Cardinal Pool* at * *Dilling*; which the Emperor at first did by his own Authority, but afterwards got the Queen to send one to him to the same purpose. She sent *Goldwell* (afterwards Bishop of *St. Asaph*) to him, with the two Acts that were passed, for the justifying of her Mothers Marriage, and for bringing all things back to the State in which they were at her Father's Death. Thereby she let him see, that she was going forward in the Business for which he was sent; but what she told him, That the Commons, in passing those Acts, had expressed great aversion to the taking of the Supremacy from the Crown, or the restoring of the Pope's Power; and that they were much alarm'd, to hear he was coming over Legate; and it prejudiced her Affairs, that the Message she had sent by *Commendone*, had been published in the Consistory. Therefore she desired him to keep out of *England*, till he were further

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But stopp'd in his Journey by the Emperour.

* A Town on the Danube.

The Queen sent one to him.

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Collections,
Ninth.

advertised. But to let him see how much she depended on his Counsel, she desired he would send her a List of such Persons as should be made Bishops; for many were now to be turned out. To this (besides the Answer which he might have writ to her self, that I have not seen,) he writ a copious Answer, in a tedious Paper of Instructions, which he gave to Goldwell; the Conclusion of which, summing up his whole Mind fully enough, I thought sufficient to put into the *Collection*, for the Instructions are extream long, and very full of words to little purpose. They seem to be of his own hand-writing, but of that I am not well assured, having seen nothing else of his hand, except his Subscription.

The Advice
he sent to the
Queen.

The substance of it was this: 'He rejoiced much at the two Acts that were passed, but yet he censures them both, because he observed some Defects in them: In the Act for confirming her Mothers Marriage, he found fault that there was no mention made of the Popes Bulls, by the authority of which only it could be a lawful Marriage. In the other, he did not like it, that the Worship of God, and the Sacraments, were to be as they were in the end of her Fathers Reign; for then the People were yet in a State of Schism, and Schismatics have no right to the Sacraments; the Pope's Interdict still lay on the Nation, and till that were taken off, none could without Sin either administer, or receive them. He told her, that *Commendone* had said nothing in her Name to the Consistory, but had spoken to them only on the Reports which, he said, he had heard of her from good hands; and it was necessary to say somewhat, in order to the sending a Legate: That many in the Consistory had opposed the sending of him, because there was no express Desire sent about it; but it was carried, that he should come over with very full Graces, and Power to reconcile the Kingdom on very easy Terms. He also told her, he was afraid, that when the Pope and Cardinals should hear that he was stopp'd, they would retract their Benignity, and take this as an Affront, and recall him and his Powers, and send another that would not be so tender of the Nation, or bring with him such full Powers: That to prevent this, he had sent one to the Pope and Cardinals, to mitigate their displeasure, by letting them know, he was only stopp'd for a little while, till the Act of Attainder that stood against him was repealed; and to make a shew of going forward, he had sent his Household-Stuff to *Flanders*, but would stay where he was, till he had further Orders. He said, he knew this flowed chiefly from the Emperor, who was for using such Political Courses, as himself had followed in the Business of the *Interim*, and was earnest to have the State settled; before she meddled with Religion; he had spoke with his Confessor about it, and had convinced him of the Impiety of such Courses, and sent him to work on him. He also told the Queen, he was afraid carnal Policy might govern her too much, and that she might thereby fall from her simplicity in Christ, in which she had hitherto lived. He encouraged her therefore to put on a Spirit of Wisdom and Courage, and to trust in God who had preserved her so long, and had settled her on the Throne in so unlook'd for a manner. He desired she would shew as much Courage in rejecting the Supremacy, as her Father had done in acquiring it. He confessed, he knew none in either House of Parliament fit to propose that matter: the Spirituality had all complied

so far, had written and declared for it so much, that it could not flow from them decently; and the Temporality being possessed of the Church Lands, would not willingly move it: therefore he thought it best for her self to go to the Parliament, having before-hand acquainted some few both of the Spirituality and Temporality with her Design; and that she should tell both Houses, she was touched in her Conscience, that she and her People were in a Schism from the Catholick Church and the Apostolick See; and that therefore she had desired a Legate to come over to Treat about it; and should thereupon propose that the Attainder might be taken off from him, that he might be capable to come on that Message. And he protested, that he had never acted against the King, or Kingdom, but only with design to reduce them to the Unity of the Church; neither before nor after the Attainder: And whereas some might apprehend a thralldom from the Papacy, she might give them assurance that they should see all things so well secured, that there should no danger come to the Nation from it; and he assured them that he, for his part, should take as much care of that, as any of all the Temporality could desire. What Recommendations he sent, for the Sees that were to be declared vacant, I do not know.

When this Dispatch of his was brought into England, Gardiner, by the assistance of the Emperor, convinced the Queen that his method was unpracticable, and that the Marriage must be first dispatched: a now Gardiner and he did declare open Enmity to one another. Gardiner thought him a weak man, that might have some speculative knowledge of abstracted Ideas, but understood not the World, nor the genius of the English Nation. Pool, on the other hand, thought him a false Man, that made conscience of nothing, and was better at Intrigues and Dissimulation, than the Government of the Church. But the Emperor saw Gardiner had so prudently managed this Parliament, that he concluded his measures were rather to be followed than the Cardinals.

In the House of Commons it was given out, that it was necessary to gain the Queen to the Interest of the Nation, and to turn her from foreign Councils and Aid, by being easy to her in the matter of Religion, and therefore they were ready both to repeal the Divorce; and king Edward's Laws. But when they saw the design of the Marriage, and uniting with Rome, was still carried on, they were all much alarmed: so they sent their Speaker, and twenty of their House with him, with an earnest and humble Address to her, not to marry a Stranger. This had so enflamed the House, that the Court saw more could not be expected from them, unless they were satisfied in that point. So on the sixth of December the Parliament was dissolved. Upon that Gardiner sent to the Emperor, to let him know that the Marriage was like to meet with such opposition, that unless extraordinary Conditions were offered, which all should see were much to the advantage of the English Crown, it could not be carried without a general Rebellion. He also assured him, that if great sums of money were not sent over to gratifie the Nobility and leading men in the Country, both for obliging them to his interest, and enabling them to carry Elections for the next Parliament, the opposition would be such, that the Queen must lay down all thoughts of marrying his Son. Upon this, the Emperor and his Son resolved to offer

1553.

But Gardiner
Meth
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The House of
Commons dis-
pleased with
the Marriage
with Spain.

The Parlia-
ment is dissol-
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Marriage.

offer what Conditions the English would demand: for *Philip* reckoned, if he once had the Crown on his Head, it would be easie for him with the assistance which his other Dominions might give him, to make all these signify little. And for Money, the Emperor borrowed twelve hundred thousand Crowns, (which in English Money was four hundred thousand pounds, for the Crown was then a Noble) and promised to send it over to be distributed as *Gardiner* and his Embassadors should think fit: but made his Son bind himself to repay him that sum, when he had once attained the Crown of *England*. And thus the Emperor made so little a secret, that when, a year after, some Towns in *Germany*, that had lent a part of this Money, desired to be repaid: he answered them, that he had lent his Son 1200000 Crowns to marry him to the Queen of *England*, and had yet received of him only 300000 Crowns, but he had good security for the rest, and the Merchants were bound to pay him 100000 lib. Sterling, and therefore he demanded a little more time of them. All this was printed soon after at *Strasburgh* by the English there, in a Book which they sent over to *England*; in which, both the Address made by the Commons in Parliament, and this Answer of the Emperor's to the Towns, is mentioned. And that whole Discourse, (which is in the form of an Address to the Queen, the Nobility and the Commons,) is written with such gravity and simplicity of Style, that as it is by much the best I have seen of this time: so in these publick Transactions, there is no reason to think it untrue. For the things which it relates are credible of themselves; and though the sum there mentioned was very great, yet he that considers that *England* was to be bought with it, will not think it an extraordinary price. In that Discourse, it is further said, that as *Gardiner* corrupted many by Bribes, so in the Court of *Chancery*, Common Justice was denied to all but those who came into these Designs.

The Proceed-
ings of the
Convocation.

Having thus given an account of what was done in the Parliament, I shall next shew how the Convocation proceeded. *Bonner* being to preside in it, as being the first Bishop of the Province of *Canterbury*, appointed *John Harpsfield* his Chaplain to preach: who took his Text out of the twentieth of the *Acts* (verse 20.) *Feed the Flock*. He run out in his bidding Prayers, most profusely on the Queens Praises, comparing her to *Deborah* and *Esther*, with all the servilest flatteries he could invent: next he bid them pray for the Lady *Elizabeth*: but when he came to mention the Clergy, he enlarged in the praises of *Bonner*, *Gardiner*, *Tunstall*, *Blount*, and *Day*, so grossly, that it seems the strains of flattering Church-men at that time were very coarse: and he run out so copiously in them, as if he had been to deliver a Panegyrick and not to bid them pray. In his Sermon he inveighed against the late Preachers, for not observing Fasts, nor keeping Lent, and for their Marriages which he severely condemned.

Minutes con-
cerning the
Summunt.

Weston, Dean of *Westminster*, was presented Prolocutor by the lower House, and approved of by *Bonner*. Whether any of the Bishops that had been made in King *Edward's* time sat among them, I do not know. But in the lower House there was great opposition made. There had been care taken that there should be none returned to the Convocation, but such as would comply in all points. But yet there came six Non-compliers, who being Deans or Archdeacons, had a right to sit in

in the Convocation. These were *Philpot* Archdeacon of *Winchester*, *Philips* Dean of *Rocheſter*, *Haddon* Dean of *Exeter*, *Cheyney* Arch-deacon of *Hereford*, *Ailmer* Arch-deacon of *Stow*, and *Young* Chanter of *St. Davids*. *Weston* the Prolocutor propoſed to them, on the 18th. of *October*, that there had been a Catechiſm printed in the laſt year of King *Edwards* Reign in the name of that Synod, and as he underſtood it was done without their conſents, which was a peſtiferous Book, and full of Hereſies; There was likewiſe a very abominable Book of Common Prayer ſet out; it was therefore the Queens pleaſure that they ſhould prepare ſuch Laws about Religion, as ſhe would ratifie with her Parliament. So he propoſed that they ſhould begin with condemning thoſe Books, particularly the Articles in them contrary to the Sacrament of the Altar: and he gave out two queſtions about it: Whether in the Sacrament, upon the Sanctification of the Bread and Wine, all their ſubſtance did not vaniſh, being changed into the Body and Blood of Chriſt? and, Whether the natural Body of Chriſt was not corporally preſent in the Eucharift, either by the Tranſubſtantiation of the Elements into his Body and Blood, or by the Conjunction of Concomitance, as ſome expreſſed it? The Houſe was adjourned till the 20th, on which day every Man was appointed to give in his Answer to theſe Queſtions. All answered and ſubſcribed in the affirmative, except the ſix before mentioned. *Philpot* ſaid, whereas it was given out that the Catechiſm was not approved by the Convocation, though it was printed in their name; it was a miſtake: for the Convocation had authoriſed a number of Perſons to ſet forth Eccleſiaſtical Laws, to whom they had committed their Synodal Authority; So that they might well ſet out ſuch Books in the name of the Convocation. He alſo ſaid, that it was againſt all order, to move Men to ſubſcribe in ſuch points, before they were examined: and ſince the number of theſe on the one ſide, was ſo unequal to thoſe on the other ſide; he deſired that *Dr. Ridley*, *Mr. Rogers*, and two or three more, might be allowed to come to the Convocation. This ſeemed very reaſonable. So the lower Houſe propoſed it to the Biſhops. They answered, that theſe perſons being Priſoners, they could not bring them: but they ſhould move the Council about it. A Meſſage alſo was ſent from ſome great Lords, that they intended to hear the Diſputations; ſo the Houſe adjourned till the 23d.

There was then a great appearance of Noblemen and others. The Prolocutor began with a Proteſtation, that by this Diſpute they did not intend to call the Truth in doubt, to which they had all ſubſcribed; but they did it only to ſatiſfie the objections of thoſe few who reſuſed to concur with them. But it was denyed to let any Priſoners or others aſſiſt them, for it was ſaid, that that being a Diſpute among thoſe of the Convocation, none but Members were to be heard in it. *Haddon*, and *Ailmer*, foreſeeing they ſhould be run down with clamour and noiſe, reſuſed to diſpute: *Young* went away: *Cheyney* being next ſpoke to, did propoſe his Objections: that *St. Paul* calls the Sacrament Bread after the Conſecration: that *Origen* ſaid, it went into the Excrement: and *Theodore* ſaid, the Bread and Wine did not in the Sacrament depart from their former Subſtance, Form, and Shape. *Moreman* was called on to answer him. He ſaid, that *St. Paul* calling it Bread, was to be underſtood thus, the Sacrament or Form of Bread. To *Origens* Authority

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ty he answered nothing ; but to *Theodore* he said, the word they render *Substance* stood in a more general signification, and so might signifie *accidental Substance*. Upon this, *Ailmer*, who had resolved not to Dispute, could not contain himself, but said the Greek Word, *εἶδος*, could not be so understood, for the following words of *Form* and *Shape* belonged to the Accidents, but that only belonged to the Substance of the Elements. Upon this there followed a Contest about the signification of that word. Then *Philpot* struck in, and said, the occasion of *Theodore's* writing, plainly shewed, that was a vain Cavil ; for the Dispute was with the *Eutychians*, whether the Body and humane Nature of Christ had yet an Existence distinct from the Divine Nature ? The *Eutychians* said, it was swallowed up by his Godhead ; and argued from some expressions used concerning the Sacrament, as if the presence of Christ in it had swallowed up the Elements : against which, *Theodore*, according to the Orthodox Doctrine, argued to prove that there was in Christ a humane Nature, not swallowed up ; and said, that as in the Sacrament, notwithstanding the union of Christ with the Elements, they did not depart from their *Substance, Form, and Shape* ; So the humane Nature of Christ, was not absorbed by its Union to the Godhead. So it plainly appeared, this word *Substance* stood for the Nature of the Elements. *Moreman* being straitned in answering this, *Philpot* said, if he had not an Answer ready, he would desire him to think on one against their next Meeting ; upon this the Prolocutor checked him, as if he were bragging too soon. He insisted on his Argument, but was commanded to be silent. *Haddon* upon that proposed another Argument, from these Words of our Saviour, *The Poor you have always with you, but Me you have not always* : That therefore his Body was not in the Sacrament. To this the Prolocutor answered, that Christ was not to be always with us so as to receive our Alms ; which is all that was intended by that place : But *Haddon* brought a copious Citation out of *St. Austin*, applying that very Place to prove that Christ's natural Presence was no more on Earth, after his Ascension into Heaven. To this *Dr. Watson* opposed another place of *St. Austin*, and some dispute was about those Places : After that, *Haddon* read more Authorities of Fathers, asserting that Christ was in Heaven and not on Earth ; the Words of the Institution did plainly express it : both because the Sacrament was to be in remembrance of Christ, and because it was to continue until his coming again. But to this they said, he was not on Earth in a bodily manner ; and they endeavoured to take away the Force of the Argument from the Words, *until his coming again*, by some other Acceptions of the Word [*until*.] But *Haddon* asked them, whether they thought Christ did eat his own natural Body, when he instituted and took the Sacrament ? they said he did. Upon that he answered, that that was so absurd, that he thought it needless to argue more with those who could yield it, and so he sat down. *Philpot* argued, that Christ could not receive his own Body in the Sacrament, since it was given for the Remission of Sins, of which he was not capable, having no Sin ; *Weston* answered, he might receive it, as well as he Baptized : But *Philpot* answered, he was baptized, as he said himself, to be an example to others. So ended this days Dispute.

On the 25 *Philpot*, who was ordered to begin that Day, had prepared

pared a long Discourse in *Latin* : But *Weston* interrupted him, and said, He must make no Speech, he was only to propose his Arguments, and that in *English*; though it had been before ordered that the Dispute should be in *Latin*. Then *Philpot* went to explain what sort of Presence he would dispute against, and what he allowed. Here *Weston* again interrupted him, and bid him form his Argument. Upon that he fell down on his Knees, and begged of the Lords, and Privy-Counsellors that were present, That he might have leave to speak his Mind: Which they granted him; so, he said, For their Sacrifice of the Mass, he would prove that it was no Sacrament at all, and that Christ was no way present in it; which if he should not do, before the Queen and her Council, against any fix that would maintain the contrary, he should be willing to be burnt before the Court Gates. Upon this there was great out-crying, that he was mad, and talkt idely; and *Weston* threatned to send him to Prison. But this noise being laid, and he claiming the priviledg of the House for the freedom of Speech, was required to go on to an Argument. Then he proved that Christ was in Heaven; for himself said, *I leave the World, and go to my Father*: and to prove there was no ambiguity in these words, he observed, that his Disciples said upon this, *Now thou speakest plainly, without any Parable*. It was answered by Dr. *Chedsey*, That those words were only meant of his visible Ascension, but did not exclude his invisible presence; and he cited some words of *Chrysostom's*, That Christ took his Flesh with him, and also left his Flesh behind him. *Weston* and the rest said, That Authority was unanswerable; and for a while would not hear his Answer. But *Philpot* shewed him, that *Chrysostom's* words must be understood in a large sense, as Believers are said to be Flesh of his Flesh; for that Father applies that also to Baptism, from these words, *As many as are baptized into Christ, have put on Christ*; so the Flesh that Christ left on Earth, according to him, is not the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament. Upon this, *Pye*, Dean of *Chichester*, whispered somewhat to the Prolocutor; who thereupon said to *Philpot*, That he had disputed enough. He answered, That he had a dozen of Arguments, and they were enjoining him silence, before he had got through one of them. They threatned to send him to Prison if he spoke more. He said, That was far from the Promise they had made of hearing them fully; and from what was preached last Sunday at *Pauls*, That all things should be answered in this Disputation. But *Pye* said, He should be answered another way. *Philpot* replied, There was a Company of them now got together, who had heretofore dissembled with God and the World; and were now met to suppress God's Truth, and to set forth false Devices, which they were not able to maintain. After this *Ailmer* stood up, and brought many Authorities out of Greek Authors, to prove that *εἰσα* in *Theodore's*, could only be understood of the substance of Bread and Wine: and *Moreman* desired a days time to consider of them. Then *Pern*, though he had subscribed with the rest, brought some Arguments against Transubstantiation; for which the Prolocutor chid him, since he had before subscribed. *Ailmer* answered, That it was against the freedom of the House, for any to be so chid for delivering his Conscience. It was now become late, so they adjourned to the 27th.

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Then they again disputed about *Theodore's* words, where *Haddon* shewed that he said the Symboles retained the same *Substance* that they had before. After that *Cheyney* fell to argue about those words; he acknowledged a real Presence, but denied Transubstantiation, and pressed *Theodore's* Authority so close, that *Watson* said he was a *Nestorian*; and if *Theodore*, who was but one, was of their side, there was above a hundred Fathers against them. Upon this *Cheyney* quoted *Irenaeus*, who had said, that our flesh was nourished by the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament. He also cited *Hesychius*, who said that in the Church of *Jerusalem*, the Symboles that were not consumed in the Communion, were burnt afterwards; he desired to know whether the Ashes were the Body of Christ, or what it was that was burnt. To all this *Harpfield* made a long Answer concerning Gods Omnipotence, and the weakness of mens understandings, that could not comprehend Divine Mysteries. But *Cheyney* still asked what it was that was burnt? *Harpfield* replied, it was either the Substance of Bread, or the Body of Christ; and afterwards said it was a Miracle: At that *Cheyney* smiled, and said, then he could say no more. *Weston* asked, whether there was not enough said in answer to these mens Objections? Many of the Clergy cried out, *Yes, Yes*: but the Multitude with repeated cries said, *No, No*: *Weston* said, he spake to those of the House, and not to the rude Multitude. Then he asked those Divines, whether they would now for three days answer the Arguments that should be put to them? *Haddon*, *Cheyney*, and *Ailmer*, said they would not: But *Philpot* offered to do it: *Weston* said he was a mad man, and fitter to be sent to *Bedlam*. *Philpot* said, he that had carried himself with so much Passion, and so little Indifferency, deserved a Room there much better. *Weston* neglecting him, turned to the Assembly, and said, they might see what sort of men these were, whom they had now answered three days; but though they had promised it, and the Order of Disputation did require it, that they should answer in their turn three days, they now declined it. Upon that, *Ailmer* stood up and answered, that they had made no such Promise, nor undertaken any such Disputation; but being required to give their Reasons, why they would not subscribe with the rest, they had done it, but had received no Answer to them, and therefore would enter into no further Disputation before such Judges, who had already determined and subscribed those Questions. So the House was adjourned to the 30th. and then *Philpot* appeared to answer, but desired first leave to prosecute his former Argument, and urged that since Christ as man is like us in all things without sin, therefore as we are restrained to one place at a time, so is Christ but in one place, and that is *Heaven*; for *St. Peter* says, the *Heavens must contain him till the Restitution of all things*. To this it was answered, That Christ being God, his Omnipotence was above our understanding: and that to shut him in one place, was to put him in Prison. *Philpot* said, he was not speaking of his Divine Nature, but that as he was man he was like us: And for their saying that Christ was not to be imprisoned in Heaven, he left to all men to judge whether that was a good answer or not. Much discourse following upon this, the Prolocutor commanded him to come no more into the House. He answered, he thought himself happy to be out of their company. Others suggesting to the Prolocutor, that it would be

said

said the meeting was not free, if men were put out of the House for speaking their minds: He said to him he might come, so he were decently Habited, and did not speak but when he commanded him. To this he answered, that he had rather be absent altogether. *Weston* concluded all, by saying, you have the *Word*, but we have the *Sword*: Truly pointing out wherein the strength of both Causes lay.

This was the Issue of that Disputation, which was soon after Printed in *English*: and in *Latin* by *Volerandus Polanus*, and is inserted at large in *Fox's Acts and Monuments*. What account the other side gave of it, I do not find. But upon all such occasions, the prevailing party, when the inequality was so disproportioned, used to carry things with so much noise and disorder, that it was no wonder the Reformers had no mind to engage in this Dispute. And those who reflected on the way of proceeding in King *Edwards* time, could not but confess things had been managed with much more Candor and Equality. For in this very Point, there had been, as was formerly shewn, Disputes for a Year together, before there was any Determination made: so that all men were free at that time to deliver their Opinions without any fear, and then the Disputes were in the Universities, where as there were a great Silence, and Collection of Books, so the Auditors were more capable of being instructed by them: But here the Point was first determined, and then disputed: And this was in the midst of the disorder of the Town, where the Privy Council gave all possible encouragement to the prevailing Party.

The last thing I find done this year, was, the restoring *Wesley* to be Bishop of *Exeter*, which was done on the 28th. of *December*. In his Warrant for it under the great Seal, it is said, that he, for some just troubles both in Body and Mind, had resign'd his Bishoprick to King *Edward*, to which the Queen now restored him. And thus ended this year. Forreign Affairs did not so much concern Religion, as they had done in the former Reign, which as it made me give some account of them then, so it causes me now not to prosecute them so fully.

In the beginning of the next year, the Emperour sent over the Count of *Egmont* and some other Ambassadors to make the Proposition and Treaty of Marriage, betwixt his Son and the Queen. In the managing of this Treaty, *Gardiner* had the chief hand: for he was now the Oracle at the Council-board: He had thirty years Experience in Affairs, a great Knowledge of the Courts of Christendome, and of the State of *England*, and had great Sagacity, with a marvelous Cunning, which was not always regulated by the Rules of Candor and Honesty. He in drawing the Articles of the Marriage had a double design: the one was, to have them so framed that they might easily pass in Parliament; And the other was, to exclude the *Spaniards* from having any share in the Government of *England*, which he intended to hold in his own hands. So the Terms, which it was agreed were these.

The Queen should have the whole Government of *England*, with the giving of Offices and Benefices in her own hands: so that though *Philip* was to be called King, and his Name was to be on the Coin, and the Seals, and to Write yet her hand was to give force to every thing without his. *Spaniards* should not be admitted into the Government,

Censures, not
upon it.

1554.

Ambassadors
sent from the
Emperour for
the marriage.

nor

1553.

nor to any Offices at Court. The Laws should not be altered, nor the Pleadings put into any other Tongue. The Queen should not be made to go out of *England*, but upon her own desire. The Children born in the Marriage should not go out of *England*, but by the consent of the Nobility. If the Queen out-lived the Prince, She should have 60000*l.* a year out of his Estate, 40000 out of *Spain*, and 20000 of it out of the *Netherlands*. If the Queen had Sons by him, they should succeed, both to her own Crowns, and the *Netherlands*, and *Burgundy* : and if the Arch-Duke *Charles*, *Philip's* only Son died, they should succeed to all Her and His Dominions : If she had only Daughters, they should succeed to her Crowns, and the *Netherlands*, if they married by their Brothers consent : or otherwise, they should have such Portions, as was ordinarily given to those of their Rank : But if the Queen had no Issue, the King was not to pretend to any part of the Government after her death ; but the Crown was to descend, according to the Laws of *England*, to her Heirs. There was to be a perpetual League betwixt *England* and *Spain* ; but this was not to be in prejudice of their League with *France*, which was still to continue in force.

These were the Conditions agreed on, and afterwards confirmed in Parliament ; by which it appears the *Spaniards* were resolved to have the Marriage on any Terms ; reckoning that if Prince *Philip* were once in *England*, he could easily enlarge his Authority, which was hereby so much restrained.

The Match
generally dis-
liked.

It was now apparent, the Queen was to marry the Prince of *Spain* ; which gave an universal discontent to the whole Nation. All that loved the Reformation saw, that not only their Religion would be changed, but a Spanish Government and Inquisition would be set up in its stead. Those who considered the Civil Liberties of the Kingdom, without great regard to Religion, concluded that *England* would become a Province to *Spain* ; and they saw how they governed the *Netherlands*, and heard how they ruled *Milan*, *Naples*, and *Sicily* : but above all, they heard the most inhumane things that ever any Age produced, had been acted by them in their new Conquest in the *West-Indies*.

Plots to op-
pose it.

It was said, what might they expect, but to lie at the mercy of such tyrannical Masters, who would not be long kept within the Limits that were now prescribed ? All the great Conditions now talked of, were but the gilding the Pill, but its operation would be fatal, if they once swallowed it down. These things had Influence on many ; but the chief Conspirators were the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Thomas Wiat*, and Sir *Peter Carew* : The one was to raise the Mid-land Counties, the other to raise *Cornwall*, and *Wiat* was to raise *Kent* ; hoping by rising in such remote places, so to distract the Government, that they should be able to engage the Commons who were now as much distasted with the Queen, as they had been formerly fond of her.

Are discov-
ered.

But as *Carew* was carrying on his Design in the West, it came to be discovered ; and one that he had trusted much in it, was taken : upon that *Carew* fled over into *France*. *Wiat* was in *Kent* when he heard this ; but had not yet laid his Business as he intended. Therefore fearing to be undone by the Discovery that was made, he gathered some Men about him, and on the 25th of *January*, went to *Maidstone*. There he made Proclamation, that he intended nothing, but to pre-
serve

serve the Liberty of the Nation, and keep it from coming under the Yoke of Strangers; which, he said, all the Council, one or two excepted, were against: and assured the People, that all the Nobility, and chief Men of *England*, would concur with them. He said nothing of Religion, but in private assured those that were for the Reformation, that he would declare for them. One *Roper* came and declared him and his Company Traitors; but he took him, with some Gentlemen that were gathering to oppose him. From thence he went to *Rochester*, and writ to the Sheriff of *Kent*, desiring his assistance against the Strangers, for there were already, as he said, an hundred Armed *Spaniards* landed at *Dover*. The Sheriff sent him word, That if he and those with him, had any Suits, they were to make them to the Queen on their knees, but not with Swords in their hands; and required them to disperse, under pain of Treason. *Wiat* kept his Men in good order, so that they did no hurt, but only took all the Arms they could find.

At the same time, one *Isley* and *Knevet* gathered People together about *Tunbridg*, and went to joyn with *Wiat*. The Queen sent down a Herald to him with a Pardon, if he would disperse his Company in 24 hours; but *Wiat* made him deliver his Message at the end of *Rochester* Bridg, and so sent him away. The High Sheriff gathered together as many as he could, and shewed them how they were abused by Lyes; there was no *Spaniards* landed at all: and those that were to come, were to be their Friends and Confederates against their Enemies. Those that he brought together, went to *Gravesend* to meet the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Sir *Hen. Jerningham*, who were come thither with 600 Men from *London*; and they hearing that *Knevet* was in his way to *Rochester*, went, and intercepted, and routed him; sixty of his Men were killed, the rest saved themselves in the Woods.

The News of this disheartned *Wiat* much; who was seen to weep, and called for a Coat, which he stuffed with Angels, designing to have escaped. But the Duke of *Norfolk* marching to *Rochester* with 200 Horse, and 600 Foot, commanded by one *Bret*; they were wrought on, by a pretended Defertor, *Harper*, who seemed to come over from *Wiat*: he perswaded the *Londoners*, that it was only the preservation of the Nation from the *Spaniards* that they designed; and it was certain none would suffer under that Yoke more then they. This had such an effect on them, that they all cried out, *We are all English Men*; and went over to *Wiat*. So the Duke of *Norfolk* was forced to march back. And now *Kent* was all open to *Wiat*, who thereupon sent one to the Duke of *Suffolk*, pressing him to make haste and raise his Country: but the Bearer was intercepted. Upon that, the Earl of *Huntington* was sent down with some Horse to seize on him. The Duke was at all times a mean-spirited Man, but it never appeared more than now: For after a short endeavour to raise the Country, he gave it over, and concealed himself in a private House; but was betrayed by him to whom he had trusted himself; into the hands of the Earl of *Huntington*, and so was brought to the Tower.

Wiat's Party increasing, they turned towards *London*. As they came to *Debsford*, Sir *Edward Hastings*, and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, came to them, in the Queen's Name, to ask what would content them? *Wiat* desired

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Wiat's Demands.

came to
ark.He crossed the
Thames at
Kingston.But is de-
feated

And taken.

Poinet was not
in that Rebe-
llion.

desired that he might have the Command of the Tower, that the Queen might stay under his Guard; and that the Council might be changed. Upon these extravagant Propositions, there passed high words, and the Privy Counsellors returned to the Queen. After this she went into Guild-hall, and there gave an account of her Message to *Wiat*, and his Answer. And for her Marriage, she said, she did nothing in it but by advice of her Council, and spoke very tenderly of the love she bore to her People, and to that City. On the 31, *Wiat* was become 4000 strong, and came near *Southwark*. On the 2d of February he fell into *Southwark*. Some of his Company had a mind to have broken into *Winchester-House*, and robb'd it; but he threatned to hang any that should do it. He was put in hope, that upon his coming to *Southwark*, *London* would have declared for him; but in that he was deceived. The Bridg was fortified, so that he found it was not possible to force it. Here he held a Council of War with his Officers; some were for turning back into *Kent*, to disperse a Body of Men that the Lord *Abergavenny* had gathered together: but he said, That was a small Game. The strength of their Party was in *London*, and therefore it was necessary for him to be there as soon as he could: for though they could not open the Bridg to him, yet he was assured, if he were on the other side, many would come out to him. Some were for crossing over to *Essex*, where they heard the People were well-affected to them; but they had not Boats enough, so he marched to get over at *Kingston-Bridg*.

On the 4th they came to *Kingston*, where the Queen had ordered the Bridg to be cut; but his Men repairing it, he crossed the River that Night; and though he lost much time by the mending of one of his Carriages that broke by the way, he was at *Hide-Park* by nine of the Clock next Morning, it being *Ash-wednesday*.

The Earl of *Pembroke* had gathered a good Body of Men to have fallen on him, for his Men were now in great disorder; but they look'd on, to let him cast himself into their hands. He did not march by *Holborn*, as some advised, but came down to *Charing-Cross*. There the Lord *Clinton* fell in between the several Bodies of his Men, and dispersed them so, that he had not 500 left about him: But with those that remained, he passed through the *Strand*, and *Fleetstreet*, to *Ludgate*, where he stopped, in hope to have found the Gates opened to him. That hope failing, he returned back; and being now out of all heart, was taken at *Temple-Bar* by a Herald. All this while the Queen shewed great Courage, she would not stir out of *Whitehall*, nor go by Water to the Tower, as some advised her, but went with her Women and Priests to her Devotions.

This was a Rebellion, both raised and dispersed, in as strange a manner as could have been imagined. *Wiat* was a popular and stout Man, but had not a Head for such an Undertaking, otherwise the Government was so feeble, that it had not been a difficult thing to have driven the Queen to great straits. It was not at all raised upon pretence of Religion; which, according to the printed Account set out by the Queen's Order, was not so much as once named. And yet some of our own Writers say, That *Poinet*, the late Bishop of *Winchester*, was in it. But this is certainly false, for so many Prisoners being taken, it is not to be imagined but this would have been found out, and published,

lished, to make that Religion more odious: and we cannot think but *Gardiner* would have taken care that he should have been attainted in the following Parliament.

1554.

Christopher soon after writ a Book against Rebellion, in which he studies to fasten this Rising on the Preachers of the New Religion, as he calls it; and gives some presumptions, that amount to no more, but little flourishes of his Wit, but never names this, which had been a decisive proof. So that it is but a groundless fiction, made by those who have either been the Authors, or at least have laid down the Principles of all the Rebellions in the Christian World, and yet would cast that blame on others, and exempt themselves from it; as if they were the surest Friends of Princes, while they design to enslave them to a Foreign Power, and will neither allow them to Reign, nor to Live, but at the mercy of the Head of that Principality, to which all other Powers must bend; or break, if they meet with an Age that is so credulous and superstitious, as to receive their Dictates.

This raw, and soon-broken Rebellion, was as lucky to *Gardiner*, and those who set on the Marriage, as if they had projected it; for now the People were much disheartened, and their own designs as much fortified: since, as some Fevers are Critical, and cast out those latent Distempers, which no Medicines could effectually purge away; and yet if they were not removed, must in the end corrupt the whole Mass of Blood; so in a weak Government, to which the People are ill-affected, ill-digested, Rebellions raise the Prince higher, and add as much spirit to his Friends, as they take from the Faction against him, and give a Handle to do some things, for which otherwise it were not easy, either to find Colours or Instruments.

One effect of this was, the proceeding severely against the Lady *Jane* and her Husband, the Lord *Guilford*, who both suffered on the 12. of February. The Lady *Jane* was not much disordered at it; for she knew, upon the first Jealousie, she must be the Sacrifice; and therefore had now lived six months in the continual meditations of Death. *Fecknam*, afterwards Abbot of *Westminster*, was sent to her by the Queen, three days before, to prepare her to die. He had a long conversation with her: but she answered him with that calmness of Mind, and clearness of Reason, that it was an astonishing thing to hear so young a Person, of her Sex and Quality, look on Death, so near her, with so little disorder, and talk so sensibly, both of Faith and Holiness, of the Sacrament, the Scriptures, and the Authority of the Church. *Fecknam* left her, seeing he could work nothing on her: but procured, as is said, the continuance of her Life three days longer, and waited on her on the Scaffold. She writ to her Father to moderate his Grief for her Death, (which must needs have been great, since his Folly had occasioned it.) She expressed her sense of her Sin, in assuming the Royal Dignity, though he knew how unwillingly she was drawn to it; and that in her Royal Estate, her enforced Honour had never defiled her innocent Heart. She rejoiced at her approaching End, since nothing could be to her more welcome, than to be delivered from that Valley of Misery, into that Heavenly Throne, to which she was to be advanced, where she prayed that they might meet at last.

The L. Jane
and her Husband
executed.

Her preparation
for Death.

1554.

There was one *Harding* that had been her Father's Chaplain, and that was a zealous Preacher in King *Edward's* Days; before whose Death he had animated the People much to prepare for Persecution, and never to depart from the Truth of the Gospel; but he had now fallen away himself. To him she writ a Letter full of severe expostulations and threatnings for his Apostacy; but it had no effect on him. It is of an extraordinary strain, full of Life in the Thoughts, and of Zeal, if there is not too much, in the Expressions. The Night before her Execution, she sent her *Greek Testament*, which she had always used, to her Sister; with a Letter in the same Language, in which, in most pathetick Expressions, she sets out the value that she had of it, and recommended the study and practice of it earnestly to her. She had also composed a very devout Prayer for her Retirements; and thus had she spent the last moments of her life. She expressed great tenderness, when she saw her Husband led out first; but soon overcame it, when she considered how closely she was to follow him. He had desired to take leave of her before he died, but she declined it, since it would be rather an encrease of Grief, than any addition of Comfort to them. She said, she hoped they would shortly meet, and be united in a happier State; and with a settled Countenance she saw them bring back the beheaded Body to the Chappel, where it was to be buried. When she was brought to the Scaffold, which was raised for her within the Tower, to prevent the compassion, which her dying more publicly might have raised; she confessed, she had sinned in taking the Queen's Honour, when it was given her; she acknowledged the Act was unlawful, as was also her consenting to it; but, she said, it was neither procured nor desired by her. She declared, that she died a true Christian, and hoped to be saved only by the Mercy of God in the Blood of Christ. She acknowledged that she had too much neglected the Word of God, and had loved her self and the World too much, for which that punishment had come justly to her from God: but she blessed him that had made it a means to lead her to repentance. Then, having desired the Peoples Prayers, she kneeled down, and repeated the 51 *Psalme*: Then she undressed her self, and stretched out her Head on the Block, and cried out, *Lord into thy hands I recommend my Spirit*; and so her Head was cut off.

All People lamented her sad and untimely end, which was not easily consented to, even by the Queen her self. Her Death had a most violent operation on Judg *Morgan*, that had pronounced the Sentence: soon after he fell mad, and in all his ravings, still called to take away the Lady *Jane* from him. Indeed the blame of her death was generally cast on her Father, rather than on the Queen, since the Rivalry of a Crown is a point of such niceness, that even those who bemoaned her Death most, could not but excuse the Queen, who seemed to be driven to it, rather from Considerations of State, than any Resentment of her own. On the 17 of *February* was the Duke of *Suffolk* tried by his Peers and condemned: He suffered on the 21. He would have died more pitied for his Weakness, if his Practices had not brought his Daughter to her end. Next, *Wiat* was brought to his Trial, where in most abject words he beg'd his Life, and offered to promote the Queen's Marriage, if they would spare him; but for all that he was

Beheaded

Her Father's
Execution.



Nata 1537. cc
Guldfordia Dudley
Conjugata
1553. Maij



Regina Declarat. et
1553 Jul. 10.
Capite Plectitur
1553²/₄. Feb. 12.

beheaded. *Bret* was hanged in Chains at *Rocheſter*. In all fifty eight were Executed in ſeveral places, whoſe Attainders were confirmed by an Act of the following Parliament, 600 of the Rabble were appointed to come before the Queen with Halters about their Necks, and to beg their Lives which ſhe granted them; and ſo was this Storm diſſipated? only the Effuſion of Blood after it, was thought too liberal, and this Exceſs of Punishment was generally caſt on *Gardiner*, and made him become very hateful to the Nation; which has been alwayes much moved at a Repetition of ſuch ſad ſpectacles.

The Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, came to be ſuſpected of the Plot, as if the riſing in the Weſt had been ſet on by the Earl, with deſign, if it had ſucceeded, to have married the Lady *Elizabeth*, and put her in the Queen's Room. *Wiat* did at his death clear them of any occaſion to his Confederacies. Yet the Queen who was much alienated from her Siſter upon old Scores, was not unwilling to find a pretence for uſing her ill; ſo ſhe was made a Priſoner. And the Earl of *Devonſhire* had, upon the account formerly mentioned, offended the Queen, who thought her kindneſs ill requited, when ſhe ſaw he neglected her, and preferred her Siſter; ſo he was again put into priſon. Sir *Nicolas Throgmorton* was alſo charged with that ſame Guilt, and brought to his Tryal, which laſted Ten hours; but was acquitted by the Jury: Upon which they were caſt into Priſon, and ſeverely fined, ſome in 2000 *l.* and ſome in a 1000 Marks. This was fatal to his Brother Sir *John*, who was caſt by the Jury, upon the ſame Evidence that his Brother had been acquitted, but he proteſted his innocence to the laſt. Sir *John Cheek* had got beyond Sea, finding he was alſo ſuſpected, and ſought after; and both Sir *Peter Carew*, and he hoping that *Philip* would be glad, at his firſt admiſſion to the Crown of *England*, to ſhew acts of favour, went into *Flanders*; where, upon aſſurances given of Pardon and Mercy, they rendered themſelves. But upon their coming into *England*, they were both put into the Tower. *Carew* made his eſcape, and was afterwards employed by Queen *Elizabeth* in her affairs in *Ireland*. *Cheek* was at this time diſcharged, but upon ſome new Offence, he was taken again in *Flanders*, in May, 1556. and was prevailed upon to renounce his Religion, and then he was ſet at liberty; but was ſo ſadly affected at the unworthineſs of that Action, that it was believed to have caſt him into a Languiſhing, of which he ſoon after dyed. There was a baſe Impoſture ſet up at this time, of one that ſeemed to ſpeak from a Wall with a ſtrange ſort of voice. Many ſeditious things were uttered by that voice, which was judged of variously. Some called it the *Spirit of the Wall*. Some ſaid it was an Angel that ſpoke: And many marvellous things were reported of it; But the matter being narrowly enquired into, it was found to be one *Elizabeth Crofts*, a Girl, who from a private hole in the Wall, with the help of a Whiſtle, had uttered thoſe words. She was made to do Penance openly at *Pauls* for it: But by the account then printed of it, I do not find any Complices were found; except one *Dicke*, to whom no particular Character is added. So it ſeems it was a Trick and Betwixt theſe two; for what purpoſe I cannot find ſufficient in thoſe Times, it was not laid to the charge of the Preaching of the Reformation. Which I the rather take notice of, becauſe of the Malignity of one of our Hiſtorians, who has laid this to the charge

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The Lady Elizabeth
juſtly ſuſpect-
ed for plotting

Many ſevere
proceedings.

The impo-
ſture of the
Spirit in the
Wall.

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of the *Zuinglian Gospellers*, though all the proof he offers for casting it on them, is in these words; *For I cannot consider this but as a Plot of theirs*; And sets it up in opposition to the notorious Imposture of the *Maid of Kent*, mentioned in the former Volume, and says, *Let not the Papists be more charged with that, since these were now as faulty.*

The instructions to the Bishops. Col. Number 10.

The Nation being now settled, the Queen did next give Instructions to the Bishops to proceed to visit the Clergy, according to some Articles which she sent them, which will be found in the *Collections*. In those, after a long and invidious Preamble of the disorders that had been in the time of King *Edward*, she commanded them, to execute all such Ecclesiastical Laws as had been in force in her Fathers Reign: That the Bishops should in their Courts proceed no more in the Queen's Name: That the Oath of Supremacy should be no more Exacted of any of the Clergy: That none suspect of Heresie should be admitted to Orders: That they should endeavour to repress Heresie, and punish Hereticks: That they should suppress all naughty Books, and Ballads: That they should remove all married Clergy men, and separate them from their Wives; but for those that renounced their Wives, they might put them into some other Cure, or reserve a Pension out of their Benefice for them: That no religious Man who had professed Chastity, should be suffered to live with his Wife: That care should be taken of vacant Churches: That till they were provided, the People should go to the Neighbouring Churches: That all the Ceremonies, Holy-days, and Fasts, used in King *Henry's* time, should be again observed: That those who were ordained by the new Book in King *Edward's* time, not being ordained in very deed, The Bishop, if they were otherwise sufficient, should supply what was wanting before, and so admit them to Minister: That the Bishops should set forth an uniform Doctrine of Homilies; and compel the people to come to Church, and hear Divine Service: That they should carefully look to all School-masters and Teachers of Children: And that the Bishops should take care to set forth the Premises, with all kind of Vertue, godly Living, and good Example; and endeavour to keep down all sort of Vice.

Proceedings against the Bishops that adhered to the Reformation.

These were Sign'd on the 4th. of March, and Printed, and sent over the Kingdom. But to make the Married Bishops Examples of the severity of their proceedings; the Queen gave a special Commission to *Gardiner Tonstall*, *Bonner*, *Parfew*, Bishop of *St. Asaph*, *Day*, and *Kitchin* of *Landaffe*, making mention, that with great grief of heart she had heard, that the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of *St. Davids*, *Chester* and *Bristol*, had broken their Vows, and defiled their Function, by contracting Marriage; therefore those, or any three of them, are empowered to call them before them; and if the Premises be found to be true, to deprive, and turn them out of their Bishopricks. This I have put into the Collection, with another Commission to the same Persons, to call the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Glocester* and *Hereford*, before them; in whose Patents it was provided that they should hold their Bishopricks so long as they behaved themselves well: and since they, by preaching Erroneous Doctrine, and by inordinate Life and Conversation, as she credibly understood, had carried themselves contrary to the Laws of God, and the Practice of the universal Church, these or any two of them, should proceed against them, either according to Ecclesiastical Canons, or the Laws of the Land, and declare their Bishopricks

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pricks void, as they were indeed already void: Thus were Seven Bishops all at a dash turned out. It was much censured, that there having been Laws made, allowing Marriage to the Clergy, the Queen should by her own Authority, upon the repealing these Laws, turn out Bishops for things that had been so well warranted by Law: for the Repeal was only an Annulling of the Law for the Future, but did not void it from the beginning: so that, however it might have justified proceedings against them for the Future, if they had lived with their Wives; yet it could not warrant the punishing them for what was past: And even the severest Popes, or their Legates, who had pressed the Coelibate most, had alwayes before they proceeded to deprive any Priests for Marriage, left it to their choice, whether they would quit their Wives, or their Benefices: but had never summarily turned them out for being married: And for the other Bishops, it was an unheard of way of procedure, for the Queen before any process was made, to empower Delegates to declare their Sees void, as they were indeed already void. This was to give Sentence before hearing. And all this was done by vertue of the Queens Supremacy; for though she thought that, a sinful and Schismatical Power, yet she was easily perswaded to use it against the Reformed Clergy, and to turn them out of their Benefices upon such unjust and Illegal pretences. So that now the proceedings against *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, in which were the greatest Stretches made that had been in the last Reign, were far outdone by those new Delegates. For the Archbishop of *York*, though he was now turned out, yet he was still kept Prisoner; till King *Philip*, among the Acts of Grace he did at his coming over, procured his Liberty. But his See was not filled till *February* next; for then *Heath* had his *Conge d'elire*. On or before the 18th of *March* this Year, were those other Sees declared Vacant. For that day did the *Conge d'elire* go out to the Deans and Chapters of *St. Davids*, *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, *Chester*, *Glocester*, and *Bristol*: for *Morgan*, *White*, *Parfew*, *Coates*, *Brookes*, and *Holyman*. *Goodrick* of *Ely* died in *April* this Year. He seems to have complied with the time, as he had done often before: for he was not at all cast into any trouble, which it cannot be imagined he could have escaped, since he had put the great Seal to the Patents for the Lady *Jane*, if he had not Redeemed it by a ready consenting to the changes that were to be made. He was a busie secular spirited Man, and had given himself up wholly to Factions and Intrigues of State: so that, though his opinion had always leaned to the Reformation, it is no wonder if a man so tempered would prefer the keeping of his Bishoprick before the Discharge of his Conscience. *Thirleby* of *Normich* was Translated to *Ely*, and *Hopton* was made Bishop of *Normich*. But *Scory*, that had been Bishop of *Chichester*, though upon *Day's* being restored, he was turned out of his Bishoprick, did comply meerly: He came before *Bonner*, and Renounced his Wife, and did Penance for it, and had his Absolution under his Seal, the 14th of *July* this Year: which is in the Collection. But it seems this was out of fear; for he soon after fled out of *England*, and lived beyond Sea until Queen *Elizabeth's* days: and then he came over; But it was judged indecent to restore him to his former See, where it is likely this Scandal he had given, was known; and so he was made Bishop of *Hereford*. The Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Barlow*, was also made

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made to Resign, as appears by the *Conge d'elme* for *Bonner* to succeed him, dated the 19th. of *March*. Therein it is said that the See was Vacant by the Resignation of the former Bishop; though in the Election, that was made on the 28th. of *March*, it is said the See was vacant by the Removal or Deprivation of their former Bishop. But I incline to believe it truer, that he did resign; since he is not mentioned in the Commissions formerly spoken of. But that was not all; for at this time a Book was set out in his Name, whether written by him, or Forged and laid on his Name, I cannot judge: in which he retracts his former errors, and speaks of *Luther* and *Oecolampadius*, and many others, with whom he says he had familiarly conversed: with great bitterness. He also accuses the Gospellers in *England*, of Gluttony, Hypocrisie, Pride, and ill Nature: And indeed it is one of the most Virulent Invectives against the Reformation, that was written at that time: But it is not likely, if he had turned so heartily as the Strain of that Book runs, that he would have been quite thrown out; especially, since he had never Married; so I rather look on it as a Forgery cast on his Name, to disgrace the Reformation. He fled beyond Sea, where he lived till the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign; and then it seems there was some offence taken at his former behaviour; for he was not restored to *Bath* and *Wells*, but put into *Chichester*, that was a much meeker Bishoprick. Thus I have given a clear account, and free of all Partiality or Reservation, of the changes made in the most of the Sees in *England*. The two Arch-Bishops, *Cranmer* and *Holgate*; the Bishops, *Ridley*, *Pocinet*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, *Taylor*, *Harvey*, *Bird*, *Bush*, *Hooper*, *Ferrar*, and *Barlow*, were all removed; *Rochester* was void, and *Griffins* was put into it this *April*. *Goodrick* dying now, *Thirleby* succeeded him; and *Sampson* of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* dying soon after, *Bayn* succeeded him. So here were sixteen new Bishops brought in, which made no small change in the Church.

The Mass e.
very where
set up.

When this done, the Bishops went about the executing of the *Queen's* Injunctions. The New Service was every-where cast out, and the old Ceremonies and Service were again set up. In this Business, none was so hot as *Bonner*; for the Act that repealed *King Edward's* Laws, being agreed to by the Commons, to whom the Lords had sent it; he, without staying for the Royal Assent, did that very Night set up the Old Worship at *Pauls*, on *St. Katherine's* day; and it being the custom, that on some Holy Days, the Quire went up to the Steeple to sing the Anthems, that fell to be on that Night; which was an antick way of beginning a form of Worship, to which the People had been long disused: And the next Day, being *St. Andrew's*, he did officiate himself, and had a solemn Procession.

The most eminent Preachers in *London*, were either put in Prison, or under Confinement; and as all their Mouths had been stopt, by the prohibiting of Sermons, unless a License were obtained; so they were now to be fallen on for their Marriages. *Parker* estimates it, that there were now about 16000 Clergy-Men in *England*: and of these 12000 were turned out upon this account; some, he says, were deprived without Conviction, upon common Fame; some were never cited to appear, and yet turned out: Many that were in Prison, were cited, and turned out for not appearing; though it was not in their Power
some

Some were induced to submit, and quit their Wives for their Livings : They were all summarily deprived. Nor was this all ; but after they were deprived, they were also forced to leave their Wives ; which piece of severity was grounded on the Vow, that (as was pretended) they had made : though the falshood of this Charge was formerly demonstrated.

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To justify this severity of Procedure, many were set to write against the Marriage of the Clergy. *Smith*, of whom I made mention in the former Book, that had then so humbly recanted and submitted, did now appear very boldly, and reprinted his Book, with many Additions. But the most studied Work was set out by *Martin*, a Doctor of the Laws. It was certainly, for most part *Gardiner's* Work, and I have seen the Proof Sheets of a great part of it, dashed and altered in many places, by *Gardiner's* hand. This *Martin* had made his Court to *Cranmer* in former times. He had studied the Law at *Bourges*, where *Francis Balduin*, one of the celebrated Lawyers of that time, had publicly noted him for his lewdness, as being not only over-run himself with the French Pox ; but as being a Corrupter of all the University, which *Balduin* certified in a Letter to one in *England*, that took care to print it.

Books against
the marriage
of the Clergy.

It was also printed, that *Bonner* had many Bastards : and himself was believed to be the Bastard of one *Savage*, a Priest in *Leicestershire*, that had been Bastard to Sir *John Savage* of *Cheshire*. Which Priest, by *Elizabeth Frodshum*, the Wife of one *Edmond Bonner*, had this *Edmond* now Bishop of *London* ; and it seems his Mother did not soon give over those her lewd Courses, for *Wymsly*, Arch-Deacon of *London*, was another of her Bastards. That Kennel of the uncleanness of the Priests and Religious Houses, was again, on this occasion, raked, and exposed, with too much indecency : for the married Priests, being openly accused, for the impurity and sensuality of their Lives, thought it was a just piece of self defence, to turn these Imputations back on those who pretended to Chastity, and yet led most irregular Lives, under that appearance of greater strictness.

This was the state in which things were, when the New Parliament met on the 2d. of *April*. *Gardiner* had before-hand prepared the Commons, by giving the most considerable of them Pensions ; some had 200, and some 100 *l.* a Year, for giving their Voices to the Marriage. The first Act that passed, seemed of an odd nature, and has a great Secret under it. The Speaker of the House of Commons brought in a Bill, declaring, That whereas the Queen had of right succeeded to the Crown ; but, because all the Laws of *England* had been made by Kings, and declared the Prerogatives to be in the King's Person ; from thence some might pretend that the Queen had no right to them ; it was therefore declared to have been the Law, that these Prerogatives did belong to the Crown, whether it were in the hands of Male or Female : and whatsoever the Law did limit and appoint for the King, was of right also due to the Queen, who is declared to have as much Authority as any other her Progenitors.

A New Par-
liament.The Regal
Power as-
serted to be in a
Queen, as well
as a King.

Many in the House of Commons wondered what was the intention of such a Law ; and as People were at this time full of jealousy, one *Cranmer*, a Member of the House, (who in Queen *Elizabeth's* time took Orders,

The Secret
Reasons for
that Act.

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Ex M. SS.D.
Gul. Pityt.

Orders, and was made Dean of *Duresm*) said, he could not imagine why such a frivolous Law was desired, since the thing was without dispute: and that, that which was pretended, of satisfying the People, was too slight: he was afraid there was a trick in these words, That the Queen had as great Authority as any of her Progenitors; on which perhaps it might be afterwards said, She had the same Power that *William* the Conqueror exercised, in seizing the Lands of the *English*, and giving them to Strangers; which also *Edward* the First did upon the conquest of *Wales*. He did not know what relation this might have to the intended Marriage, therefore he warned the House to look well to it; so a Committee being appointed to correct it, such words were added, as brought the Queen's Prerogative under the same Limitations, as well as it exalted it to the height of her Progenitors. But one *Fleetwood*, afterwards Recorder of *London*, told the Earl of *Leicester* the secret of this, in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, who writ down his Discourse, and from thence I have copied it. There was one that had been *Cromwell's* Servant, and much employed by him in the suppression of Monasteries: he was a Man of great Notions, but very busy and factious; so having been a great stickler for the Lady *Jane*, he was put in the *Fleet*, upon the Queen's first coming to the Crown: yet within a month he was discharged; but upon the last Rising, was again put up, and indicted of High Treason: He had great Friends, and made application to one of the Emperor's Ambassadors, that was then the Chancellor of the Duchy of *Milan*, and by his means he obtained his Liberty. Being brought to him, he shewed him a new Plat-form of Government, which he had contrived for the Queen. She was to declare her self a Conqueror; or that she having succeeded to the Crown by Common Law, was not at all to be limited by the Statute Laws, since those were only restrictions upon the Kings, but not on the Queens of *England*; and that therefore all those Limitations of the Prerogative, were only binding in the Persons of Kings, but she was free from them: Upon this, he shewed how she might establish Religion, set up the Monasteries, raise her Friends, and ruine her Enemies, and Rule according to her Pleasure. The Ambassador carried this to the Queen, and seemed much pleased with it, but desired her to read it carefully, and keep it as a great Secret.

As she read it, she disliked it, and judged it contrary to the Oath she had made at her Coronation: and thereupon sent for *Gardiner*, and charged him, as he would answer before the Judgment-Seat of God, at the general Day of the Holy Doom, that he would consider the Book carefully, and bring her his opinion of it next day, which fell to be *Maundy Thursday*. So, as the Queen came from her *Maundy*, he waited on her into her Closet, and said these words; *My good and most gracious Lady, I intend not to pray your Highness, with any humble Petitions, to name the Devisers of this new invented Plat-form: but here, I say, That it is pity that so noble and vertuous a Lady, should be endangered with the pernicious Devices of such lewd and subtil Sycophants: for the Book is naught, and most horrible to be thought on.* Upon this the Queen thanked him, and threw the Book into the Fire; and charged the Ambassador, that neither he, nor any of his Company, should receive more such Projects from any of her People. This made *Gardiner*

ner apprehended, that if the *Spaniards* began so soon to put such Notions into the Queen's Head, they might afterwards, when she was in their Hands, make somewhat of them; and therefore, to prevent such Designs for the future, he drew the Act; in which, though he seemed to do it as an Advantage to the Queen, for the putting of her Title beyond dispute; yet he really intended nothing by it, but that she should be restrained by all those Laws, that the former Kings of England had consented to: And because King *Henry* the Seventh, though his best right to the Crown flowed from his Marriage to the Heir of the House of *York*, had yet taken the Government wholly into his own hands; he, fearing lest the *Spaniards* should pretend to such a Power by the Authority, which Marriage gives the Husband over the Wife, got the Articles of the Marriage to be ratified in Parliament; by which they not only confirmed those agreed on, but made a more full explanation of that part of them, which declared the entire Government of the Kingdom to belong only to the Queen.

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To this the *Spaniards* gave too great an occasion, by publishing King *Philip's* Pedigree, whom they derived from *John of Gaunt*. They said, this was only done to conciliate the favour of the Nation, by representing him not a stranger, but a Native: But this gave great offence; concerning which I have seen a little Book that was then printed; It was there said, That King *Henry* the Seventh came in, pretending only to marry the Heir of the House of *York*: but he was no sooner on the Throne, then he declared his own Title, and kept it his whole Life. So it was said, the *Spaniard* would call himself Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, and upon that Pretension, would easily wrest the Power out of the Queen's hands, who seemed to mind nothing but her Devotions. This made *Gardiner* look the better to the securing of the Liberties of the Crown and Nation; so that it must be acknowledged, that the preserving of *England* out of the hands of the *Spaniards* at that time, seems to be almost wholly owing to him.

Great Jealousies of the Spanish Power.

In this Parliament, the Marquess of *Northampton* was restored in Blood. And the Act for restoring the Bishoprick of *Duresm* not having gone through the last Parliament when it was dissolved, was now brought in again. The Town of *Newcastle* opposed it much, when it came down to the Commons. But the Bishop of *Duresm* came to them on the 18th. of April, and gave them a long account of all his Troubles, from the Duke of *Northumberland*, and desired that they would dispatch his Bill. There were many Proviso's put into it, for some that were concerned in *Gatefide*; but it was carried in the House, That, instead of these Proviso's, they should send a Desire to him, recommending those Persons to his Favour: So upon a Division, there were 120 against it, and 201 for it. After this, came the Bill confirming the Attainders of the Duke of *Suffolk*, and fifty eight more, who were attainted for the late Rebellion. The Lords put in a Proviso, excepting Entailed Lands out of their Forfeitures; but the Commons rejected the Proviso, and passed the Bill. Then did the Commons send up a Bill for reviving the Statutes made against *Lollardy*: which being read twice by the Lords, was laid aside. The Commons intended next to have revived the Statute of the six Articles: but it did not agree with the Design at Court, to take any notice of King *Henry's*

The Bishoprick of Duresm restored.

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Henry's Acts; so this was let fall. Then they brought in another Bill to extirpate Erroneous Opinions and Books; but that was at the third reading laid aside. After that they passed a particular Bill against *Lollardy* in some Points, as the eating of flesh in Lent; but that also being sent up to the Lords, was at the third reading laid aside, by the major part of the House; so forward were the Commons to please the Queen, or such Operation had the Spanish Gold on them, that they contrived four Bills in one Session, for the prosecution of those they called Heretics. But to give some content on the other hand, they passed a Bill, that neither the Bishop of *Rome*, nor any other, should have any Power to Convene, or trouble any, for possessing Abbey Lands: This was sent up to the Lords, but laid aside at that time, assurance being given, that the Owners of those Lands should be fully secured. The Reason of laying it aside, was that since by Law the Bishop of *Rome* had no Authority at all in *England*, it was needless to pass an Act against his Power in that particular, for that seemed to assert his Power in other things: and since they were resolved to reconcile the Nation to him, it was said, that it would be indecent to pass an Act that should call him only Bishop of *Rome*, which was the Compellation given him during the Schism; and it was preposterous to begin with a Limitation of his Power, before they had acknowledged his Authority: So this was laid aside, and the Parliament ended on the 25th. of May.

But the Matters of the Convocation are next to be related. Those of the Reformation complained every-where, that the Disputes of the last Convocation had not been fairly carried; that the most eminent Men of their persuasion were detained in Prison, and not admitted to it: that only a few of them, that had a right to be in the House, were admitted to speak, and that these were much interrupted. So that it was now resolved to adjourn the Convocation for some time, and to send the Prolocutor with some of their number to *Oxford*, that the Disputations might be, in the presence of that whole University. And since *Cranmer* and *Ridley* were esteemed the most Learned Men of that Persuasion, they were, by a Warrant from the Queen, removed from the *Tower of London*, to the Prisons at *Oxford*. And though *Latimer* was never accounted very Learned, and was then about eighty Years of Age, yet he having been a celebrated Preacher, who had done the Reformation no less Service by his Labours in the Pulpit, than others had done by their abler Pens; he was also sent thither to bear his share in the Debates.

Some sent to
Oxford to dis-
pute, with Re-
formed Bi-
shops.

Those who were sent from the Convocation, came to *Oxford* on the 13th. of April, being Friday. They sent for those Bishops on Saturday and assigned them *Monday*, *Tuesday*, and *Wednesday*, every one of them, his day, for the defending of their Doctrine: but ordered them to be kept apart. And that all Books and Notes should be taken from them. Three Questions were to be disputed.

1. Whether the natural Body of Christ was really in the Sacrament?
2. Whether any other Substance did remain, but the Body and Blood of Christ?
3. Whether in the Mass there was a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of the Dead and Living?

When

When *Cranmer* was first brought before them, the Prolocutor made an Exhortation to him, to return to the Unity of the Church. To which he answered, with such gravity and modesty, that many were observed to weep: He said, He was as much for Unity as any, but it must be an Unity in Christ, and according to the Truth. The Articles being shewed him, he asked, Whether by the Body of Christ they meant an *Organical Body*: They answering, It was the Body that was born of the Virgin: Then he said, he would maintain the *Negative* of these Questions.

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On the 16th. when the Dispute with *Cranmer* was to begin, *Weston*, ~~Cranmer~~ Dis-
 puter that was Prolocutor, made a stumble in the beginning of his Speech; for, he said, *Ye are this day assembled to confound the detestable Heresie of the Verity of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament.* This Mistake set the whole Assembly a laughing; but he recovered himself, and went on: he said, it was not lawful to call these things in doubt, since Christ had so expressly affirmed them, that to doubt of them, was to deny the Truth and Power of God. Then *Chedsey* urged *Cranmer* with the words, *This is my Body*: To which he answered, That the Sacrament was effectually Christ's Body, as broken on the Cross; that is, His Passion effectually applyed. For the explanation of this, he offered a large Paper containing his Opinion: of which I need say nothing, since it is a short abstract of what he writ on that Head formerly; and of that a full account was given in the former Book. There followed a long debate about these words. *Oglethorp*, *Weston*, and others, urged him much, that Christ making his Testament, must be supposed to speak Truth, and plain Truth; and they run out largely on that. *Cranmer* answered, That figurative Speeches are true; and when the Figures are clearly understood, they are then plain likewise. Many of *Chrysostom's* high Expressions about the Sacrament were also cited; which *Cranmer* said, were to be understood of the Spiritual Presence received by Faith. Upon this much time was spent, the Prolocutor carrying himself very undecently towards him, calling him, an *unlearned, unskilful, and impudent Man*: There were also many in the Assembly that often hissed him down, so that he could not be heard at all; which he seemed to take no notice of, but went on as often as the noise ceased. Then they cited *Tertullian's* words, *the Flesh is fed by the Body and Blood of Christ, that so the Soul may be nourished by God.* But he turned this against them, and said, hereby it was plain, the Body as well as the Soul received Food in the Sacrament; therefore the Substance of Bread and Wine must remain, since the Body could not be fed by that Spiritual Presence of the Body of Christ. *Tresham* put this Argument to him, Christ said, as he lived by the Father, so they that eat his Flesh should live by him; but he is by his Substance united to his Father, therefore Christians must be united to his Substance: To this *Cranmer* answered, That the Similitude did not import an equality, but a likeness of some sort; Christ is essentially united to his Father; but Believers are united to him by Grace; and that in Baptism, as well as in the Eucharist. Then they talked long of some words of *Hilary's*, *Ambrose's*, and *Justin's*. Then they charged him, as having mistranslated some of the Passages of the Fathers in his Book; from which he vindicated himself, saying, ~~that~~ he had all his Life, in all manner of things, hated falshood.

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After the Dispute had lasted from the Morning till two of the Clock, it was broke up: and there was no small Triumph, as if *Cranmer* had been confounded in the Opinion of all the Hearers, which they had expressed by their Laughter and Hissing. There were Notaries that took every thing that was said; from whose Books *Fox* did afterwards print the account of it, that is in his great Volume.

And *Ridley*.

The next day *Ridley* was brought out; and *Smith*, who was spoke of in the former Book, was now very zealous to redeem the prejudice which that compliance was like to be to him in his Preferment: So he undertook to dispute this day. *Ridley* began with a Protestation, declaring, That whereas he had been formerly of another mind from what he was then to maintain, he had changed upon no worldly consideration, but meerly for love of the Truth, which he had gathered out of the Word of God, and the Holy Fathers: but because it was God's Cause he was then to maintain, he protested that he might have leave afterwards to add, or to change, as upon better consideration he should see cause for it. He also desired he might have leave to speak his mind without interruption; which though it was promised him, yet he was often stopt, as he went on explaining his Doctrine. He argued against the Corporal Presence, as being contrary to the Scriptures that spoke of Christ's leaving the World; as being against the Article of his sitting at the right hand of God; and against the nature of the Sacrament, which is a Remembrance; he shewed, that by it the Wicked receive Christ no less than the Godly; That it is against nature to swallow down a living Man; that this Doctrine introduced many extraordinary Miracles, without any necessity; and must have given advantage to the Hereticks, who denied Christ had a real Body, or a true humane Nature; and that it was contrary to the Doctrine of the Fathers: He acknowledged that it was truly the Communion of his Body, that is, of Christ's Death, and of the Heavenly Life given by him: and did, in a strong nervous Discourse, as any I ever saw on that Subject, gather together the chief Arguments for his Opinion.

Smith argued, That notwithstanding Christ's being at the right Hand of God, he was seen on Earth: *Ridley* said, he did not deny but he might come and appear on Earth, but that was for a moment, to convince some, and comfort others, as *St. Paul*, and *St. Stephen*; though, he said, it might be they saw him in Heaven; but he could not be, at the same time, both in Heaven and on Earth. They returned oft to *Chrysostom's* words, and pressed him with some of *Bernard's*: but as he answered the Sayings of the former, that they were Rhetorical and Figurative; so he excepted against the judgment of the latter, as living in an Age when their Opinion was generally received. The Dispute held till *Weston* grew weary, and stopt all; saying, *You see the obstinate, vain-glorious, crafty, and inconstant mind of this Man; but you see also the force of Truth cannot be shaken; therefore cry out with me, Truth has the Victory.* This being echoed again by the Audience, they went away with great Triumph; and now they reckoned the hardest part of their Work was over, since *Latimer* only remained.

Latimer being next day brought forth, told them, he had not used *Latin* much these twenty Years, and was not able to Dispute, but he would declare his Faith, and then they might do as they pleased. He declared, That he thought the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament to be only Spiritual, since it is that by which we obtain Eternal Life, which flows only from Christ's abiding in us by Faith; therefore it is not a bare naked sign: but for the Corporal Presence, he looked on it as the Root of all the other Errors in their Church: He enlarged much against the Sacrifice of the Mass: and lamented that they had changed the Communion into a private Mass: that they had taken the Cup away from the People; and instead of Service in a known Tongue, were bringing the Nation to a Worship that they did not understand. He perceived they laughed at him; but he told them, they were to consider his great Age, and to think what they might be when they came to it. They pressed him much to Answer their Arguments: He said, his Memory was gone, but his Faith was grounded on the Word of God; he was fully convinced by the Book which *Dr. Cranmer* had written on that Subject.

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And *Latimer*.

In this whole Disputation, as *Ridley* wrote of it, there was great disorder, perpetual Shoutings, Tauntings, and Reproaches; so that it looked liker a Stage, than a School of Divines; and the noise and Confusions, with which he had been much offended when he was in the *Sorbone*, were modest, compared to this.

On *April 28*, they were again brought to *St. Maries*; where *Weston* told them, They were over-come in the Disputation, therefore he required them to subscribe with the rest. *Cranmer* objected against their way of Disputing; he said, they would not hear any one argue against their Errors, or defend the Truth; that often-times four or five of them were speaking at once, so that it was impossible for any to hear, or to answer all these: In conclusion, he refused to subscribe. *Ridley* and *Latimer* made the same Answers. So they were all judged Hereticks, and the Fautors of Heresy. Then they were asked, Whether they intended to turn? They answered, That they would not turn: so they were judged obstinate Hereticks, and declared to be no more Members of the Church.

Upon which *Cranmer* answered; 'From this your Judgment and Sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of Almighty God, trusting to be present with him in Heaven, for whose Presence on the Altar I am thus condemned.'

Ridley answered; 'Although I be not of your Company, yet I doubt not but my Name is written in another Place, whither this Sentence will send us sooner than we should by the course of Nature have come.'

Latimer answered; 'I thank God most heartily that he hath prolonged my Life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God with this kind of Death.'

To them *Weston* answered; 'if you go to Heaven with this Faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus perswaded.'

After this, there was a solemn Procession in *Oxford*, the Host being carried by *Weston* the Prolocutor; who had been (as himself said in his Disputation) six years in Prison in *King Edward's* Time. This gave

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gave him now great repute, though he was known to be a constant Drunkard. *Ridley* wrote to him, desiring to see what the Notaries had written, and that he might have leave to add in any part, as had been promised him; but he had no Answer. On the 23^d. of April, the Commissioners sent from the Convocation, returned to London. *Cranmer* sent a Petition sealed, by *Weston*, to be delivered to the Council; in which he earnestly begged their favour with the Queen, that he might be pardoned for his Treason, since they knew how unwillingly he consented to the Patents for excluding her. He also complained of the disorder in the Disputes lately had; saying, that he was not heard nor suffered to propose his Arguments; but all was shuffled up in a day, though he had Matter on that Subject for twenty days work; that it look'd like a Design to shut up all things in haste, and make a Triumph, and so to condemn them of Heresy: He left it to their Wisdom to consider, if this was an indifferent way of handling such a Matter. *Weston* carried this Petition half way, and then opening it, and finding what it contained, he sent it back, and said, he would deliver no such Petition. *Cranmer* was so kept, that though *Ridley* and *Latimer* could send to one another, yet it was not easy for them to send to him, without giving Money to their Keepers. In one of *Ridley's* Letters to *Cranmer*, he said, he heard they intended to carry down *Rogers*, *Crome*, and *Bradford*, to *Cambridg*, and to make such a Triumph there, as he had lately made of them at *Oxford*: He trusted, the day of their deliverance out of all their Miseries, and of their entrance into perpetual Rest, and perpetual Joy and Felicity drew nigh: He prayed God to strengthen them with the mighty Spirit of his Grace. He desired *Cranmer* to pray for him, as he also did for *Cranmer*. As for the Letters which these and the other Prisoners writ in their Imprisonment, *Fox* gathered the Originals from all People that had them: and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, the Founder of *Emanuel Colledge*, procured them from him, and put them into the Library of that Colledge, where I saw them: but they are all printed by *Fox*, so that the Reader, who desires to see them, may find them in his *Acts* and *Monuments*. Of them all, *Ridley* writ with the greatest connexion and force, both in the Matter, and in the way of Expression.

The Prisoners
in London set
out in writing
their Reasons
against disput-
ing by word
of mouth.

This being now over, there was great boasting among all the Popish Party, as if the Champions of the Reformation had been foiled. The Prisoners in London hearing they intended to insult over them, as they had done over those at *Oxford*, set out a Paper, to which the late Bishops of *Exeter*, *St. Davids*, and *Glocester*, with *Taylor*, *Philpot*, *Bradford*, *Crome*, *Sanders*, *Rogers*, and *Lawrence*, set their Hands, on the 8th. of May.

The substance of it was; 'That they, being Prisoners, neither as 'Rebels, Traitors, nor Transgressors of any Law, but meerly for their 'Conscience to God and his Truth, hearing it was intended to carry 'them to *Cambridg* to dispute, declared they would not dispute, but 'in Writing, except it were before the Queen and her Council, or before either of the Houses of Parliament: and that for these Reasons.

1. 'It was clear, that the Determinations of the Universities were 'already made; they were their open Enemies, and had already condemned

demned their Cause before they had heard it, which was contrary both to the Word of God, and the determinations they had made in King *Edward's* Time.

2. They saw the Prelates and Clergy were seeking neither to find out the Truth, nor to do them good, otherwise they would have heard them, when they might have declared their Consciences without hazard; but that they sought only their destruction, and their own glory.

3. They saw that those who were to be the Judges of these Disputes, were their inveterate Enemies; and by what passed in the Convocation House last Year, and lately at *Oxford*, they saw how they must expect to be used.

4. They had been kept long Prisoners, some nine or ten months, without Books, or Papers, or convenient places of study.

5. They knew they should not be heard to speak their minds fully, but should be stopt, as their Judges pleased.

6. They could not have the nomination of their Notaries, who would be so chosen, that they would write and publish what their Enemies had a mind to. Therefore they would not engage in publick Disputes, except by Writing: but they would give a Summary of their Faith, for which they would be ready to offer up their Lives to the Halter, or the Fire, as God should appoint.

They declared, That they believed the Scriptures to be the true Word of God, and the Judg of all Controversies in the Matters of Religion; and that the Church is to be obeyed, as long as she follows this Word. That they believed the Apostles Creed; and those Creeds set out by the Councils of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, and *Chalcedon*, and by the first and fourth Councils of *Toledo*; and the Symboles of *Athanasius*, *Ireneus*, *Tertullian*, and *Damasus*. That they believed Justification by Faith; which Faith was not only an Opinion, but a certain perswasion wrought by the Holy Ghost, which did illuminate the Mind, and suppled the Heart to submit it self unfeignedly to God. That they acknowledged an Inherent Righteousness, yet Justification, and the Pardon of Sins, they believed came only by Christ's Righteousness imputed to them. They thought the Worship of God ought to be in a Tongue understood by the People; That Christ only, and not the Saints, were to be prayed to; that immediately after Death, the Souls pass either to the State of the Blessed, or of the Damned, without any Purgatory between; that Baptism and the Lords Supper are the Sacraments of Christ, which ought to be administred according to his Institution: and therefore they condemned the denying the Chalice, Transubstantiation, the Adoration, or the Sacrifice of the Mass; and asserted the lawfulness of Marriage to every Rank of Men. These things they declared they were ready to defend, as they often had before offered: and concluded, charging all people to enter into no Rebellion against the Queen, but to obey her in all Points, except where her Commands were contrary to the Law of God.

In the end of this Month, the Lady *Elizabeth* was taken out of the Tower, and put into the Custody of the Lord *Williams*; who waited on her to *Woodstock*, and treated her with great civility, and all the respect

1554. respect due to her Quality: but this not being so acceptable to those who governed, she was put under the Charge of Sir Hen. Benefield, by whom she was more roughly handled.

Prince Philip
Lands.

On the 20th. of July, Prince Philip landed at *Southampton*. When he set foot to Land first, he presently drew his Sword, and carried it a good way naked in his Hand. Whether this was one of the Forms of his Country, I know not: but it was interpreted as an Omen, that he intended to Rule *England* with the Sword: though others said, it shewed, he intended to draw his Sword in defence of the Nation. The Mayor of *Southampton* brought him the Keys of the Town, an expreffion of Duty always payd to our Princes; he took them from him, and gave them back without speaking a word, or expreffing by any sign that he was pleased with it. His stiffness amazed the English, who use to be treated by their Kings with great sweetness on such occasions: and so much gravity in so young a Man was not understood, but was look'd on as a sign of vast pride and moroseness. The Queen met him at *Winchester*; where, on the 25th. of July, Gardiner married them in the Cathedral, the King being then in the 27th. and the Queen in the 38th. Year of her Age. They were presented from the Emperor by his Ambassador, with a resignation of his Titular Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and his more valuable one of *Naples*, which were Pledges of that total resignation that followed not long after.

And is married to the
Queen.

So on the 27th. of July they were proclaimed by their new Titles; Philip and Mary, King and Queen of *England*, *France*, *Naples*, *Jerusalem*, and *Ireland*; Princes of *Spain* and *Sicily*, Defenders of the Faith; Arch-Dukes of *Austria*; Dukes of *Milan*, *Burgundy*, and *Brabant*; Counts of *Habsburg*, *Flanders*, and *Tirol*: *Spain* having always delighted in a long enumeration of pompous Titles.

It was observed, how happy Marriages had been to the *Austrian* Family; who, from no extraordinary Beginnings, had now, in eighty Years time, been raised by two Marriages; first, with the Heir of *Burgundy*, and the *Netherlands*, and then with the Heir of *Spain*, to be the greatest Family in Christendome: and the Collateral Family by the Marriage of the Heir of *Bohem* and *Hungary*, was now the greatest in the Empire. And surely if Issue had followed this Marriage, the most extraordinary success possible would have seemed to be entailed on them. But there was no great appearance of that; for as the Queen was now far advanced in Years, so she was in no good state of Health; a long course of Discontent, had corrupted both the health of her Body, and the temper of her Mind: Nor did the Matter alter much by her Marriage, except for the worse. The King's wonderful Gravity and Silence, gained nothing upon the English; but his magnificence and Bounty was very acceptable. He brought after him a vast Mass of Wealth; seven and twenty Chests of Bullion, every Chest being a Yard and some Inches long; which were drawn in twenty Carts to the Tower; after which came ninety nine Horse, and two Carts, loaded with coined Gold and Silver. This great Wealth was perhaps the Sum that was formerly mentioned, which was to be distributed among the English; for it is not improbable, that though he empowred his Ambassadors, and Gardiner, to promise great Sums to such as should promote his Marriage, yet that he would not part with so much Money till.

He brings a
great Treasure
with him to
England.

it was made sure ; and therefore he ordered this Treasure to be brought after him ; (I mention it here, yet it came not into *England* till *October* and *January* following) He made his entry into *London* with great state.

At his first settling in *England*, he obtained of the Queen, that many Prisoners should be set at Liberty ; among whom the chief were, the Arch-Bishop of *York*, and ten Knights, with many other Persons of Quality. These, I suppose, had been committed, either for *Wiat's* Rebellion, or the Business of the Lady *Jane* ; for I do not believe, any were discharged that were imprisoned on the account of Religion. As for this Arch-Bishop, though he went along in the Reformation, yet I find nothing that gives any great Character of him. I never saw any Letter of his, nor do I remember to have seen any honourable mention made of him any where ; so that he seems to have been a soft and weak man ; and except those little Fragments of his Opinions in some Points about the Mass, (which are in the *Collection*) I know no remains of his Pen. It seems he did at this time comply in Matters of Religion, for without that, it is not probable that either *Philip* would have moved for him, or that the Queen would have been easily entreated.

Act of Favour
done by him.

The Intercessions that *Philip* made for the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Earl of *Devonshire*, did gain him the Hearts of the Nation, more than any thing else that he ever did. *Gardiner* was much set against them, and studied to bear down the declaration that *Wiat* had made of their Innocency all that he could ; but it was made so openly on the Scaffold, that it was not possible to suppress it. Before, in his Examinations, *Wiat* had accused them, hoping to have saved himself by so base an Action ; but he redeemed it all he could at his Death. This had broken *Gardiner's* Design, who thought all they did about Religion, was but half work, unless the Lady *Elizabeth* were destroyed. For he knew, that though she complied in many things, yet her Education had been wholly under the Reformed : and which was more to him, who judged all People by their Interest, he reckoned that Interest must make her declare against the Papacy, (since otherwise she was a Bastard) if ever she should out-live her Sister.

He preserves
the Lady *Elizabeth*.

Philip opposed this, at first, upon a generous Account, to recommend himself, by obtaining such Acts of Favour to be done by the Queen. But afterwards, when the hopes of Issue failed him by his Marriage, he preserved her, out of Interest of State : for if she had been put out of the way, the Queen of *Scotland* (that was to be married to the *Dolphin*) was to succeed ; which would have made too great an Accession to the French Crown : and besides, as it afterwards appeared, he was not without hopes of perswading her to marry himself, if her Sister should dye without Issue. For the Earl of *Devonshire*, he more easily obtained his freedom, though not till some Months had passed. That Earl being set at liberty, finding he was to lye under perpetual Distrusts, and that he might be, perhaps upon the first Disorder, again put into the *Tower*, to which his Stars seemed to condemn him, resolved to go beyond Sea ; but dyed within a Year after, as some say, of Poyson.

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He was little
beloved by
the Engl. n.

All this I have laid together, (though it fell not out all at once) that I might give a full account of all the Acts of Grace that *Philip* did in *England*; But for the rest of his Behaviour, it was no way acceptable to the People, for as he engaged the Nation in all his Interests, so that henceforth, during this Reign, *England* had no share in the Consultations of *Europe*, but was blindly led by him, which proved fatal to them in the conclusion, by the ignominious loss of *Calais*; So his temper and way of deportment seemed most ridiculous, and extravagantly formal to the English Genius, which naturally loves the mean, between the excessive jollity and talkativeness of the French, and the sullen staidness of the Spaniard; rather inclining more to the briskness of the one, than the superciliousness of the other: And indeed his Carriage was such here, that the seeing him and his Spaniards, was one of the great Diversions of *Queen Elizabeth's* Court. The Hall of the Court was almost continually shut all his Time, and none could have access, unless it were first demanded, with as much formality as Ambassadors use in asking Audience: So that most of the Nobility left the Court, few staying but the Officers of the Household.

Gardiner
magnifies him
much in a Ser-
mon.

Gardiner had now the Government put entirely in his Hands; And he, to make his Court the better with the new King, preached at *St. Paul's* the 30th. of *September*, where, after he had inveighed long against the Preachers in *King Edward's* Time, which was the common Subject of all their Sermons, he run out much in commendation of the King; affirming him to be as wise, sober, gentle, and temperate, as any Prince that ever was in *England*; and if he did not prove so, he was content that all his Hearers should esteem him an impudent Lyar. The state of the Court continued in this posture till the next Parliament.

But great Discontents did now appear every-where. The severe Executions after the last rising, the Marriage with *Spain*, and the overturning of Religion, concurred to alienate the Nation from the Government. This appeared no where more confidently than in *Norfolk*, where the People reflecting on their Services, thought they might have the more leave to speak.

Col. Numb. 14.

There were some malicious Rumours spread, that the Queen was with Child before the King came over. This was so much resented at Court, that the Queen writ a Letter to the Justices there, (which is in the *Collection*) to enquire into those false Reports, and to look to all that spread false News in the County. The Earl of *Suffex*, upon this, examined a great many, but could make nothing out of it. It flowed from the officiousness of *Hopton*, the new Bishop of *Norwich*; who thought to express his Zeal to the Queen, whose Chaplain he had long been, by sending up the Tales of the Country to the Council Table; not considering how much it was below the Dignity of the Government, to look after all vain Reports.

Bonner's Car-
riage in his
Visitation.

This Summer the Bishops went their Visitations, to see every thing executed according to the Queen's Injunctions. *Bonner* went his with the rest. He had ordered his Chaplains to draw a Book of *Homilies*, with an exposition of the Christian Religion. He says, in his Preface to it, that he and his Chaplains had compiled it; but it is likely he had only the Name of it, and that his Chaplains composed it. Yet the greatest, and indeed, the best part of it was made to their hands, for

it was taken out of *the Institution of a Christian Man*, set out by King Henry; only varied in those Points, in which it differed from what they were now about to set up: So that concerning the Pope's Power, since it was not yet established, he says nothing, for, or against it.

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The Articles upon which he made his Visitation, will be found in the *Collection*, and by these we may judge of all the other Visitations over England. In the Preface, he protests he had not made his Articles out of any secret grudge or displeasure to any; but meerly for the discharge of his Conscience towards God and the World. The Articles were; Whether the Clergy did so behave themselves in Living, Teaching, and Doing, that in the judgment of indifferent Men, they seemed to seek the Honour of God, of the Church, and of the King and Queen? Whether they had been Married, or were taken for Married? and whether they were Divorced, and did no more come at their Wives? or whether they did defend their Marriages? Whether they did reside, keep Hospitality, provide a Curate in their absence? And whether they did devoutly celebrate the Service, and use Processions? Whether they were suspect of Heresy? Whether they did haunt Ale-houses and Taverns, Bowling-Allies, or suspect Houses? Whether they favoured, or kept company with any suspect of Heresy? Whether any Priest lived in the Parish, that absented himself from Church? Whether these kept any private Conventicles? Whether any of the Clergy was Vicious, blasphemed God or his Saints, or was guilty of Simony? Whether they exhorted the People to Peace and Obedience? Whether they admitted any to the Sacrament, that was suspect of Heresy, or was of an ill Conversation, an Oppressor, or Evil Doer? Whether they admitted any to preach that were not licensed, or refused such as were? Whether they did officiate in English? Whether they did use the Sacraments aright? Whether they visited the Sick, and administered the Sacraments to them? Whether they did marry any, without asking the Banns three Sundays? Whether they observed the Fasts and Holy-Days? Whether they went in their Habits and Tonsures? Whether those that were ordained schismatically, did officiate without being admitted by the Ordinary? Whether they set Leases, for many Years, of their Benefices? Whether they followed Merchandise or Usury? Whether they carried Swords or Daggers, in Times or Places not convenient? Whether they did once every quarter expound to the People in the Vulgar Tongue, the Apostles Creed, Ten Commandments; the two Commandments of Christ for loving God and our Neighbour, the Seven Works of Mercy, Seven deadly Sins, Seven principal Vertues, and the Seven Sacraments? These were the most considerable Heads on which he visited.

One thing is remarkable, that it appears, both by these, and the Queen's Injunctions, that they did not pretend to re-ordain those that had been ordained by the New Book in King Edward's Time; but to reconcile them, and add those things that were wanting; which were, the Anointing, and giving the Priestly Vestments, with other Rites of the Roman Pontifical. In this Point of re-ordaining such as were ordained in Heresy or Schism, the Church of Rome has not gone by any

No Reordination of those ordained in King Edwards Time.

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steady Rule: For though they account the Greek Church to be guilty, both of Heresy and Schism, they receive their Priests without a New Ordination. Yet after the time of the Contentions between Pope *Nicolaus* and *Photius*, and much more after the outrageous heats at *Rome*, between *Sergius* and *Formosus*, in which the dead Bodies of the former Popes were raised and dragged about the Streets by their Successors, they annulled the Ordinations, which they pretended were made irregularly.

Afterwards again, upon the great Schism between the Popes of *Rome* and *Avignon*, they did neither annul nor renew the Orders that had been given: But now, in *England*, though they only supplied at this time the defects, which they said were in their former Ordination: yet afterwards, when they proceeded to burn them that were in Orders, they went upon the old Maxim; That Orders given in Schism were not valid; so they did not esteem *Hooper* nor *Ridley* Bishops, and therefore only degraded them from Priesthood; though they had been ordained by their own Forms, saving only the Oath to the Pope; but for those who were ordained by the new Book, they did not at all degrade them, supposing now they had no true Orders by it.

Bonner, in his Visitation, took great care to see all things were every where done according to the old Rules, which was the main thing intended; other Points being put in for form. When he came to *Hadhams*, he prevented the Doctor, who did not expect him so soon by two hours, so that there was no ringing of Bells, which put him in no small disorder: And that was much encreased, when he went into the Church, and found neither the Sacrament hanging up, nor a Rood set up: thereupon he fell a railing, swearing most intemperately, calling the Priest an Heretick, a Knave, with many other such goodly words. The Priest said, all these things should be amended speedily; and knowing that a good Dinner was the best way to temper Bishop *Bonner*, he desired him to go and dine at his House: but *Bonner* took it so ill, that *Hadhams*, which was one of his own Churches, was an ill Example to those about it, that he lost all patience; and reaching at Dr. *Bricket* (that was the Parson's Name) to beat him, he misguiding the stroke, which fell on Sir *Thomas Josselin's* Ear with great force. *Pecknam*, then Dean of *Pauls* in Dr. *May's* room studied to appease *Josselin*, and said to him, That the Bishop's being so long in the *Marshalsea*, had so disordered him, that in his Passion he knew not what he did; but when he came to himself, he would be sorry for what he had done. *Josselin* answered, he thought, now that he was taken out of the *Marshalsea*, he should be carried to *Bedlam*. But *Bonner* continued in his Fury; and though he had purposed to stay at his House there some days, and had ordered Provisions to be made; yet he would needs be gone, though it disordered the rest of his Visitation, for he came to every place sooner than he intended, or had given notice.

The Carvers, and makers of Statues, had now a quick Trade, for Roods and other Images, which were to be provided, for all Places. *Bonner* had observed, that in most Churches the Walls were painted with places of Scripture; and in many places there were passages written, that either favoured the Marriage of the Clergy, or were against the Corporal Presence, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the multiplicity

Bonner's rage.

multiplicity of the Ceremonies of the Church: So he did, at his return, send out Episcopal Letters, on the 24th. of *October*, to raze all those Paintings. Upon this it was generally said, That the Scriptures must be dashed out to make way for the Images, since they were so contrary one to another, that they could not decently stand together. There were many ludicrous things every where done in derision of the old Forms, and of the Images: Many Poems were printed, with other ridiculous Representations of the Latin Service, and the Pageantry of their Worship. But none occasioned more laughter, than what fell out at *Pauls* the *Easter* before; the custom being to lay the Sacrament into the Sepulchre, at the Even Song on *Good-Friday*, and to take it out by break of day on *Easter* Morning: At the time of the taking of it out, the Quire sung these words, *Surrexit, non est hic, He is risen, he is not here*: But then the Priest looking for the Host, found it was not there indeed, for one had stolen it out; which put them all in no small disorder, but another was presently brought in its stead. Upon this a Ballad followed, that their God was stolen and lost, but a new one was made in his room. This Railery was so salt, that it provoked the Clergy much. They offered large Rewards to discover him that had stolen the Host, or had made the Ballad, but could not come to the knowledge of it. But they resolved ere long, to turn that mirth and pleasantness of the Hereticks, into severe mourning.

And thus Matters went on to the 11th. of *November*, when the third Parliament was summoned. In the Writ of Summons, the Title of *Supream Head of the Church* was left out, though it was still by Law united to the other Royal Titles: And therefore this was urged, in the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, as a good Reason for annulling that Parliament, since it was not called by a lawful Writ. Now was *Cardinal Pool* allowed to come into *England*. The Emperor had this Summer brought him to *Flanders*, where, to make amends for the rudeness of stopping him on his way, he desired him to mediate a Peace between *France* and him; but that had no effect. It soon appeared, that all things were so well prepared by *Gardiner's* Policy, and the Spanish Gold, that it would be an easy Matter to carry every thing in this Session. The Lord *Paget*, and the Lord *Hastings*, were sent from the King and Queen to bring the Cardinal over. At the opening of the Parliament, it was an unusual sight, to see both King and Queen ride in State, and come into it with two Swords of State, and two Caps of Maintenance carried before them: The Swords were carried, one by the Earl of *Pembroke*, the other by the Earl of *Westmoreland*; and the Caps, by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Shrewsbury*. The first Bill put into the Lords House, was the Repeal of the Attainder of *Cardinal Pool*: it began on the 17th. and was sent down to the Commons on the 19th. who read it three times in one day, and sent it up. This Bill being to be passed before he could come into *England*, it was questioned, in the House of Commons, Whether the Bill could be passed without making a Session, which would necessitate a Prorogation? It was resolved it might be done; so on the 22^d. the King and Queen came, and passed it. It set forth, that the only Reason of his Attainder, was, because he would not consent to the unlawful Separation and Divorce between King *Henry*, and his most godly, vertuous, and lawful Wife, Queen

1554.

A New Parliament.

The Attainder of Cardinal Pool repealed.

1554.

Queen *Katherine* : Therefore they considering the true and sincere Conscience of the Cardinal in that Point, and his other many godly Vertues and Qualities, did repeal that Act.

He comes to
London.

On the 24th. he came to *London*, but without the Solemnities of a Legates Entry, because the Pope's Authority was not yet set up by Law. What Cardinal *Pools* Instructions were, I do not know ; nor is it fully understood , by Learned Men, what was the Power of a Legate *a Latere* in those Days. But I found, in the King's Paper Office, the Original Bull of Cardinal *Beaton's* Legatine Power in *Scotland*, which it seems was intercepted by some of the King's Ships, in the passage by Sea thither ; or was sent up to *London* by those who killed him, and possessed themselves of his Castle and Goods. And I having mentioned this Bull to those Learned Men, by whose direction I have governed my self in this Work, I did, by their advice, give it a room in the *Collection*, though it be large ; since, no doubt, Cardinal *Pool's* Bull was in the same form. In it the Reader will clearly perceive what Authority was lodged in the Legates, to overthrow and dispense with almost all the Rules and Canons of the Church ; only some peculiar things, (which were more conspicuously scandalous) were still reserved to the Apostolick See it self ; whose singular Priviledge it has been always esteemed to dispense with the best things, and allow of the worst ; so the Pretenders to those Graces, payed proportionably for them ; this Authority was too Sacred to be trusted, even to a Legate, it being the Prerogative of the Popes themselves, to be the most eminent Transgressors of all Canons and Constitutions.

Col. Number
17.

And makes a
Speech to the
Parliament.

The Queen is
believed to be
with Child.

The Cardinal first declared what his Designs and Powers were to the King and Queen ; and then on the 27th. a Message was sent to the Parliament to come and hear him deliver his Legation ; which they doing, he made them a long Speech, inviting them to a Reconciliation with the Apostolick See, from whence he was sent by the common Pastor of Christendom, to reduce them, who had long strayed from the Inclosure of the Church. This made some emotion in the Queen, which she fondly thought was a Child quickned in her Belly : this redoubled the Joy, some not sparing to say, that as *John Baptist* leaped in his Mothers Belly at the Salutation of the Virgin, so here a happy Omen followed on this Salutation from Christs Vicar. In this, her Women, seeing that she firmly believed her self with Child, flattered her so far, that they fully perswaded her of it. Notice was given of it to the Council, who that night writ a Letter to *Bonner* about it, ordering a *Te Deum* to be sung at *St. Pauls*, and the other Churches of *London*, and that Collects should be constantly used for bringing this to a happy perfection. All that night, and next day, there was great joy about the Court and City.

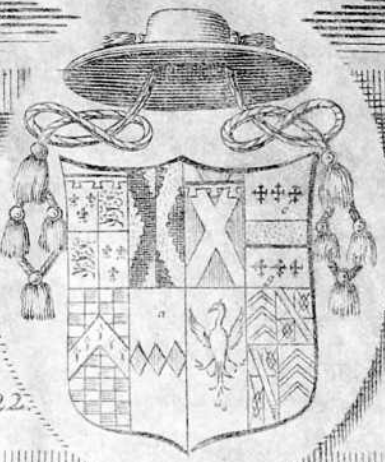
On the 29th. the Speaker reported to the Commons the Substance of the Cardinal's Speech ; and a Message coming from the Lords for a Conference of some of their House, with the Lord Chancellor, four Earls, four Bishops, and four Lords, to prepare a Supplication for their being reconciled to the See of *Rome* ; it was consented to : and the Petition being agreed on at the Committee, was reported, and approved of by both Houses. It contained an Address to the King and Queen.

That



R. White sculp.

Natus Anno
1500. Maij. 10.
Cardinalis. S. Marice
in Cosmedin 1536. Maij 22.



Consecr. Archiepisc.
Cantuariensis,
1552. Mar. 22.
Obijt 1558. Nov. 17.

That whereas they had been guilty of a most horrible Defection, and Schism from the Apostolick See, they did now sincerely repent of it; and in sign of their Repentance, were ready to repeal all the Laws made in prejudice of that See: therefore once the King and Queen had been no way defiled by their Schism, they pray them to be Intercessors with the Legate to grant them Absolution, and to receive them again into the Bosom of the Church,

1554.
The King's Petition on to be reconciled to the See of Rome.

So this being presented by both Houses on their Knees to the King and Queen, they made their Intercession with the Cardinal, who thereupon delivered himself in a long Speech.

He thanked the Parliament for repealing the Act against him, and making him a Member of the Nation, from which he was by that Act cut off: In recompence of which, he was now to reconcile them to the Body of the Church. He told them, The Apostolick See cherished Britain most tenderly, as the first Nation that had publicly received the Christian Faith. The Saxons were also afterwards converted by the means of that See; and some of their Kings had been so devoted to it, that *Offa*, and others, had gone to visit the Thresholds of the Apostles. That *Adrian* the fourth, an English Pope, had given Ireland to the Crown of England: and that many mutual Marks of reciprocal kindness had passed between that common Father of Christendom, and our Kings, their most beloved Sons: but none more eminent than the bestowing on the late King, the Title of *Defender of the Faith*. He told them, That in the Unity with that See, consisted the happiness and strength of all Churches: that since the Greeks had separated from them, they had been abandoned by God, and were now under the Yoke of *Mahometans*. That the Distractions of Germany did further demonstrate this; but most of all, the Confusions themselves had felt, ever since they had broken that Bond of Perfection. That it was the Ambition and Craft of some, who for their private Ends began it, to which the rest did too submissively comply; and that the Apostolick See might have proceeded against them for it, by the assistance of other Princes; but had stayed looking for that Day, and for the Hand of Heaven. He run out much on the commendation of the Queen, and said, God had signally preserved her, to procure this great Blessing to the Church. At last he enjoined them for Penance to repeal the Laws they had made: and so, in the Pope's Name, he granted them a full Absolution, which they received on their Knees; and he also absolved the whole Realm from all Censures.

The Cardinal makes a long Speech.

And grants them Absolution.

The rest of the day was spent with great Solemnity and Triumph; all that had been done, was published next Sunday at *Pauls*. There was a Committee appointed, by both Houses, to prepare the Statute of Repeal, which was not finished before the 25th. of December; and then, the Bishop of London only protesting against it, because of a *Proviso* put in for the Lands which the Lord *Wentworth* had out of his Bishoprick, it was agreed to, and sent to the Commons. They made more haste with it, for they sent it back the 4th. of January, with a desire that twenty Lines in it, which concerned the See of London, and the Lord *Wentworth*, might be put out, and two new *Provisions* added. One of their *Provisions* was not liked by the Lords, who drew a new one; to which the Viscount *Montacute*, and the Bishops of London

1554.

London and Coventry, dissented. The twenty Lines of the Lord Wentworth's *Proviso* were not put out; but the Lord Chancellor took a Knife, and cut them out of the Parchment, and said, Now I do truly the Office of a *Chancellor*; the word being ignorantly derived by some from *Cancelling*. It is not mentioned in the *Journal*, that this was done by the Order of the House; but that must be supposed, otherwise it cannot be thought the Parliament would have consented to so unlimited a Power in the Lord Chancellor, as to raze or cut out *Proviso's* at his pleasure.

The Act of
Repealing all
Laws against
what Sec.

By the Act is set forth, their former Schism from the See of Rome, and their Reconciliation to it now; upon which, all Acts passed since the 20th. of Henry the Eighth, against that See, were specially enumerated and repealed: There it is said, that for the removing of all Grudges that might arise, they desired that the following Articles might through the Cardinal's Intercession, be established by the Pope's Authority.

1. That all Bishopricks, Cathedrals, or Colledges, now established, might be confirmed for ever.

2. That Marriages, made within such degrees as are not contrary to the Law of God, but only to the Laws of the Church, might be confirmed, and the Issue by them declared legitimate.

3. That all Institutions into Benefices might be confirmed.

4. That all Judicial Processes might be also confirmed.

A Proviso for
Church-
Lands.

And finally, That all the Settlements of the Lands, of any Bishopricks, Monasteries, or other Religious Houses, might continue as they were, without any trouble by the Ecclesiastical Censures or Laws.

A Petition
from the Con-
vocation about it.

And to make this pass the better, a Petition was procured from the Convocation of *Canterbury*, setting forth, That whereas they, being the Defenders and Guardians of the Church, ought to endeavour, with all their strength, to recover those Goods to the Church, which in the time of the late Schism had been alienated; yet having considered well of it, they saw how difficult, and indeed impossible, that would prove, and how much it would endanger the publick Peace of the Realm, and the Unity of the Church; therefore they preferring the publick Welfare, and the Salvation of Souls, to their own private Interests, did humbly pray the King and Queen to intercede with the Legate, that according to the Powers given him by the Pope, he would settle and confirm all that had been done in the alienation of the Church and Abbey Lands, to which they, for their Interests, did consent: and they added an humble Desire, That those things which concerned the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Liberty, might be re-established, that so they might be able to discharge the Pastoral Cure committed to them. Upon this, the Cardinal granted a full confirmation of those things: ending it, with a heavy charge on those who had the Goods of the Church in their hands, that they would consider the Judgments of God that fell on *Belshazar*, for his prophanity using the Holy Vessels, though they had not been taken away by himself, but by his Father. And he most earnestly exhorted them, that at least they would take care, that out of the Tythes of Parsonages, or Vicarages, those who served the Cures, might be sufficiently maintain'd

maintain'd and encouraged. This was confirmed in Parliament wherealso it was declared, That all Suits about these Lands, were only to be in the Queen's Courts, and not in the Ecclesiastical Courts: and if any should, upon the pretence of any Ecclesiastical Authority, disturb the Subjects in their possession, they were to fall into a Premunire. It was also declared, that the Title of *Supream Head*, never of right belonged to the Crown; yet all Writings, wherein it was used, were still to continue in force; but that hereafter, all Writings should be of force, in which, either since the Queen's coming to the Crown, or afterwards, that Title should be, or had been omitted. It was also declared, that Bulls from *Rome* might be executed; that all Exemptions that had belonged to Religious Houses, and had been continued by the Grants given of them, were repealed, and these Places were made subject to the Episcopal Jurisdiction, excepting only the Priviledges of the two Universities, the Churches of *Westminster* and *Windfor*, and the *Tower of London*. But for encouraging any to bestow what they pleased on the Church, the Statutes of *Mortmain* were repealed for twenty Years to come; provided always, that nothing in this Act should be contrary to any of the Rights of the Crown, or the Ancient Laws of *England*: but that all things should be brought to the State they were in at the 20th. Year of her Father's Reign and to continue in that condition,

For understanding this Act more perfectly, I shall next set down the Heads of the Address which the Lower House of Convocation made to the Upper; for most of the Branches of this Act had their first rise from it; I have put in the Collection, having found it among Arch-Bishop Parker's Papers. In it they petitioned the Lords of the Upper House of Convocation, to take care, that by their consent to the settlement of the Church Lands, nothing might be done in prejudice of any just Title they had in Law to them: as also, it being said, in the Grant of Chantries to King *Edward*, that Schools and Hospitals were to be erected in several parts of the Kingdom; they desired that some regard might be had to that: Likewise, that the Statutes of *Mortmain* might be repealed: and whereas Tithes had been at all times appointed for the Ecclesiastical Ministry, therefore they prayed that all Impropriations might be dissolved, and the Tithes be restored to the Church. They also proposed 27 Articles of things meet to be considered for the Reformation of the Church. Namely, That all who had preached any Heretical Doctrine, should be made openly to recant it: that *Cranmer's* Book of the Sacrament, the late Service Books, with all Heretical Books, should be burnt; and all that had them, should be required to bring them in; otherwise they should be esteemed the favourers of Heresy: That great care should be had of the Books that were either printed or fold. That the Statutes made against *Lollards*, might be revived, and the Church restored to its former Jurisdiction. That all Statutes for Pluralities, and Non-residence, might be repealed, that so Beneficed Men might attend on their Cures: That Simoniackal Pactions might be punished; not only in the Clergy that made them, but in the Patrons, and in those that mediated in them; that the Liberties of the Church might be restored according to the *Magna Charta*; and the Clergy be delivered from the heavy Burdens of First-Fruits, Tithes, and

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An Address
made by the
Lower House of
Convocation to
the Upper House
of Convocation
87.
Col. Numb. 100

1534.

and Subsidies: That there might be a clear explanation made of all the Articles of the *Premunire*; and that none should be brought under it, till there were first a Prohibition issued out by the Queen in that Particular; and that disobedience to it, should only bring them within that Guilt: That all Exemptions should be taken away; all Usury be forbid; all Clergy Men obliged to go in their Habits. The last was, That all who had spoiled Churches without any Warrant, might be obliged to make restitution.

The Laws against Heretics revived.

The next Act that was brought in, was for the reviving the Statutes made by *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, and *Henry* the fifth, against Hereticks; of which an account was given in the first Book of the former Part. The Act began in the House of Commons; who, as was observed in the former Parliament, were much set on Severities. It was brought in on the 12th. of *December*, and sent up to the Lords on the 15th. who passed it on the 18th. of that month. The Commons put in also another Bill, for voiding all Leases made by married Priests. It was much argued among them; and the first Draught being rejected, a new one was drawn, and sent up to the Lords, on the 19th. of *December*: but they finding it would shake a great part of the Rights of the Church Lands, that were made by Married Priests, or Bishops, laid it aside. Thus did the servile and corrupted House of Commons run so fast, that the Bishops themselves were forced to moderate their Heats. They all understood how much the Queen was set upon having the Church raised as high as could be, and saw there was nothing so effectual to recommend any to her Favour, as to move high in these Matters: And though their Motions were thought too violent, and rejected, yet their Affections were thereby discovered; so that they knew they should be looked on as Men deeply engaged in these Interests.

An Act declaring Treasons.

After this, the Bill of Treasons was brought in. This was also argued for some days in the House of Commons, but at last agreed to. By it, any who denied the King's Right to the Title of the Crown, with the Queen's, or endeavoured to put him from it, together with them that did several other Offences, were to forfeit all their Goods, and to be imprisoned during Life; and Clergy Men were to be deprived by their Ordinaries: In these cases, the second Offence was to be Treason. But if any should compass the King's Death, and utter it by any overt Deed, during his Marriage to the Queen, the first offence of this kind should be Treason. It was also enacted, that the Parliament having petitioned the King, that if the Queen dyed with any Issue, he would take on him the Government of them, till they came of Age; to which he had assented; therefore, if the Queen dyed before her Children came to be of Age, the Government of the Kingdom should be in the King's Hands; if it were a Son, till he were eighteen; or if a Daughter, till she was fifteen Years of Age: And in all that time, the conspiring his Death was to be Treason. The Witnesses were to be brought before the Parties; and none was to be tryed for any words, but within six months after they were spoken.

Another act against seditionous words.

Another Act passed, upon a Report made of some Heretical Preachers, who had, as was informed, prayed in their Conventicles, that God would turn the Queen's Heart from Idolatry to the true Faith or else

else shorten her days, and take her quickly out of the way: All therefore that so prayed for taking away the Queen's Life, were to be judged Traytors; but if they shewed themselves penitent for such Prayers, they were not to be condemned of Treason, but put to any corporal Punishment, other than Death, at the Judges Discretion. This was passed in great haste, for it was thrice read in the House of Lords, and passed on the 16th. of January, in which the Parliament was Dissolved.

1554.

There was another Act past, against those that spread Lying Reports of any Noblemen, Judges, or great Officers; that such as spread them, should be imprisoned till they brought their Authors, according to former Acts. If any spread such Reports of the King and Queen, they were to be set on a Pillory, and pay 100 l. or have their Ears cut off, and be three months Prisoners: and they were to pay 100 Marks, and suffer one months Imprisonment, though they had Authors for them, if they reported them maliciously: But if their Reports tended to the stirring of any Insurrection, they were to lose their right Hands; and upon a second Offence to suffer Imprisonment during their Lives; but they were to be proceeded against within three months after the words so spoken.

Gardiner is in great esteem.

All the Bills being ended, the Parliament was dissolved on the 16th. of January, to Gardiner's no small joy. He had now performed all that he had undertaken to the Queen, or the Emperor: Upon which he had the Reputation that he was formerly in, of a great Statesman, and a dextrous manager of Affairs, much confirmed and raised; since he had brought about, in so small a time, so great a change, where the Interests of those who consented to it, seemed to lead them another way. To those who had apprehended the Tyranny of Rome, he had said, That as our former Kings had always kept it under in a great measure; so there was less danger of that now, since they saw that all Princes had agreed to preserve their own Rights entire, against the Pope's Pretensions. He shewed them, that therefore all the old Laws against Provisions from Rome, were still kept in force. And so upon Cardinal Pool's being called over, there was a Commission sent him, under the Great Seal, bearing date the 10th. of November, authorising him to exercise his Legatine Power in England. By this he shewed them that no Legate should ever come into England to execute any Power, till his Faculties were seen and approved by the Queen. Others thought this was but a vain imagination; for if the Papacy were once fully established and People again brought under the old Superstition, of esteeming the Popes Christ's Vicars, and the infallible Heads of the Church, it would not be possible to retain the People in their Obedience, since all the assistance that the Princes of Christendome of this time had from their Subjects in their Wars with the Popes, flowed chiefly from this, that they generally did no more submit implicitly to their Priests. But if once that blind Obedience were restored, it would be easy for the Priests, by their private dealings in Confession, to overturn Governments as they pleased.

But that which stuck most, was, That the Church Lands were, by the Cannon Law, so indissolubly annexed to the Church, that they could not be separated from it. To this it was answered, that they

Great fear about the Church Lands.

1554.

should secure it by a Law at *Rome*, and should confirm all the Alienations that had been made, both by consent of the Clergy, and by the Pope's Authority committed to the Legate. Yet even that did not satisfy many who found some Laws in the Canon, so strict, that the Pope himself could not dispence with them: If the Legate did it, the Pope might refuse to confirm it, and then it was nothing: and what one Pope did, another often recalled. So it was said, that this Confirmation was but an Artifice, to make it pass the more easily. Besides, all observed, that in the Cardinal's Confirmation of those Lands, there was a charge given to all, to be afraid of the Judgments of God that fell on *Belshazzar* for using the Holy Vessels; which was, to pardon the thing, and yet to call it a Sacrilege, for which they might look for the Vengeance of God. So that the Cardinal did at the same time both bind and loose; and it was plain, both by that Clause, and the Repeal of the Statute of *Mortmain*, that it was designed to possess People with the Opinion of the Sin of retaining Church-Lands. It was thought this Confirmation, was rather an Indemnity and Permission to keep them, than a declaring the Possessors had any lawful Title to them: So that when Men were near Death, and could no longer enjoy those Lands themselves, it was not to be doubted, but the Terrors of Sacrilege, and the Punishments due to it, with the hope of that relief and comfort that Soul-Masses might bring them in Purgatory, would prevail with many of them, to make at least great, if not entire, Restitutions.

This Point being carried by those who did not understand what future danger their Estates were in, but considered the present Confirmation, and the other Advantages which they were to have for consenting to this Act; all the rest passed with no opposition. The Act about the proceeding against Hereticks, passed more easily than any thing that had been proposed: So it seems the opposition that was made to other Acts, came not from any that favoured the Reformation, otherwise this would have found some resistance. But now it was the only way to the Queen's Favour, and to Preferment, to run down that which was called *Heresy*.

Consultations
about the way
of dealing
with Hereticks

After the Dissolution of the Parliament, the first thing taken into consideration was, what way to proceed against the Hereticks. Cardinal *Pool* had been suspected to favour the Protestants, but seemed now to be much alienated from them: and therefore when *Tremellius*, who had declared himself a Protestant, came to him at *Brussels*, he would not see him, though he was his God-father. He came over into *England*,^o much changed from that freedom of Conversation he had formerly practised: he was in reserves to all People, spoke little, and had put on an *Italian* Temper, as well as behaviour: he brought over two *Italians*, *Prinli* and *Ormaneto*, who were his only Confidants. He was a Man of a generous and good disposition; but knew how jealous the Court of *Rome* would be of him, if he seemed to favour Hereticks; therefore he expressed great detestation of them. Nor did he converse much with any that had been of that Party, but the late Secretary *Cecil*, who, though he lived for the most part privately at his House near *Stamford*, where he afterwards built a most sumptuous House; and was known to favour the Reformation still in his Heart;

Heart; yet in many things he complied with the Time, and came to have more of his confidence than any English Man.

1554.

The Cardinal professed himself an Enemy to extream Proceedings. He said, Pastors ought to have Bowels, even to their straying sheep: Bishops were Fathers, and ought to look on those that erred as their sick Children, and not for that, to kill them: He had seen, that severe Proceedings did rather inflame than cure that Disease: There was a great difference to be made between a Nation uninfected, where some few Teachers came to spread Errors; and a Nation that had been overrun with them, both Clergy and Laity. The People were not so violently to be drawn back, but were to have time given them to recover out of those Errors, into which they had been led by the Compliance and Writings of their Prelates. Therefore he proposed, that there should be a strict Reformation of the manners of the Clergy, carryed on. He had observed, in every Country of Christendom, that all the best and wisest Men acknowledged, that the Scandals and Ignorance of the Clergy, had given the entrance to Heresy: So he moved, that there might be a reviving of the Rules of the Primitive Church; and then, within a little time, Men might by degrees be brought over. I have not found that he proposed the receiving the Council of Trent; which is the more strange, since he had been himself one of the Legates at the first Session of it: but it seems, it was not thought seasonable to propose it, till the Council were first ended and dissolved.

The Cardinal
is for moderate
Courts.

On the other hand, *Gardiner*, who had no great sense of Ecclesiastical Matters, but as they served Intrigues of State; and being himself of such a temper, that severe Proceedings wrought much on him? judged that the executing the Laws against the *Lollards*, was that in which they were chiefly to trust. He was confident, the Preachers then in Prison, were Men of such tempers, that, if they saw they were to be burnt, they would comply; or if they stood out, and were burnt, that would so terrify the rest, that the whole Nation would soon change. He remembered well how the *Lollards* grew in England, only upon Cardinal *Wolsey's* slackning the execution of the Laws against them: And upon the passing of the Statute of the six Articles, many submitted; so that if King *Henry* had not discouraged the vigorous execution of that Act, all had turned. He did not deny, but a Reformation of the Clergy was a good and fit mean; but said, that all Times could not bear such things; and if they went to reform their Manners, the Hereticks would from thence take advantage of raising clamours against a scandalous Clergy; which would encrease, rather than lessen the aversion the People had to their Pastors. So *Gardiner* complained, that *Poel*, by his intention of coming over too hastily, had almost precipitated all things; and now, by his gentle proceedings, would as much prejudice them another way. All these Reasonings, were such as became a Man of *Gardiner's* temper, which being servile, and abject, made him measure others by himself.

But *Gardiner*
is for violent
ones.

He was also at this time highly provoked, by the reprinting of his Books of *True Obedience*, which he had writ in the Time of King *Henry*, and to which *Donner* had made the Preface. In these Books, *Gardiner* had not only argued against the Pope's Supremacy, and for the Kings, but had condemned the King's Marriage with Queen *Katherine*, calling

it often *incestuous*, and *unlawful*; and had justified the King's Divorcing her, and marrying his most godly and vertuous Wife, Queen *Ann*. This being reprinted in *Strasburg*, was now conveyed into *England*; and it was acknowledged to be a handsome piece of Spite in the Reformed, thus to expose him to the World. But though this nettled him much, yet he was confident enough, and excused himself, that he had erred through fear and weakness, as *St. Peter* had done; though it was an unreasonable thing, to compare an Error of near thirty Years continuance, to the sudden denial of *St. Peter*, that was presently expiated with so true and sincere a Repentance.

Between these two Councils, the Queen would have a mean way taken, to follow both in part. She encouraged *Pool* to go on in the correcting the Manners of the Clergy; and likewise pressed *Gardiner* to proceed against the Hereticks.

She also sent Ambassadors to *Rome*; who were the Viscount *Montacute*, the Bishop of *Ely*, and Sir *Edward Carn*, one to represent every State of the Kingdom; to make her Obedience to the Pope, and to obtain a Confirmation of all those Graces Cardinal *Pool* had granted in his Name.

On the 23^d. of *January*, all the Bishops went to *Lambeth*, to receive the Cardinal's Blessing and Directions. He wished them to return to their Cures, and treat their Flocks with all gentleness, and to endeavour rather to gain them that way, than to use Extremity and Rigour. And the 25th. there was a solemn Procession through *London*; there first 160 Priests, all in their Copes, eight Bishops next, and last *As* came *Bonner* himself, carrying the Host; to thank God for reconciling them again to his Church, and Bonfires were burning all the Night. And to keep up a constant remembrance of it, it was ordered, that *St. Andrew's* day should be still observed as the Anniversary of it, and be called *The Feast of the Reconciliation*; and Processions, with all the highest Solemnities they at any time use, were to be on that day.

But now they turned wholly to the Prosecution of the Hereticks. There had been thirty of them taken at a Meeting near *Bow* Church, where one *Rose*, a Minister, gave them the Communion according to the English Book of Service; so they were all put in Prison. On the 22^d. of *January*, *Rogers*, with others, were brought before the Council; He had been a Prebendary of *Pauls*, and in a Sermon, after the Queen was come to *London*, had zealously asserted the Doctrine, he had formerly preached; and as it has been shewn, was confined to his House, upon the Tumult that had been at *Pauls*. He was much pressed to fly over into *Germany*, but he would not hearken to it, though the Necessities of ten Children were great Temptations. He was esteemed one of the most Learned of the Reformers, so that when those of the Convocation were required to Dispute; they desired that *Ridley* and he might be suffered to come and join with them. It was resolved to begin with him, and some others, at the Council-Board, to see if they could be easily brought over.

He was accordingly brought before the Council; where being asked by *Gardiner*, Whether he would knit himself to the Catholick Church,

which the
Council

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They begin
with Rogers,
and others

and receive the Pope as the Supream Head? He said, He knew no other Head of the Church but Christ; and for the Pope he had no more Authority in *England*, than any other Bishop, either by the Word of God, or the Authority of the Church, for 400 Years after Christ. But they objecting, that he had acknowledged King *Henry* to be Supream Head: He answered, He never acknowledged him so to be Supream, as to forgive Sins, bestow the Holy Ghost, or be a Judge above the Word of God. But as he was going to explain himself, *Gardiner* pressed him to answer plainly. He objected to *Gardiner*, That all the Bishops had for many Years preached against the Pope. *Gardiner* said, They were forced to it, by the Cruelty of the Times; but they would Argue no more with him: Now Mercy was offered, if he rejected it, Justice must come next. *Rogers* said, if they had been pressed to deny the Pope's Power by Cruelty, would they now by the same Motives force others to acknowledge it? for his part he would never do it. Other ten were called in, one after another; and only one of them, by the Lord *Effingham's* Favour, was let go upon a general Question, if he would be an Honest Man; but all the rest answering resolutely, were sent back to Prison, and were kept much stricter than formerly; none being suffered to come near them.

1555.
Who refusing
to comply.

On the 28th. of January, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *London*, *Duresm*, *Salisbury*, *Normich*, and *Carlisle*, sat in *St. Mary Overies* in *Southmark*; where *Hooper* was first brought before them. It needs not to be doubted, but *Bonner* remembered that he had informed against him, when he was deprived in King *Edward's* Time. He had been summoned to appear before the Queen, soon after she came to the Crown: and was pretended, he owed her great Sums of Mony: Many advised not to appear, for that it was but a pretence to put him, and a great many more in Prison, where they would be kept till Laws were made to bring them out to a Stake. But he would not withdraw; so now he and Mr. *Rogers* were singled out and begun with. They were asked, Whether they would submit, or not? they both refused to submit, *Rogers* being much pressed, and continuing firm in his Resolutions; *Gardiner* said, It was vain-glory in him to stand out against the whole Church. He protested it was his Conscience, and not Vain-glory, that swayed him; for his part, he would have nothing to do with the Antichristian Church of *Rome*. *Gardiner* said, by that he condemned the Queen, and the whole Realm, to be of the Church of Antichrist: *Rogers* said, The Queen would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. *Gardiner* said, the Queen went before them in those Counsels, which proceeded of her own motion. *Rogers* said, He would never believe that. The Bishop of *Carlisle* said, they could all bear him witness to it. *Rogers* said, they would all witness for one another. Upon that, the Comptroller, and Secretary *Bourn*, being there, stood up in Court and attested it. Then they asked *Rogers*, What he thought of the Sacrament? He said, It was known he had never meddled in that Matter, and was suspected by some to be of a contrary Opinion to many of his Brethren, but yet he did not allow of their Corporal Presence. He complained, that after he had been confined half a Year in his House, they had kept him a Year in *Newgate*, without any Fault; for they could not say he had broken
any

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condem-

any of their Laws, since he had been a Prisoner all the while; so that merely for his Opinion they were now proceeding against him. They gave *Hooper* and him time till next morning, to consider what they would do: but they continuing in their former Resolution; were declared obstinate Hereticks, and appointed to be degraded and so to be delivered into the Sheriffs hands. *Hooper* was only degraded from the Order of Priesthood. Then *Rogers* desired he might be suffered to speak with his Wife, concerning his ten Children: They answered, she was not his Wife, and so denied it. Upon this they were led away to *Newgate*.

Rogers Mar-
tyrdom.

On the 4th. of *February*, early in the morning, *Rogers* was called upon to make ready for *Smithfield*: He was so fast asleep, that he was not easily awakened; he put on his Cloaths carelessly, being, as he said, so soon to lay them off. When he was brought to *Bonner* to be degraded, he again renewed his desire to see his Wife, but could not obtain it. He was led to *Smithfield*, where he was not suffered to make any Speech to the People: so, in a few words, he desired them to continue in that Doctrine which he had taught them, and for which he had not only patiently suffered all the bitterness and cruelty that had been exercised on him, but did now most gladly resign up his Life, and give his Flesh to the consuming Fire, for a Testimony to it. He repeated the 51 *Psalms*, and so fitted himself for the Stake. A Pardon was brought, if he would recant: but he chose to submit to that severe, but short punishment, rather than put himself in danger of Everlasting Burnings, by an Apostacy: So the Fire was set to him, which consumed him to

Hooper burnt
at Gloucester.

For *Hooper*, after they had degraded him, they resolved to send him to *Glocester*: At which he much rejoiced, hoping by his Death to confirm their Faith, over whom he had been formerly placed. He was carried thither in three dayes. After he came, he had one dayes interval given him, which he spent in Fasting and Prayer. Some came to perswade him to accept of the Queen's Mercy, since Life was sweet, and Death was bitter. He Answered, The Death that was to come after was more bitter, and the Life that was to follow was more sweet. As some of his Friends parted with him, he shed some Tears, and told them, All his Imprisonment had not made him do so much.

On the 9th. he was led out to his Execution; where, being denied leave to speak, but only to pray, in the strain of a Prayer, he declared his belief. Then the Queen's Pardon being shewed him, he desired them to take it away. He prayed earnestly for strength from God, to endure his Torment patiently; and undressed himself, and embraced the Reeds. When he was tyed to the Stake with Iron Chains, he desired them to spare their pains, for he was confident he should not trouble them. The Fire was put to him, but the Wood being green, burns ill, and the Wind blew away the flame of the Reeds: He prayed oft, *O Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me, and receive my Soul*; and called to the People, for the Love of God, to bring him more Fire, for the Fire was burning his neather Parts, but did not reach his Vitals. The Fire was renewed, but the Wind still blew it away from rising up to stifle him, so that he was long in the Torment. The last words he was heard to say, were, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit*. One of his

his Hands dropped off before he died; with the other he Continued to knock on his Breast some time after; and was in all near three quarters of an hour a burning.

Next these, was *Sanders* condemned, and sent to *Coventry* to be burnt, where he suffered on the 8th of *February*. He had been made a Prisoner for Preaching, notwithstanding the Queen's Prohibition, and was condemned for refusing to conform to the New Laws. When he was led out to the Stake, a Pardon was likewise offered him: But he said, He held no Heresies, but the blessed Gospel of Christ; and that he would never recant. When he came to the Stake, he embraced it, and said, *Wellcome the Cross of Christ, wellcome Everlasting Life? and so he was burnt.*

Sanders burnt at Coventry.

Dr. *Taylor* followed next, who was Parson of *Hadley*. Some of his neighbouring Priests came to *Hadley*, and resolved to say Mass in his Church. He went thither, and openly declared against it, but was by violence thrust out of the Church. *Gardiner*, being informed of this, writ for him to come up. Many of his Friends wished him to go out of the way: He said, He must follow Christ, the good Shepherd, who not only fed his Flock, but died for it. He was old, and thought he should never be able, at any other time, to do his good God such Service as he was then called to; so he went with much chearfulness. *Gardiner* received him with his ordinary Civilities, of *Traitor, Villain, Heretic, and Knave*. He answered, He was none of these; and put *Gardiner* in mind of the Oaths he had sworn, both to King *Henry* and King *Edward*. *Gardiner* said, An unlawful Oath was not to be kept; and charged him for hindring Mass to be said at his Church. He said, He was by Law Parson of *Hadley*, and no man had a right to come thither, and defile his Church and People with Idolatry. After some Discourse on that Head, he was sent to the *Kings Bench* Prison; and being carried before the Council on the 22d. of *January*, he refused to turn. After that he was condemned, and degraded: And it was resolved to send him to *Hadley* to be burnt there. All the way he expressed great chearfulness. When he was brought to the Stake, he said to the People, he had taught them nothing but God's Holy Word, and was now to Seal it with his Blood: But one of the Guard struck him over the Head, and made him give over speaking. Then he went to his Prayers, and so to the Stake, where he was put in a Pitch Barrel. As the Faggots were laying about him, one flung a Faggot at his Head, which broke it, and fetch'd a great deal of Blood; but all he said, was, *Oh Friend, I have harm enough, what needed that?* He repeated the 51 Psalm in English; at which one of the Guard struck him over the Mouth, and bid him speak Latin. He continued in his Ejaculations to God, till the Fire was kindled; and one of the Guard cut him in the Head with his Halbert, so that his Brains fell out. This was done on the 9th. of *February*.

And Taylor at Hadley.

Readford was also at the same time condemned, but his Execution was respited.

Soon after the Condemnation of these Men, six others were apprehended on the account of Heresy.

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Gardiner is
disappointed:e Cruel-
are much
ensured.

By this *Gardiner* saw, that what he had expected did not follow; for he thought a few severe instances would have turned the whole Nation; but finding he was disappointed, he would meddle no more in the condemning of them; but left the whole matter wholly to *Bonner*, who undertook it chearfully, being naturally savage and brutal, and retaining deep resentments for what had befallen himself in *King Edwards time*.

The whole Nation stood amazed at these Proceedings, and the burning of such Men, only for their Consciences, without the mixture of any other thing, so much as pretended against them. And it was looked upon as a horrible cruelty, because those Men had acted nothing contrary to the Laws; for they were put in Prison, at first for smaller matters, and there kept, till those Laws were past, by which they were now burnt. So that, remembring *Gardiner's* Plea for himself in his imprisonment, when he desired to be first Tried, and discharged in the particular for which he was committed, before new matter was brought against him; all Men saw now, how much more justly those men might have demanded the like at his hands. But now the Spirit of the two Religions shewed it self. In *King Edwards time*, Papists were only turned out of their Benefices, and at most imprisoned; and of those there were but very few: but now, that could not serve turn, but barbarous Cruelties must be executed on innocent Men, only for their Opinions. One piece of Severity was taken notice of among the rest: The Council sent for those who were to be burnt in the Country, and required of them a promise to make no Speeches; otherwise they threatened to cut out their Tongues immediately: so they to avoid that butchery, promised to obey those cruel Orders.

Reflection
made on Hooper's
Death.

The manner of *Hooper's* death, made those who judged too critically of Divine Providences, reflect on the dissension that had been raised by him about the Vestments; as if he, who had kindled that fire, had suffered now more than ordinary for that reason. But all that difference was at an end before this; for *Ridley* and he, between whom there had been the greatest animosity, becoming Partners in the same sufferings, were perfectly reconciled to each other. He writ twice to *Ridley*, who writ him an Answer, as soon as he could convey it; in which he declared, how intirely he was knit to him, though in some circumstances of Religion they had formerly jarred a little: it was *Hooper's* wisdom, and his own simplicity, that had divided them; every one following the abundance of his own sence; but now he assured him, that in the Bowels of Christ he loved him in the Truth and for the Truth. He encouraged him to prepare for the day of his dissolution; after which they should triumph together in eternal Glory: he expressed great Joy for what he "heard of *Cranmers* godly and fatherly constancy, whose integrity, and "uprightness, gravity, and innocence, was known to the whole Nation: "and he blessed God that had given, in his reverend old Age, such a Man "to be the witness of his Truth: for miserable and hard-hearted was he, "whom the Godliness and constant confession of so worthy, so grave, "and so innocent a man, would not move to acknowledge and confess his "Truth.

It had been happy if the fires that consumed those good Men, had put an end to these Contests: and if those that have been since engaged in the like, will reflect more on the sense they had of them when they

they were now preparing for Eternity, than on the heats they were put in concerning them, when perhaps ease and plenty made their passions keener, they may from thence be reduced to have more moderate thoughts of such matters.

If the English Nation was dissatisfied with what was done since the beginning of this Reign, it cannot be imagined but their discontent received a great encrease by what was now acted. Those that favoured the Reformation, were awakened to have more serious thoughts about it; since they saw those that had preached it, died so patiently and resolutely, rather than they would deny it. It begot in them greater tenderness to their memories, and a more violent aversion to their Persecutors. The rest of the Nation that neither knew nor valued Religion much, yet were startled at the severity and strangeness of these Proceedings; and being naturally of relenting and compassionate Tempers, were highly disaffected to the King, from whom they believed that this flowed. They Queen had before declared, she would force no body in these points; so they thought it not reasonable nor decent to charge her with it. *Gardiner*, with the other Bishops and Privy Councillors had openly in Court purged themselves of it; and laid it on the Queen, being therein more careful of their own credit, than of her honour; so now, it could fall no where but on the King; the sowerness of whose temper, together with his bigotry for that Religion, made it reasonable enough to impute it to him: besides, he had been bred in *Spain*, where the Inquisition was let loose on all that were suspected of Heresie without any restraint: and his Father had, during his whole Reign, been always, as far as he safely could be, a Prosecutor of Protestants. *Philip* could not but see that all was cast on him; and understanding that thereby he should become unacceptable to the Nation, and so not be able to carry on his Design of making himself Master of *England*, he was something concerned to clear himself of these Imputations. Therefore *Alphonsus* a Franciscan Friar that was his Confessor, in a Sermon before him on the 10th. of *February* preached largely against the taking away of Peoples lives for Religion; and in plain terms, inveighed against the Bishops for doing it: he said, they had not learned it in Scripture, which taught Bishops in the spirit of meekness to instruct those that opposed them; and not to burn them for their Consciences. This startled the Bishops; since it was now plain, that the Spaniards disowned these extream courses; and hereupon there was a stop for several weeks put to any further severities. But the Popish Clergy, being once engaged in blood, have been always observed to become the most brutally cruel of any sort of men; so that it was not easie to restrain them; and therefore they resolved, rather than the Hereticks should not be prosecuted any further, to take the blame of it avowedly on themselves.

There was at this time a Petition Printed, and sent over from some beyond Sea, to the Queen, in which they set before her the danger of her being carried away by a blind zeal, to persecute the members of Christ, as *St. Paul* was before his conversion: They put her in mind how *Cramer* had preserved her in her Fathers time; so that she had more reason to believe he loved her, and would speak truth to her, than all the rest of her Clergy; whom they compared to *Jezabel's* Prophets.

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These Burnings were disliked by the Nation.

The King purges himself of them.

But they are prosecuted by the Clergy.

A Petition against Persecution.

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Prophets. They gathered many Passages out of *Gardiner's Bonner's*, and *Tonstal's* Writings, against the Pope's Supremacy, and her Mothers Marriage; and shewed that they were Men that, by their own confession, had no conscience in them, but measured their Actions and Professions by their Fears, and Interests; and averred that it was known that many of that Faction did openly profess, that if they lived in *Turkey*, they would comply with the Religion of the Country. They said, that the *Turks* did tolerate Christians, and the Christians did. in most places suffer *Jews*; but the Persecution now set on foot, was like that which the Scribes and Pharisees raised against the Apostles; for they then pretended that they had been once of their Religion, and so were Apostates, and Hereticks. They also said, (but by a common mistake) That the first Law for Burning in *England*, was made by *Henry* the Fourth; who to gratifie the Bishops that had helped him to depose King *Richard* the second, and to advance himself to the Throne, as it were, in recompence of that Service, had granted them that Law; which was both against all huanmity, and more particularly against the mercifulness of the Christian Religion.

They remembred her, that in King *Edward's* time, none of the Papists had been so used: and in conclusion they told her, she was trusted by God with the Sword, for the protection of her People, as long as they did well; and was to answer to him for their Blood, if she thus delivered them to the mercy of such Wolves.

From the Queen, the Address is turned to the Nobility, warning them of the Danger, of not only losing their Abbey Lands, but all their Liberties; and being brought under a Spanish Yoke, which had ruined many of the best Countries in the World: They are told, they must resolve to come under heavy Taxes, and a general Excise, such as was in the *Netherlands*; and that all this would come justly on them, who had joyned in the Reformation, for base ends, to get the Church Lands; and now, thinking those were secured to them, forsook it: but for all these things they were to answer heartily to God.

From them, it turns to the People, and exhorts them to repent of their great sins, which had brought such Judgments on them: and in the end, begs the Queen will at least be as favourable to her own People, as she had been to the Strangers, to whom she allowed a free passage to Forreign Parts.

This Discourse is writ in a strong and good Style, much beyond the rate of the other Books of that time. Upon this, some were set on work to write in defence of such Proceedings; so a Book was set out about it, with divers Arguments, of which the substance follows.

Arguments
for persecu-
ting Hereticks.

They said, The Jews were commanded to put Blasphemers to death; and those Hereticks were such, for they blasphemed the Sacrament of the Altar, which was the Body of Christ, and called it a piece of Bread. They noted also, that the Heathens had persecuted Christians; and if they had that Zeal for their false Religion, it became Christians to be much more zealous for theirs: they made use of that Expression in the Parable, *Compel them to enter in*; and of St. Paul's, *I would they were cut off that trouble you*. They alledged, that St. Peter had, by a Divine Power, struck *Ananias* and *Saphira* dead; which seemed a good Warrant for the Magistrate to put such persons to Death. They said, that

that the Hereticks themselves were for Burning, when they had Power; and that those that died then by their hands, had expressed as much Courage in their Deaths; and Innocence in their Lives, as they had ever done: they cited *St. Austin*, who was for prosecuting the *Donatists*; and though he had been once of another mind, yet finding Severities had a good effect on them, he changed, and was for fining or banishing of them. These were the Arguments for and against those Proceedings.

But leaving them to the Reader's Judgment, I proceed in the History. I intend not to write a pompous Martyrology, and therefore hereafter I shall only name the Persons that suffered, with the reasons for which they were condemned: but except in a very few Instances, I shall not enlarge on the manner of their Trial and Sufferings; which being so copiously done by *Fax*, there is nothing left for any that comes after him. In some private Passages, which were brought to him upon flying Reports, he made a few Mistakes, being too credulous; but in the Account he gives from Records, or Papers, he is a most exact and faithful Writer; so that I could never find him in any prevarication, or so much as a designed concealment. He tells the Good and the Bad, the Weakness and Passion, as well as the Constancy and Patience of those good Men, who sealed their Faith with their Blood; who were not all equal in Parts, nor in Discretion; but the weaker any of them were, it argued the more cruelty in their Prosecutors, to proceed so severely against such inconsiderable Persons.

The first Intermission being over, on the 16th. of March, *Thomas Thomkins*, a Weaver in *Shoreditch*, was burnt in *Smithfield*, only denying the corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. *Bonner* kept him many months in his House, hoping to have wrought on him by fair means; but those having no effect, one day he tore out a great deal of the Hair of his Beard, but to conceal that, made his Beard be clean shaved: And another time he held his hand in the Flame of the Candle, so long, till the Sinews and Veins shrunk and burst, and spurted in *Harpfield's* Face that was standing by, who, interposing with *Bonner*, got him to give over any further cruelty at that time.

The next that suffered, was one *William Hunter* of *Brentwood*, an Apprentice of nineteen Years old; who had been drawn on in discourse by a Priest, till he brought him to deny the Presence in the Sacrament; and then was accused by him. His own Father was made to search for him to bring him to Justice; but he, to save his Father from trouble, rendred himself. *Bonner* offered him 40 pound if he would change, for mercenary a thing did he think Conscience to be: But he answered, if they would let him alone, he would keep his Conscience to himself, but he would not change; so he was condemned and sent to be burnt near his where he suffered on the 20th. of March.

On the same day, *Causton* and *Higbed*, two Gentlemen of good Estates and great Esteem, were burnt near their own Houses in *Essex*.

On the 28th. of March, *William Pigot* was burnt at *Braintree*, and *Stephen Knight* at *Malden*; and on the 29th, *John Lawrence*, a Priest, Father House, was burnt at *Colchester*.

In all their Processes, the Bishops brought no Witnesses against them; but did only exhibit Articles to them according to the way of those

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Courts, called *Ex Officio*; and required them to make Answers; and upon their Answers, which were judged Heretical, they condemned them; so that all this was singly for their Consciences, without the presence of any other Matter.

Ferrar, Bishop of *St. Davids*, condemned and burnt.

Ferrar, that had been Bishop of *St. Davids*, being dealt with by *Gardiner* to turn, and refusing to do it, was sent down to *Cardarthen*; where his Successor *Morgan* sat upon him; and gave him Articles about the Marriage of Priests, the Mass, and some other things: To which his Answers being found Heretical, he was condemned. He put in an Appeal to Cardinal *Pool*, but it was not received: Yet it seems, that delayed the Execution till they heard from him: For though he was condemned on the 13th. he was not burnt before the 30th of *March*.

About that time was *Rawlins White*, an honest poor Fisher-man, burnt at *Cardiff*; it was in *March*, but the day is not mentioned: He was very ancient, and was put in prison, only because he had put his Son to School, that he might hear the Bible read by him. After a Years Imprisonment, the Bishop of *Landaff* condemned him, upon Articles to which he answered as an Heretick.

On the 24th of *April*, *George March*, a Priest, was burnt at *Chester*, being judged, as the others had been; only at his death there was a new Invention of Cruelty, a Firkin of Pitch was hung over his Head, that the Fire melting it, it might scald his Head as it dropt on it.

One wounds a Priest at the Altar, and is burnt for it: he rescues himself, condemning his former Act.

After this, one *Flower*, that had been in Orders, but was a rash indiscreet Man, went on *Easter-day* into *St. Margarets Church* in *Westminster*, and there with a Knife, struck at, and wounded the Priest, as he was officiating. He for some time justified what he had done, as flowing from Zeal; but afterwards he sincerely condemned it. *Bonner*, upon this proceeding against him as an Heretick, condemned him to the Fire; and he was burnt on the 24th. of *April* in *Westminster Church-Yard*. This Fact was condemned by all the Reformed, who knew that the Wrath of Man was not the way to accomplish the Righteousness of God. In the Jewish Government, some extraordinary Persons did execute Vengeance on notorious Offenders; but that Constitution was in all its Policy regulated by the Laws given by *Moses*; in which such Instances were proposed as Examples, whereby they became a part of the Law of that Land; so that in such Cases, it was certainly lawful to execute Punishment in that way; so in some Kingdoms, any Man that finds an out-lawed Person, may kill him: but where there is no Law warranting such things, it is certainly against both Religion, and the Laws of all Society and Government, for private persons to pretend to the Magistrates right, and to execute Justice upon any account whatsoever.

There was at this time a second stop put to the Execution of Hereticks, for till the end of *May* more fires were not kindled; People grew generally so enraged upon it, that they could not bear it. I shall therefore now turn my self to other things, that will give the Reader a more pleasing entertainment.

The Queen resolves to surrender up all the Church Lands that were in her hands.

On the 28th of *March*, the Queen called for the Lord Treasurer, Sir *Robert Rochester* Comptroller, Sir *William Petre* Secretary of State, and Sir *Francis Inglefield* Master of the Wards. She said, she had sent for them, to declare her Conscience to them concerning the Church-Lands

Lands that continued still in the Crown : she thought they were taken away in the time of the Schism, and by unlawful means, therefore she could not keep them with a good Conscience ; so she did surrender and relinquish them. If they should tell her, That her Crown was so poor, that she could not well maintain her Dignity, if she parted with them ; she must tell them, She valued the Salvation of her Soul more than ten Kingdoms ; and thanked God, her Husband was of the same mind ; and therefore she was resolved to have them disposed, as the Pope, or his Legat should think fit ; so she ordered them to go with the Lord Chancellor, to whom she had spoken of it before, and wait on the Legat, and signify it to him, together with the value of those Lands. This flowed from the strictness of the Queens Conscience, who then thought her self near the time of her delivery, and therefore would not have such a load lie on her ; of which she was the more sensible, by reason of a Bull which Pope *Julius* had made, excommunicating all that kept any Abby or Church-Lands ; and all Princes, Prelates and Magistrates, that did not assist in the execution of such Bulls. Some said, this related to the Business of *England* ; but *Gardiner* said, it was only made for *Germany* ; and that Bulls had no Authority, unless they were received in *England*. This did not satisfy the People much ; for if it was such a sin in *Germany*, they could not see, but it was as bad in *England* : And if the Pope had his Authority from Christ and St. *Peter*, his Bulls ought to take place every-where.

Pope *Julius* died soon after this, on the 20th. of *March* ; and on the 6th. of *April* after, Cardinal *Marcellus Cervinus* was chosen Pope : a Man of great gravity and innocence of Life. He continued to keep his former Name, which had not been done a great while, except by *Adrian* the 6th. between whose temper, and this Man, there was a great resemblance. He presently turned all his Thoughts (as *Adrian* had done) to a Reformation of the Corruptions of that See ; and blamed his Predecessors much who had always put it off : he thought nothing could make the Papacy more revered, than to cut off their excessive and superfluous Pomp ; whereby they would be the more esteemed all the World over, and might, on surer grounds, expect the protection of God. He had been one of the Legats at *Trent*, and there observed what was represented as the root of all Heresie and Disorder, that the Clergy were generally corrupted, and had, by many Exemptions procured from *Rome*, broken all the Primitive Rules. Upon his first Election, he called for the Cardinal of *Mantua*, and having observed him to be a man of great probity, told him, he knew it was ordinary for all Popes, at their first coming to the Throne, to talk of Reformation ; but he would talk little, being resolved to do more ; only he opened his mind to him, that if ever he went back from it, he might have this check upon him, that so honest a man as he was, would know him to be a Knave, and a Hypocrite. He would suffer none of his Friends that were in remote parts, to come to *Rome* ; nor his Nephews, that were in *Rome*, to come within the Court : he was resolved to have sent all Priests and Bishops home to their Benefices ; and talked much of their Non-residence with great detestation : He would not change his Table, nor his Custom of making one read to him when he was sitting at it. One day, after a long musing at Dinner, he said, he

1555.

Pope *Julius*
died, and *Mar-*
cellus succeeded.

remembered

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remembered the words of *Hadrian* the Fourth, 'That the Pope was the most miserable of all Men; his whole Life was bitterness, his Chair was full of Thorns, and his way of Briars; and then leaning with his Hand on the Table, he said, *I do not see how they can be saved that hold this high Dignity.* These Thoughts did so affect him, that on the 12th. day after that he was chosen Pope, he sickned, and died ten days after. These things are reported of him by the learned *Onuphrius*, who knew him well: and they will not be thought impertinent to have a room in this Story.

The Queen recommends
Card. Pool to
the Popedom
upon *Miscell.*
lus's death.

As soon as the News of his Death came to *England*, the Queen writ, on the 29th. day of May, to *Gardiner*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget*, who were then at *Calais*, mediating a Peace between the French and Spaniard; which they could not effect, but only procured a Truce. She desired them to deal with the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, the Constable, and the other French Commissioners, to perswade their Master to set up Cardinal *Pool*, that he might succeed in that Chair, since he seemed every way the fittest person for it; adding, (as will appear by the Letter which is in the *Collection*) that she had done this without his knowledge or consent. This could not come in time to *Rome*, where on the 23d. of that month, *Caraffa* was chosen Pope, who was called *Paul* the Fourth; and who was as different from his Predecessor as any man could be. He had put on an appearance of great strictness before; and had set up a Religious Order of Monks, called *Theatines*. But upon his coming to the Popedom, he put on the greatest Magnificence possible, and was the highest Spirited, and bloodiest Pope, that had been since *Julius* the Second's Time.

Coll. Numb. 18.

Paul the 4th.
chosen Pope.

The English
Ambassadors
come to Rome.

He took it for a great Honour, that on the day of his Election, the English Ambassadors entred *Rome*, with a great Train of 140 Horse of their own Attendants. On the 23d. of June, in the first Consistory after he was Crowned, they were heard. They fell prostrate at his Feet, and acknowledged the Steps and Faults of their Schism, enumerating them all; for so the Pope had ordered it; confessing they had been ungrateful for the many benefits they had received from that Church, and humbly asking pardon for them. The Pope held some Consultation, whether he should receive them, since in their Credentials, the Queen stiled her self Queen of *Ireland*: that Title being assumed by King *Henry*, in the Time of Schism. It seemed hard to use such Ambassadors ill: but on the other hand, he stood upon his Dignity, and thought it belonged only to his See to erect Kingdoms: therefore he resolved so to temper the Matter, that he should not take notice of that Title, but should bestow it as a Mark of his Favour. So on the 7th. of June, he did in private erect *Ireland* into a Kingdom; and conferred that Title on the King and Queen, and told them, that otherwise he would not suffer them to use it in their Publick Audience. And it is probable, it was the Contest about this, that made the Audience be delayed almost a month after their Arrival. This being adjusted, he received the Ambassadors graciously, and pardoned the whole Nation: and said, 'That in Token of his esteem of the King and Queen, he gave them the Title of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, by that Supream Power which he had from God, who had placed him over all Kingdoms, to supplant the Condemnations, and to build new ones in his private

Whicourt

Discourses with the Ambassadors, he complained that the Church-Lands were not restored: which, he said, was by no means to be endured; for they must render all back to the last farthing; since they belonged to God, and could not be kept without their incurring Damnation: He said, he would do any thing in his power, to gratifie the King and Queen; but in this his Authority was not so large, as to prophane the things dedicated to God. This would be an *Anathema*, and a Contagion on the Nation, which would bring after it many Miseries; therefore he required them to write effectually about it: he repeated this to them every time he spake to them; and told them also, that the *Petepence* must be paid in *England*, and that he would send a Collector to raise it: he himself had been imployed in that office when he was young, and he said, he was much edified to see the forwardness of the People, especially those of the meaner sort, in paying it: and told them they must not expect St. *Peter* would open Heaven to them, so long as they usurped his Goods on Earth.

1555.
The P. presses
the restoring
of the Church
Lands.

History of the
Council of
Trent.

The Ambassadors seeing the Popes haughty temper, that he could endure no contradiction, answered him with great submission; and so gained his Favour much; but knew well that these things could not be easily effected; and the Viscount *Montacute* was to deeply concerned in the matter himself, to solicit it hard; for almost his whole Estate consisted of Abby Lands. Thus was this business rather laid over, than fully settled.

But now to return to the Affairs in *England*. There came Complaints from all places, that the Justices of Peace were remiss in the matters of Religion; and particularly in *Norfolk*, that these things were ill looked to: So Instructions were sent thither (which will be found in the *Collections*) requiring the Justices to divide themselves into ten or twelve Districts; that they might more narrowly look into all particulars: that they should encourage the Preachers sent to instruct that County, and turn out such as did not come to Church, or conform in all things, but chiefly the Preachers of Heresie: that the Justices and their Families should be good examples to the rest: that they should have one or two in every Parish to be secretly instructed, for giving information of every thing in it; and should look strictly to all Vagabonds that wandred about, and to such as spread false reports. This was thought to have so much of the Inquisition in it, that it was imputed to the Counsels of the *Spaniards*. And they seem'd to have taken their pattern from the base Practises of those called *Delatores*, that are set out by *Tacitus* as the greatest abuse of Power that ever was practised by the ill Emperors that succeeded *Augustus*; who going into all companies, and complying with what might be acceptable to them, engaged Men into discourses against the State; and then gave such Informations against them, which without their discovering themselves by being brought to prove them, were made use of to the ruin of the accused Persons. This was certainly very contrary to the freedom of the English temper, and helpt to alienate them the more from the *Spaniards*. But it may be easily imagined that others were weary of severities, when *Bonner* himself grew averse to them: He complained, that the matter was turned over upon him, the rest looking on, and leaving the execution of these Laws wholly to him. So when the Justices and Sheriffs sent up Hereticks to him,

Instructions
sent to the Ju-
stices for searching
after all
suspected of
Heresie.

Collect.
Number 19

Bonner grows
unwilling to
persecute any
more.

1554. him, he sent them back and refused to meddle further. Upon which the King and Queen writ to him on the 24th. of May, complaining of this, and admonished him to have from henceforth more regard to the Office of a good Pastor and Bishop; and when such Offenders were brought to him, to endeavour to remove them from their Errors; or if they were obstinate, to proceed against them according to Law. This Letter he caused to be put in his Register, from whence I copied it, and have placed it in the *Collections*. Whether he procured this himself, for a colour to excuse his Proceedings; or whether it was sent to him by reason of his slackness; is not certain: but the latter is more probable, for he had burnt none during five weeks; but he soon redeemed that loss of time.

But is required to proceed by the King and Queen.

Coll. Number 20.

The Queens delivery is expected, but in vain.

At this time the Nation was in expectation of the Queens Delivery. And on the third of May, the Bishop of *Normich* writ a Letter to the Earl of *Suffex*, of which I have seen the Original, that news was brought him from *London*, that the Queen had brought forth a Noble Prince; for which he had *Te Deum* solemnly sung in his Cathedral, and in the other Churches thereabout. He adds in the *Postscript*, that the News was confirmed by two other Hands. But, though this was without any ground, the Queen continued still in her opinion that she was with Child: and on the 29th. of May, Letters were written by the Council to the Lord Treasurer, to have Money in readiness, that those who were appointed to carry the joyful news of the Queens happy Delivery, might be speedily dispatched. In the beginning of June she was believed to be in Labour, and it flew over *London* again that she had brought forth a Son. The Priests had settled all their hopes on that; so they did every where sing *Te Deum*, and were transported into no small Extasies of Joy. One more officious than the rest, made a Sermon about it, and described all the lineaments of their young Prince: but they soon found they were abused. It was said, that they had been deceived, and that the Queen had no great Belly; but *Melvin* in his Memoirs says, he was assured from some of her Women, that she did cast forth at several times some Moles and unformed pieces of flesh. So now there was small hopes of any Issue from her. This increased the sourness of her temper; and King *Philip*, being so much younger than she, growing out of conceit with her, did not much care for her; but left her some months after. He saw no hope of Children, and finding that it was not possible for him to get *England* in his hands without that; gave over all his Designs about it: so having lived with her about fifteen months after their first Marriage, he found it necessary to look more after his Hereditary Crown, and less after his Matrimonial one; and henceforth he considered *England* rather as a sure Ally, that was to adhere firmly to his Interests, than as a Nation which he could ever hope to add to his other Crowns. All these things concurred to increase the Queens Melancholy humours, and did cast her into an ill state of health: so that it was not probable she could live long. *Gardiner* upon that, set himself much to have the Lady *Elizabeth* put out of the way; but, as it was formerly said, King *Philip* preserved her.

Proceedings against Heretics.

And thus Affairs went on, as to Civil matters, till the meeting of the next Parliament in *October* following. But I now return to the Proceedings against the poor men called *Hereticks*; who were again, when

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Short intermission, brought to new Sufferings, *John Cardmaker*, that had been Divinity-Reader at *S. Pauls*, and a Prebendary at *Bath*; and *John Warne*, an Upholster in *London*, were both burnt in *Smithfield*, on the 30th. of *May*, for denying the Corporal Presence; being proceeded against *ex Officio*. On the 4th. of *June*, there was a piece of Pageantry acted on the Body of one *Tooly*; who being executed for a Robbery, did at his death say something that savoured of Heresy: upon which the Council writ to *Bonner* to enquire into it, and to proceed according to the Ecclesiastical Laws. He thereupon form'd a Process, and cited the dead Body to answer the Points objected to him; but he, to be sure, neither appearing nor answering, was condemned and burnt. After this, on the 10th. of *June*, *Thomas Hawkes*, a Gentleman in *Essex*, who had lived much in the Court, was also burnt at *Coxhall*: and on the same day *John Simpson*, and *John Ardeley*, two Husbandmen, were also burnt in *Essex*. *Thomas Watts*, a Linnen-Draper, was burnt at *Chelmsford*. On the 9th. *Nicholas Chamberlain*, a Weaver, was burnt at *Colchester*; and on the 15th. *Thomas Osmond*, a Fuller, was burnt at *Manning-tree*; and the same day *William Bamford*, a Weaver, was burnt at *Harwich*.

These, with several others, had been sent up by the Earl of *Oxford*, to *Bonner*, because they had not received the Sacrament the last Easter, and were suspected of Heresy: and Articles being given to them, they were upon their Answers condemned, and sent to be burnt in the places where they had lived. But upon this occasion, the Council fearing some Tumult or violent Rescue, writ to the Earl of *Oxford*, and the Lord *Rich*, to gather the Country, and to see the Hereticks burnt. The Earl of *Oxford*, being some way indisposed, could only send his People to the Lord *Rich*, who went and obeyed the Orders that had been sent him; for which, Letters of Thanks were written to him; and the Council understanding that some Gentlemen had come to the burning at *Colchester*, that had not been writ to, but as the words of the Letter have it *had honestly and of themselves gone thither*, writ to the Lord *Rich* to give them the Council's thanks for their Zeal. I find in the Council Books, many Entries made of Letters writ to several Counties, to the Nobility and Gentry to assist at these Executions: and such as made excuses, were always after that looked on with an ill eye, and were still under great jealousy.

The Council writ to the Lords in *Essex* to gather the Gentry, and assist at these Burnings.

After these followed the Execution of *Bradford* in *July*; He had been condemned among the first, but was not burnt till now. He had been a Prebendary of *St. Pauls*, and a celebrated Preacher, in the end of King *Henry*'s days. He had preserved *Bourn* in the tumult at *Pauls-Cross*; and that afternoon, preaching at *Bow-Church*, he severely re-proved the People for the disorder at *Pauls*; but three dayes after, was put in Prison, where he lay, removed from one Prison to another, near three years; where-ever he came, he gained so much on the Keepers, that they suffered him to Preach and give the Sacrament to his Fellow Prisoners. He was one of those that were carried before the Council on the 22d. of *January*, where *Bonner* accused him of the Tumult at *Pauls*; though all he pretended to prove it by, was, that his way of speaking to the People shewed, he thought he had some Authority over them, and was a Presumpter that he had set on the Sedition. *Bradford* appeared to God that saw his Innocency, and how unworthily he was required for saving his Enemies, who rendered him evil for good. At

Bradford's Martyrdom.

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last refusing to conform himself to the Laws, he was condemned with the rest on the 31. of Jan. where that Rescue was again laid to his Charge, together with many Letters he had written over *England*, which (as the Earl of *Darby* informed the Parliament) had done more hurt than he could have done, if he had been at liberty to Preach. He said, since he understood that they acted by a Commission which was derived from the Pope, he could not answer them, having sworn never to acknowledge that Authority: What he had done at *Paul*, was at *Bourn*'s earnest desire, who prayed him for the Passion of Christ, to speak to the People; upon which he stepped up to the Pulpit, and had almost been killed with the Dagger that was thrown at *Bourn*, for it touched his Sleeve. But in the points of Religion, he professed his Faith so constantly, that for that cause he was condemned. Yet the saving of *Bourn* was so publickly known, that it was thought undecent to proceed against him so quick as they did with the rest. So both *Heath* Archbishop of *Tork*, and *Day* Bishop of *Chichester*, *Weston*, *Harpsfield*, and the King's Confessor, and *Alphonfus a Castro*, went to see him, and endeavoured to gain him: but all to no purpose. It looks very ill in *Bourn* that he never interposed for *Bradford*, nor came once to visit him: and as when *Bradford* was before the Council, *Bourn*'s Brother the Secretary was very sharp upon him; so when he was brought to his Tryal, *Bourn* himself then Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* being present, did not open his mouth for him, though he appealed to him, as to the business of the Tumult. With *Bradford* one *John Lease*, an Apprentice of nineteen years old, was led out to be burnt, who was also condemned upon his Answers to the Articles exhibited to him. When they came to the Stake, they both fell down and Prayed. Then *Bradford* took a Fagot in his hands and kissed it; and so likewise kissed the Stake, expressing thereby the joy he had in his Sufferings: and cried, O *England*, repent, repent, beware of Idolatry and false Antichrists! But the Sheriff hindring him to speak any more, he embraced his Fellow Sufferer, and prayed him to be of good comfort, for they should Sup with Christ that night. His last words were, *Strait is the way and narrow is the gate that leadeth into eternal Life, and few there be that find it.*

Now the Persecution was carried on to other places, *Bonner* stopping in it again. But *Thornton* Suffragan of *Dover*, *Harpsfield* Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury*, and some others, resolved likewise to shew their zeal. This *Thornton* had from the first change made by King *Henry* been the most officious and forward in every turn; and had been the first in this Reign, that had set up the Mass at *Canterbury*. He was much despised for it by Cardinal *Pool*, but *Pool* could not hinder the fury of those men, without drawing on himself the Pope's indignation. The Pope was his professed and inveterate Enemy: but knew not how to vent his hatred to him, since he had done such an eminent service to the Church, as the reconciling of *England*. *Gardiner* understanding this, sent secretly to *Rome*, to give ill Characters of *Pool*, which the ill-natured Pope was ready enough to receive. *Gardiner* designed to be made a Cardinal; and to get *Pool* recalled, and himself made Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The Pope was resolved, on the first occasion, to take the Legatine Power from *Pool*, and give it to *Gardiner*, but *Pool* was so much in the Queens favour, that this required some time.

time to bring it about. This made *Gardiner* study to preserve *Cranmer*, as long as he lived. It seemed more reasonable to have begun with him, who had indeed been the chief Author of the Reformation, and promoter of that they called *Herésie*: nor had *Gardiner* such kindness for him, as to interpose on his account; but he knew, that as soon as he was burnt, *Pool* would be presently invested in the See of *Canterbury*. Therefore he suggested, that if he could be any way brought off, it would be the most effectual means possible to extirpate *Herésie*: for if he who had so much set on these Doctrines, did forsake them, it would confound the whole Party, and bring over at least all that were weak or staggering; whereas on the other hand, if he dyed resolutely for it, his death would confirm them all very much. This was a colour good enough to preserve him. But why the See of *Canterbury* was not declared vacant, since he was now pronounced an obstinate Heretick, I do not so well apprehend: whether there was any thing in the Pall, or the latter inventions of the Canonists, that made it necessary not to fill his See so long as he lived, I know not. *Pool* being in these Circumstances, durst neither offend those at *Rome*, nor openly hinder the prosecution of Hereticks: which it seems he would have done more steadily, if it had not been for fear of the Pope taking thereby advantages against him, who had before given out in the Conclave, that he was a favourer of *Herésie*; and therefore would the more easily be induced to believe any thing that might be written over to *Rome*, to his prejudice.

1553.

Those that sate in *Canterbury* to judge the Hereticks, had four Men brought before them, two Priests, *Bland*, and *Frankesh*; and *Shiterden*, and *Middleton*, two Laymen. They were condemned upon their Answers to the Articles exhibited to them, and burnt at *Canterbury* the 25th. of June: and in July, *Margery Polley* was burnt at *Tunbridge* on the like account; who was the first Woman that suffered in this Reign. *Christopher Ward* was condemned with her, and burnt in *Darford*. On the 22d. of July, *Dirick Carver* was burnt at *Lewis*; and on the 23d. *John Launder* was burnt at *Stoning*. They had been taken in *London*; and brought before *Bonner*: but he would not meddle with them, and desired they might be sent to their own Ordinaries: One of them being of *Surrey* was within *Gardiners* Jurisdiction, who resolved to proceed no more against the Hereticks, so he procured a Letter from the Council to *Bonner*, requiring him to proceed against them, who thereupon presently condemned them.

Some burnt at
Canterbury.

There were at this time several discoveries of Plottings in several Counties, especially in *Dorsetshire*, and *Essex*; but the nature of these Plots is not set down in the Council Books. Some were taken and put in the Tower: Two or three Privy Counsellors were sent thither on the 9th. of June, with a Letter from the Council to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to put them to the Torture, according to their discretions: yet nothing following upon this, it is probable these were only firmises devised by the Clergy, to set on the Council more severely against them, whose Ruine they were contriving by all the ways they could think on.

Pretended
Plots, and some
put to the Tor-
ture to make
Discovery.

There was also an outrage committed on two Friars, *Peyto* and *Elston*, who were *Franciscans* of the Observance. They had spoken sharply against

1555.

The Qu. re-
builds the
Franciscan's
house at Green-
wich.

Sir Th. More's
Works Prin-
ted.

But his Letter
about the Nun
of Kent was
left out.

Col. Num-
ber 21.
Rastal publish-
ed his works,
but did not
write his Life.

against King *Henry* in the business of the Divorce, and had fled beyond Sea on that account: therefore the Queen had sent for them, and not only procured the Attainder that had passed against them, to be repealed in the last Parliament, but made *Peyto* her Confessor: and being resolved to raise Religious Houses in England again, she had begun with their Order, the *Franciscans of the Observance*, and with their House at *Greenwich*, which was the first that was suppressed; as was shewn in the former Book; and therefore she ordered that to be rebuilt this Summer. So *Elston* and *Peyto* going down by water, there were Stones flung at them by some that were a shore in *London*. This the Queen resented highly; so she sent the Lord Treasurer to the Lord Mayor, requiring him to make Proclamation of a Reward to any that should discover those who had done it: but it could not be found out. She ordered all *Sir Thomas More's* Works to be printed together in one Volume, which were in the Press this Year: and it was given out as an extraordinary thing, that King *Edward* had died, and she succeeded to the Crown, that very day in which he was beheaded. But in publishing his Works, one piece of Fraud has occurred to me since the former Part was printed. I have seen the Manuscript out of which his Letters were printed, where the Originals of the Letters that he writ to his Daughter, *Mrs Roper*, are; with the Copies of those that he writ to *Cromwel*. But among these, there is a long Letter concerning the Nun of *Kent*, in which he speaks fully of her Hypocrisie, and other Villanies. It contains many remarkable passages concerning her, of the high opinion he at first had of her; how he was led into it, and how he was afterwards convinced, "That she was the most false dissembling Hypocrite that had been known, and guilty of the most detestable Hypocrisie, and devilish dissembled Falshood; and he believed, that she had communication with an evil Spirit. This Letter was at that time concealed, but not destroyed: So I find the Conjecture I made about it, in my former Part, has proved true; though I did not then hope to come by the Letter it self, as I have done since. It seems it was resolved to raise the Credit of that Story; and since the Nun was believed to be both a Martyr and a Prophetess, it is like she might have been easily gotten to be Canoniz'd; and therefore so great a Testimony from such a Man, was not thought fit to be left in her way. The Letter I have put into the *Collections*.

Concerning this Edition of *Sir Thomas More's* Works, I shall recal to the Reader's mind, what was said in the former Part about his Life, pretended to be writ by *Rastal*; was now the publisher of his Works, and so much encouraged in it, that the Queen promoted him soon after to be a Judge; and so it is not likely, that *Rastal* ever writ any such Book, otherwise he had now prefixed it to this Edition. Nor is it probable that the stories which *Sanders* vented in his Name afterwards concerning *Ann Boleyn*, or Queen *Elizabeth's* Birth, were then so much as contrived: otherwise it is not credible, that they should not have been printed at this time; since the Lady *Elizabeth* being the only object of the fear and jealousy of the Popish Party, was now out of the Queens favour, and a Prisoner: so that we cannot doubt, but all such Stories would have been very acceptable to the Queen, and the Clergy would have taken care to have published them, for the defaming her, and blasting her Title.

And

And therefore these things seem to be afterwards contrived in revenge, when Queen *Elizabeth* began to proceed severely against that Party, after the many and repeated Conspiracies they had engaged in against her Life.

But now the Queen resolved to endow so many Religious Houses, as the Revenues of the Church that were in her hands, could maintain: and about that, and some other particulars, she writ some directions to the Council with her own hand, which will be found in the Collections. I have seen two Copies of these that differ a little, but I follow that which seemed to me to be best derived from the Original. She desired, That those who had Commission to treat with the Cardinal, about the goods of the Church, might wait on him once a week, to finish that and some other matters that were to be prepared for the Parliament: She particularly recommended the care of having good Preaching encouraged, which she wished might be well looked to; and she advised a general Visitation both of the Universities and Churches, to be made, by such as the Cardinal and they should think fit. As for the punishment of Hereticks, she wished it might not be done rashly; yet she would have Justice done, on those who by Learning studied to deceive the simple: but would have it so managed, that the People might see, they were not condemned but upon just occasions: and therefore ordered that some of the Council should be present at all the burnings about *London*; and that there should be every where good Sermons at those times: She also verily believed, that many Benefices should not be in one mans hand; but that every Priest ought to look to his Cure, and reside upon it. And she looked on the Pluralities over *England*, to be a main cause of the want of good Preachers; whose Sermons if joyned with a good Example would do much good; and without that, she thought their Sermons would profit little.

1555.
The Queen restores all the Church Lands that belonged to the Crown. Col. Number 22

And now I return to the Burnings, from which I am not unwilling frequently to break off, since a continued relation of such things cannot be but an ungrateful entertainment to the Reader. In *July* one *Juxon* was burnt at *Chichester*: On the 2d. of *August* *James Abers* was burnt at *Bury* in *Suffolk*. On the 8th. of *August* *Denly* a Gentleman was burnt at *Uxbridge*, and *Robert Smith* at *Waybridge*. On the 26th. *George Tankervil* was burnt at *St. Albans*. And on the 28th. of *August* *Patrick Packingham* also was burnt there: On the 31st of *August* one *Newman* was burnt at *Saffron Walden* in *Essex*, and *Robert Samuel* a Preacher was burnt at *Ipswich*. There were also in *August*, six burnt in one Fire at *Canterbury*. *Elizabeth Warne* burnt at *Stratford Le Bow*, *Stephen Whormwood* at *Stratford*, *Thomas Fust* at *Ware*, and *William Hall* at *Barnet*; but of their Sufferings the days are not marked. In *September* on the 6th. day of the month *George Catmer*, and four others were burnt at *Canterbury*. On the 20th. *Robert Glover* a Gentleman, and one *Cornelius Bangey* were burnt at *Coventry*: The same month, but we know not on what days, *William Allen* was burnt at *Walsingham*, *Roger Coe* at *Yerford*, *Thomas Cob* in *Thetford*. *Thomas Haywood*, and *John Garaway*, at *Lichfield* were also burnt on the same account. On the 16th. of *October* following, *William Woley*, and *Robert Pigot*, were burnt at *Ely*; where *Shaxton*, that had been Bishop of *Salsbury* in King *Henry's* time, and quitted his Bishoprick on the account of the six Articles, but in the

More Hereticks burnt.

end

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end of that Reign recanted, and was now Bishop Suffragan of Ely, condemned them. It is enough to have named all these, who were burnt merely by the Proceedings *Ex Officio*: for being forced, either to accuse themselves, or to die however, they chose rather plainly to answer those Articles that were ministred to them, and so were condemned for their Answers.

Ridley and
Latimer burnt
at Oxford.

But on the 16th. of October Ridley and Latimer offered up their lives at Oxford, on which it may be expected I should enlarge a little. The Bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, were sent to Oxford by a special Commission from the Cardinal to proceed against them. As soon as Ridley heard they proceeded in the name of the Pope, by Authority from the Cardinal, he put on his Cap, having stood bare headed before that, because he would express no sign of Reverence to those who acted by such a Commission. He said, he payed great respect to the Cardinal as descended from the Royal Family, and a man endued with such Learning and Vertue; that therefore he honoured and revered him; but for his Legatine Authority from the Bishop of Rome, he utterly renounced it; and therefore would shew no Reverence to that Character: and so putting off his Cap as he spoke of him on other respects, he put it on again when he named his being Legate; and being required to put it off, refused to do it on that account: but one of the Beadles did it for him. After that the Bishop of Lincoln made him a long exhortation to recant, and acknowledge the See of Rome; since Christ had built his Church on St. Peter, and the Fathers had all acknowledged the preheminance of that See, and himself had been once of that opinion. To which he answered, it was upon the Faith which St. Peter confessed, that Christ had founded his Church; he acknowledged, the Bishops of Rome had been held in great esteem, both for the dignity of the City, and the worthiness of the Bishops that had sate in it; but they were only esteemed Patriarchs of the West; and the Church had not then thought of that Power, to which they had since advanced themselves: he confessed he was once of their mind, but it was as St. Paul had been a Persecutor: he had seen since such spots in the Church of Rome, that he could never return to it. Upon this followed much discourse: In conclusion they objected to him some Articles, about those Opinions which he had maintained a year and an half before that, in the Schools; and required him to make his Answers to them. He began with a Protestation, that by answering them he did not acknowledge the Popes Authority, and then answered them as he had done before. Latimer used the like Protestation, and Answers. So they were allowed one nights respite to consider better, whether they would recant or not; but next day they, appearing, and adhering to the Answers they had made, were declared obstinate Hereticks, and ordered to be degraded, and so delivered over to the Secular Power.

After that, new attempts were made on Ridley to perswade him to accept of the Queens Mercy; but all being to no purpose, the Writ was sent down to burn them. The night before the Execution, Ridley was very joyful, and invited the Major and his Wife, in whose House he was kept, to be at his Wedding next day: at which when the Major's Wife wept, he said, he perceived she did not love him: but he told her, though his breakfast would be sharp, he was sure his Supper would be sweet: he was glad

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glad to hear that his Sister would come, and see him dye: and was in such composure of mind, that they were all amazed at it. Next morning being the 16th. they were led out to the place of Execution, which was before *Baliol Colledge*: they looked up to the Prison to have seen *Crammer*; but he was then engaged in Dispute with some Friars, so that he was not in his Window; but he looked after them with great tenderness, and kneeling down prayed earnestly, that God would strengthen their Faith and Patience in that their last but painful passage. When they came to the Stake, they embraced one another with great affection, *Ridley* saying to *Latimer*, *Be of good heart, Brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the Flame, or enable us to abide it.* Doctor *Smith* was appointed to Preach, and took his Text from these words, *If I give my Body to be burnt, and have no Charity, it profiteth nothing.* He compared their dying for Heresie, to *Judas's* hanging himself; and warned the People to beware of them, with as much bitterness as he could express. The best of it was, the Sermon lasted not above a quarter of an hour. When he had done, *Ridley* was going to answer him; and the Lord *Williams*, that was appointed by the Queen to see the Execution, was enclined to hear him: but the Vice-Chancellor said, except he intended to recant, he was not to be suffered to speak. *Ridley* answered, "He would never deny his Lord, nor those Truths of his of which he was perswaded; God's Will be done in him: He committed himself to God, who would indifferently judge all. Then he addressed himself to the Lord *Williams*, and said, "Nothing troubled him so much, as that he had received Fines of some, who took Leases of him when he was Bishop of *London*; and these Leases were now voided: He therefore humbly prayed, that the Queen would give order, that those might be made good to the Tenants, or that the Fines might be restored out of his Goods which he had left in his House, and were of far greater value than those Fines would amount to; and that some pity might be had of *Shipside* his Brother in Law, who was turned out of a place he had put him in, and had now attended on him with great care. Then they both prayed and fitted themselves for the Stake: *Latimer* saying to *Ridley*, "Be of good comfort, we shall this day light such a Candle in *England*, as I trust by God's Grace shall never be put out. Then Gunpowder being hanged about their Bodies in great quantities to hasten their death, the Fire was put to, and *Latimer* was with the first Flame, he Powder taking fire, put out of pain, and dyed immediately. But *Ridley* had a more lingering Torment, for they threw on the fire so much wood, that the Flame could not break through it; so that his Legs were almost consumed before this was observed, and then, one opening the passage to the Flame, it put an end to his Life.

Thus dyed these two excellent Bishops: the one for his Piety, Learning, and solid Judgement, the ablest Man of all that advanced the Reformation; and the other for the plain simplicity of his Life, esteemed a truly primitive Bishop and Christian. Of his care of his Bishoprick, the Instructions he gave at his Visitation, chiefly of the Monasteries, will give a good evidence: and therefore I have put them in the *Collection*, Col. Numb. 23. as they were copied from the Register of *Worcester*, by that ingenious and worthy Counsellor Mr. *Saunders*; who out of his Zeal to the Reformation, searched all the Books there, that he might gather from them such

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such things as he thought could be of use to this Work. *Bonner* had made an ill Retribution to *Ridley*, for the kindness he had shewed his Friends when he was in possession at *London*: for he had made *Bonner's* Mother always dine with him, when he lived in his Country-House of *Fulham*, and treated her as if she had been his own Mother; besides his kindness to his other Friends. *Heath*, then Bishop of *Worcester*, had been kept Prisoner a Year and a half in *Ridley's* House, where he lived as if he had been at his own; and *Heath* used always to call him the best learned of all the Party: yet he so far forgot gratitude and humanity, that though he went through *Oxford* when he was a Prisoner there, he came not to see him. When they lay in the Tower, both *Cranmer* and they were, by reason of the number of Prisoners, put into one Chamber for some months; but after they came to *Oxford*, they could scarce send Messages to one another: and men had laid off humanity so much, that all the while they lay there none of the University waited on them: few that favoured their Doctrine were then left, and of the rest, it is no wonder that none came to visit them; nor did they supply them with any thing they needed: for all the Charity that was sent to them came from *London*.

Suits about
the Spoils of
Churches.

This Summer there was a strict search made after all the Goods of the Church, that had been embezzled: and all that had been Visitors, either in King *Henry* or King *Edward's* time, were brought into Suits about it, but many compounded, and so purchased their quiet, by an offer to the Church of some large Gratuity: and according to the greatness thereof their affection to the Church was measured. Many of those did favour the Reformation, which made them give the more bountifully, that so they might come under good Characters, and be the less suspected.

Gardiner's
Sickness and
Death.

The Parliament was opened on the 21st of *October*. The Chancellor came thither, both then, and on the 23^d. but could come no more. It was reported, that he had stayed long for dinner, that day that *Ridley* and *Latimer* were to be burnt, till one should bring him word, that the fire was set to them: but the Messenger coming Post, did not reach *London* till four a Clock in the afternoon, and that he then went cheerfully to dine; but was at Dinner struck with the illness, of which he died. It was a suppression of Urine, which held him till the 12th of *November*, on which he died. He had great remorse for his former life; and *Day* Bishop of *Chichester* coming to him, and comforting him with the assurance of Justification through the Blood of Christ; he answered him, "He might speak of that to him or others in his condition; but if he opened that gap again, and preached that to the People, then farewell all together. He often repeated those words, *Erravi cum Petro, sed non fleui cum Petro*, I have erred with *Peter*, but I have not mourned with him. He was of a nobler descent than is commonly known. For though he took the name *Gardiner* from his supposed Father, yet he was then believed to be the base son of *Richard Woodvil*, that was Brother to Queen *Elizabeth*, Wife to King *Edward* the 4th: so that he was of kin to King *Henry* the 8th. in the second and third degree of Consanguinity; which might be the cause that he was so suddenly advanced to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. This is mentioned by Sir *Edward Hall*, in a Letter he writ to one of those that had fled beyond Sea, giving him an account of his Death: where he says of him, he was a Man of higher
descent



H. Holben pinxit.

R. White sculp.

Natus Buria
fit Episcopus
Wintoniensis
1531. Dec. 5.



Cancellarius
Angliae 1553. Aug. 27.
Obijt 1555. Nov. 12.

descent than he was commonly reputed ; and on the Margent it is said, he was Nephew to a Queen of England. This explains that which I find objected both to him and *Bonner* in one of the Books that were written in the defence of the married Clergy ; that no wonder they were such enemies to Marriage, since both of them were born in Adultery. He was a Man well skill'd in the Canon and Civil Laws, and moderately in Divinity. He had a good Stile in Latin, and understood the Greek well ; but his strength lay in deep dissimulation, a quickness of apprehension, a great prospect of affairs, a close and artificial way of concealing his mind, and insinuating himself into the affections and confidences of other persons. He did comply all *Henry* the 8th's time ; and would willingly have done the like in *King Edwards* time, but that *Cranmer* knew him too well to be directed by him, and handled him as he deserved. But the usage he then met with, so recovered him with Queen *Mary*, that she put him in the greatest Trusts ; and now, when a Cardinals Hat was like to fall on his Head, he was carried off, and all his ambitious Projects fell with him. Of his servile compliance in promoting *King Henries* Divorce, I have found fresh Instances, besides those that are mentioned in the former Volume. When he went to *Rome*, in the Year 1529. *Anne Boleyn* writ a very kind Letter to him, which I have put in the *Collection*. By it the Reader will clearly perceive that he was then in the secret of the Kings designing to marry her, as soon as the Divorce was obtained. There is another particular in that Letter, which corrects a Conjecture which I set down in the beginning of the former Book, concerning the Cramp-Rings that were blessed by *King Henry* ; which I thought might have been done by him after he was declared *Head of the Church*. That part was printed before I saw this Letter ; But this Letter shews they were used to be blessed before the Separation from *Rome* ; for *Anne Boleyn* sent them as great Presents thither. The use of them had been (it seems) discontinued in *King Edwards* time ; but now under Queen *Mary* it was designed to be revived ; and the Office for it was written out in a fair Manuscript, yet extant ; of which I have put a Copy of it in the *Collection*. But the silence in the Writers of that time makes me think it was seldom, if ever practised. But to return to *Gardiners* officious compliance in the matter of the Divorce, I have put in the *Collection* a Letter of his to *King Henry*, written in such confidence to him, that even Cardinal *Woolsey* was not to see it. In it he sets out the Popes timorousness so plainly, that he writes he saw nothing but the fear he was in of the Emperors Forces, kept him from granting what was desired ; therefore he advised the King to do the business once in *England*, and then leave it to the Emperor to complain ; not doubting but he would be put off by as many Delays as were now used in the Kings business.

Coll. Num. 24.

Coll. Num. 25.

Coll. Num. 26.

Heath Archbishop of *York* had the Seals in *February* after ; they having been during that interval, in the hands of Sir *Nicholas Hare*, then Master of the Rolls ; and he was made Chancellor during the Queens pleasure. The Queen also, considering that *Whitehall* had been taken from the See of *York*, had a scruple in her Conscience against living in it ; but *Heath* and she agreed it thus : *Suffolk Place* by the Duke's Attainder, was now in the Queens hands ; so she gave that to the See of *York*, which *Heath* sold, and converted it to Tenements, and purchased another House near

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The temper
of the Parlia-
ment is much
changed.

Charing-Cross, which from thence forward was called *Tork-House*.

But for the Parliament, it was now much changed; Mens minds were much alienated from the Clergy, and also from the Queen, who minded nothing else but to raise them to great wealth and power again.

On the 28th. of *October* it was moved in the House of Commons to give a Subsidy, and two Fifteenths, for paying the Debts of the Crown, but it was opposed with great vehemence. It was said, that the Queen had profusely given away the Riches of the Crown, and then turned to the Laity to pay her Debts: why did she not rather turn it to the Spirituality? But it was answered, that the Convocation had given her a Subsidy of six shillings in the pound; and the Queen asked now, after almost three years Reign, nothing but what she had discharged her Subjects of, at her first coming to the Crown. Yet the heats grew such, that on the 1st. of *November* Secretary *Petre* brought a Message from her, that she thanked them that had moved for two Fifteenths for her, but she refused it: so the Subsidy was agreed on. On the 29th. of

The Queen
discharges the
Clergy of
Tenths and
First-fruits.

November the Queen sent for the House of Commons. When they were come, she said to them, she could not with a good Conscience take the Tenths and First-fruits of Spiritual Benefices: It was a Tax her Father laid on the Clergy, to support his Dignity of *Supream Head*; of which since she was devested, she would also discharge that. Then the Legate made a Speech to shew that Tithes and Impropriations of spiritual Benefices were the Patrimony of the Church; and ought to return to it. The Queen upon that, declared, that she would surrender them up likewise to the Church. Then one *Story* of the House of Commons kneeled down, and said to the Queen, That the *Speaker* did not open to her their Desire that Licences might be restrained. This was a great Affront to the *Speaker*; so he returning to the House, complained of *Story*. This Member thought he might assume more liberty; for in *Edward* the 6th's time, when the Bill for the first Book of the English Service passed, he spoke so freely against it, with such reflections on the King and the Protector, that he was put in the Serjeants hands, and sent to the Tower.

Eccles. 10. 16.

The words he had said, were, *Wo unto thee O England, when thy King is a Child*; and an Impeachment was drawn against him. But upon his Submission, the House ordered the Privy Councillors to declare to the Protector, that it was their Resolution that he should be enlarged: and the desired that they King would forgive his Offence against him and his Council: now he had indiscreetly appeared against all Licences from *Rome*, thinking he had a priviledge to talk more freely; but he confessed his fault, and the House, knowing that he spake from a good zeal, forgave him. He was afterwards condemned for Treason in *Queen Elizabeths* Reign.

*Journ. Dom.
Com.*

On the 23d. of *November*, the Bill for suppressing the First-Fruits and Tenths, and the resigning up all Impropriations, that were yet in the Queens Gift to the Church, to be disposed of as the Legate pleased, for the relief of the Clergy, was brought into the House. It was once thought fit to have the surrender of Impropriations left out: for it was said, the Queen might do that as well by Letters Patents; and if it were put into the Bill, it would raise great Jealousies; since it would be understood, that the Queen did expect that the Subjects should follow her example; but it was resolved, by all means possible, to recover the

Tithes

Tithes to the Church ; so it was put into the Bill. It was long argued ; some said, the Clergy would rob the Crown, and the Nation both : and that the Laity must then support the Dignity of the Realm. It was particularly committed to Sir *William Cecil* and others, to be examined by them. On the 13th. of *December* the House divided about it, 126 were against it, and 193 were for it.

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There was a Bill sent down against the Countess of *Suffex*, who had left her Husband, and gone into *France*, where she lived openly in Adultery, and bare Children to others. A Bill was put in, to the same purpose, in the first Parliament of this Reign, to take her Jointure from her, and declare her Children Bastards ; and was then cast out by the Commons ; and had now again the same fate. Another Bill was put in against the Dutchess of *Suffolk* and others, who had gone beyond Sea, to require them to return, under severe punishments : but though it was agreed to by the Lords, yet, upon a division of the House of Commons, it was carried in the Negative. The greatest and wealthiest of those who favoured the Reformation, seeing in how ill a condition they must be in, if they stayed in *England*, were gone beyond Sea : so it was now endeavoured to force them to return, or to make them lose their Estates : but the Commons thought they had already consented to too severe Laws against them, and therefore would add no more. The Dutchess of *Suffolk* had been persecuted while she was in the *Netherlands*, but narrowly escaped. Another Bill was put in, for the incapacitating of several persons from being Justices of Peace ; but was cast out by the Commons at the first reading. This was chiefly against such as were suspected of remissness in the prosecuting of Hereticks : but the Commons would do nothing to encourage that ; nor was it necessary, since it was in the Queens power to leave out of the Commission such as she excepted to : but it shewed the Zeal of some, who had a mind to recommend themselves by such motions.

Against those
that had fled
beyond Sea,
rejected

There was a Complaint put into the House of Commons, by the Wife of one *Rufford* against *Bennet Smith*, who had hired two Persons to kill her Husband : and which, as the Act passed about it says, was one of the most detestable Murders that had ever been known in *England*. But *Smith* that had hired, and afterwards paid the Murderers, might by the Law claim, and have the benefit of Clergy. It is, and hath been an ancient custom in this Nation, that for some Crimes, those who can read, are not to suffer Death. This was at first done with a Declaration, that either they had vowed, or were then resolved to enter into Orders ; which was the cause that no *Bigami*, that is, none that had been twice married, or such as married Widows, were capable of it ; because such could not receive Orders : and the Reading was only to shew that they were in some sort qualified for Orders : though afterwards, the Reading, without any such Vow or Promise, was all that was required, to give one the benefit of Clergy. This was granted as an Appendix of the Ecclesiastical Immunity ; for the Churchmen were not satisfied that their Persons should be exempted from punishment, but would needs have all that resolved to come among them, be likewise preserved from the punishment due to those Crimes, which they had formerly committed. So *Rufford's* Wife petitioning, that *Smith* might by Act of Parliament be debarred that benefit ; they sent her to the Queen, to beg,

An Act debar-
ring one from
the benefit of
Clergy.

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That she would order *Smith* to be brought from the *Tower*, where he was then kept, to the Bar of their House : which being done, the other Partners and Actors confessed all : and though he at first denied, yet he afterwards confessed. So the Bill was sent up by the Commons to the Lords, where it was much opposed by the Clergy ; who would not consent that any diminution should be made of their ancient Priviledges : but the heinousness of the Fact wrought so much on the greater part, that it was passed ; The Earls of *Arundel* and *Rutland*, the Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, *Norwich*, and *Bristol*, the Lords *Abergavenny*, *Fitzwater*, and *Lumley*, protesting. *Pates* was now Bishop of *Worcester*, upon *Heath's* translation to *York*. He was (as some say) designed to be Bishop of that See by King *Henry* upon *Latimer's* Resignation ; but being engaged in a correspondence with the Pope and Cardinal *Pool*, he fled beyond Sea. But the truth is, that upon the Death of *Jerome de Ghinuci*, he was at *Rome* made Bishop of *Worcester* by the Pope, and was thereupon Attainted : But his Attainder had been repealed by the former Parliament, and so he was restored to that See.

Sir *Anthony Kingston* put in the *Tower* for his behaviour in the House of Commons
Ex Lib. Concil.

On the 9th. of *December* the Parliament was dissolved. And the day following Sir *Anthony Kingston*, who had been a main Stickler in it, and had one day taken the Keys of the House from the Serjeant ; which (it seems) was not displeasing to the major part of the House, since they did nothing upon it ; was sent to the *Tower* : and that same day, (as it is in the Council Books) the Bishop of *Ely* delivered to the Lord *Treasurer* the Popes Bull, confirming the King and Queens Title to *Ireland* ; bearing date the 7th. of *June*. *Kingston* lay in the *Tower* till the 23d. of the month, and then he submitted, and asked pardon, and was discharged. But he was next year accused to have engaged in a Design with some others, to have robbed the Exchequer of 50000 *l.* Whereupon six of them, *Udal*, *Throgmorton*, *Petham*, *Daniel*, *Stanton*, and *White*, were executed for Felony. What Evidence was brought against them I do not know. But *Kingston* died on his way to *London*.

Card. *Pool* in Convocation makes Canons for Reforming the Clergy.
Rot. Pat. 1st. Par. 3. Reg.

From the Parliament I turn next to the Convocation, where the Cardinal was now at more liberty, being delivered from *Gardiners* Jealousies and Opposition. He obtained of the Queen on the 2d. of *November* a Warrant under the great Seal, giving him Licence to hold a Synod. The Licence he had formerly taken out, is made mention of : and to avoid all ambiguities, which might arise from the Laws or Privileges of the Crown, she authorised him to call that, or any other Synod after, and to decree what Canons he should think fit : she also authorised the Clergy, to meet, consent to, and obey those Canons, without any danger of the Law. This was thought safe on both sides ; both for preserving the Rights of the Crown, and securing the Clergy from being afterwards brought within the statute of *Premunire*, as they had been upon their acknowledging Cardinal *Woolseys* Legatine power. To this Convocation *Pool* proposed a Book he had prepared, which was afterwards printed with the Title of *The Reformation of England by the Decree of Cardinal Pool* ; and is now put into the volumes of the Councils.

The Heads of *Pool's* Reformation.

The first Decree is, that there should be constantly a remembrance of the Reconciliation now made with *Rome*, in every Mass : besides, a Procession, with other Solemnities, on the Anniversary of it. He also confirmed

confirmed the Constitutions of *Otho*, and *Otho bonus*, forbidding the reading of all Heretical Books; and set forth the Catholick Faith, in the words of that Exposition of it, which *P. Eugenius* sent from the Council of *Florence* to those of *Armenia*.

The 2^d. was, for the careful administering and preserving of the Sacraments; and for the putting away of all Feasting in the Festivities of the Dedications of Churches.

The 3^d. exhorts the Bishops to lay aside all secular Cares, and give themselves wholly to the Pastoral Office; and to reside in their Dioceses, under the highest pains. Their Canons are also required to reside, and also other Clergy Men. All Pluralities of Benefices with Cure, are simply condemned: and those who had more Benefices with Cure, were required within two months to resign all, but one: otherwise it was to be declared that they had forfeited them all.

The 4th. is, that whereas the residence of Bishops could not be of great use, unless they became truly Pastors to their Flock; which was chiefly done by their preaching the Word of God; that had been, contrary to the Apostles Practice, much neglected by many: therefore he requires them to preach every Sunday or Holy day; or if they were disabled, to find other fit Persons to do it. And they were also in private to instruct and exhort their People; and all the other inferior Clergy; and to endeavour to perswade them to the Catholick Faith; or if need were, to use threatnings. And because of the great want of good Preachers, the Cardinal declared he would take care there should be Homilies set out, for the instruction of the Nation. In the meanwhile, every Bishop was to be sending such as were more eminent in preaching, over their Dioceses, thereby to supply the defects of the rest.

The 5th. is, about the lives of the Bishops; that they should be most strict and exemplary: that they should lay aside all Pride and Pomp; should not be cloathed in Silk, nor have rich Furniture; and have frugal Tables, not above three or four dishes of Meat; and even so many he rather allows, considering the present time, than approves: that at their Table, the Scriptures, or other good Books, should be read, mixed with pious discourses: that they should not have too great numbers of Servants or Horses: but that this Parsimony might appear not to flow from Avarice, they were to lay out the rest of their Revenues on the Poor, and for breeding young Scholars, and other works of Piety. All the same Rules he sets to the inferior Clergy, with a due proportion to their Stations and Profits.

The 6th. is, about giving Orders; They were not to be rashly given, but upon a strict previous *Examen*. Every one that was to be Ordained, was to give in his Name a long time before, that there might be time to inquire carefully about him. The Bishops were charged not to turn over the Examination upon others, and think their work was only to say on their hands: but were to examine diligently themselves, and not superficially. And to call to their assistance such as they knew to be pious and learned, and in whom they might confide.

The 7th. was, about conferring Benefices, which in some sort came also within that charge, *Lay hands suddenly on no Man*. They were to lay aside all partiality in their choice, and seek out the most deserving: and to make such as they put in Benefices bind themselves by Oath to reside.

The

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The 8th. was, against giving the Advowsons of Benefices before they were vacant.

The 9th. was about Simony.

The 10th. against the Alienations of any of the Goods of the Church.

The 11th. was, that in every Cathedral there should be a Seminary for supplying the Diocess: of whom two Ranks were to be made; the one of those who learned Grammar; the other, of those who were grown up, and were to be ordained *Acholyths*; and these were to be trained up in Study and Vertue, till they were fit to serve in the Church. And a Tax of the fourth penny was laid on the Clergy for their maintenance.

The 12th. was about Visitations.

These were all finished, agreed to, and published by him in February next Year.

*Ex Manuser.
Col. C. C. Cant.*

In these Decrees mention is made of Homilies, which were intended to be published: and among Archbishop Parker's Papers, I find, the Scheme he had of them was thus laid: He designed four Books of Homilies. The first, of the controverted points, for preserving the People from Error: 2^d. The for the Exposition of the Creed, and ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, the Salutation of the Virgin, and the Sacraments: The 3^d. was to be for the Saints days, and the Sundays and Holy days of the year; for explaining the Epistles and Gospels: and the fourth was concerning Vertues and Vices, and the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church.

*Pool's Designs
for Reforming
the Church.*

By all these it may appear, how well tempered this Cardinal was. He never set on the Clergy to persecute Hereticks, but to reform themselves: as well knowing, that a strict exemplary Clergy can soon overcome all Opposition whatsoever, and bear down even truth it self. For the common People are generally either so ignorant, or so distracted with other affairs, that they seldom enter into any exact discussion of speculative points, that are Disputed among divines: but take up things upon general notions and prejudices; and none have more influence on them, than the scandals or strict lives of Church-men. So that Pool intending to correct all those, laid down good Rules, to amend their lives, to throw out those crying scandals of Pluralities and Non-residence; to oblige Bishops to be exact in their Examinations before Orders, and in conferring Benefices on the most deserving, and not to be biassed by partial affections. In this last thing himself was a great Example. For though he had an only Brother, (so I find him called in one of the Cardinals Commissions to him with some others, though I believe he was a Bastard Brother) *David*, that had continued all King Henry's time in his Arch-Deaconry of *Darby*; he, either to punish him for his former compliance, or to shew he had no mind to raise his kindred, did not advance him, till after he had been two years in *England*: and then he gave him only the Bishoprick of *Peterborough*, one of the poorest of the Bishopricks; which considering his nearness to the Crown, and high Birth, was a very small preferment. But above all, that Design of his, to have Seminaries in every Cathedral for the planting of the Diocess, shews what a wise prospect he had of the right methods of recovering a Church, which was overrun, as he judged, with Heresie. It was the same that *Crammer* had formerly designed; but never took effect. Certainly.

Certainly, Persons formed from their Childhood, with others Notions, and another method of living, must be much better fitted for a holy Character, than those that have lived in the pleasures and follies of the world; who, unless a very extraordinary change is wrought in them, still keep some of their old Customs about them, and so fall short of that gravity and decency, that becomes so Spiritual a Function.

He shewed the weakness of his Spirit in one thing, that being against Cruel Proceedings with Hereticks, he did not more openly profess it: but both suffered the other Bishops to go on, and even in *Canterbury*, now sequestred in his hands, and soon after put under his care, he left these poor men to the Cruelties of the brutal and fierce Popish Clergy. In this he was to be pitied, that he had not courage enough to contend with so haughty a Pope as *Paul* the 4th. was: who thought of no other way of bearing down Heresie, but by setting up the Inquisition every where: so *Pool*, it seems, judged it sufficient for him, not to act himself, nor to set on any; and thought he did enough, when he discouraged it in private; but yet he granted Commissions to the other Bishops and Arch-Deacons to proceed against those called Hereticks. He was not only afraid of being discharged of his Legation, and of losing the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, which was now ready to fall upon him; but he feared to be sent for to *Rome*, and cruelly used by the Pope, who remembered all the Quarrels he formerly had with any of the Cardinals, and put Cardinal *Merone* (that was *Pool's* great Friend) in Prison, upon suspicion of Heresie. All these things prevailed with *Pool* to give way to the Persecution; and it was thought, that he himself hastened the Execution of *Cranmer*, longing to be invested with that See; which is the only personal blemish I find laid on him.

One remarkable thing of him was, his not listening to the Proposition the Jesuits made him, of bringing them into *England*. That Order had been set up about twelve years before this, and was in its first Institution chiefly designed for propagating the Doctrines of that Church in Heretical or Infidel Countries; to which was afterwards added, the Education of Children. It was not easily allowed of at *Rome*, because the Bishops did universally complain of the great numbers of exempted Regulars; and therefore at first it was limited to a small number; which Restriction was soon taken off. They, besides the Vows of other Orders took one, for a blind and universal Obedience to the See of *Rome*: And because they were much to be employed, they were dispenced with, as to the hours of the Quire, which made them be called a Mungrel Order between the *Regulars* and *Seculars*. They have since that time, by their care in educating Youth, by their indefatigable Industry, and chiefly by their Accommodating Pennances, and all the other Rules of Religion, to the Humors and Inclinations of those who confess their Sins to them, drawn almost all the World after them: and are raised now to that height both of Wealth and Power, that they are become the Objects of the Envy and Hatred of all the rest of their own Church. They suggested to *Pool*, That whereas the Queen was restoring the Goods of the Church that were in her hands, it was but to little purpose to raise up the old Foundations; for the *Benedictine* Order was become rather a Clog than a Help to the Church: they therefore desired that those Houses might be assigned to them, for maintaining Schools and Semi-

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Seminaries, which they should let on quietly: and they did not doubt but by their dealing with the Conscience of those who were a dying, they should soon recover the greatest part of the Goods of the Church. The *Jesuits* were out of measure offended with him, for not entertaining their Proposition; which I gather from an *Italian Manuscript* which my most worthy Friend Mr. *Crawford* found in *Nice*, when he was Chaplain there to Sir *Thomas Higgins*, His Majesty's Envoy to that Republick: but how it came that this motion was laid aside, I am not able to judge.

Philpot's
tyrdom.

There passed nothing else remarkable this Year, but that in the end of November, *John Web* a Gentleman, *George Koper*, and *Gregory Parke* were burnt all at one Stake in *Canterbury*. And on the 18th. of December, *Philpot*, that had disputed in the Convocation, was burnt in *Smithfield*. He was, at the end of that meeting, put in Prison for what he had said in it; though liberty of Speech had been promised; and the nature of the meeting did require it. He was kept long in the Stocks in the Bishop of *London's* Coal-house, and many conferences were had with him, to perswade him to change. By what *Bonner* said in one of them it appears that he hoped they should be better used upon *Gardiners* death: for *Bonner* told him, he thought, because the Lord Chancellor was dead, they would burn no more; but he should soon find his Error, if he did not recant. He continued stedfast in his perswasion, and pleaded that he had never spoken nor written against their Laws, since they were made, being all the while a Prisoner, except what he had said in Conference with them: yet this prevailed not with *Bonner*, who had as little Justice as Mercy in his temper. On the 16th. of December he was condemned, and delivered to the Sheriffs. He was at first laid in Irons, because he was so poor that he could not fee the Jaylour; but next day, these were by the Sheriffs order taken off. As he was led into *Smithfield* on the 18th. he kneeled down, and said, *I will pay my Vows in thee O Smithfield*. When he was brought to the Stake, he said, *Shall I disdain to suffer at this Stake, since my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer on the Cross for me?* He repeated the 106th, 107th, and 108th. *Psalms*, and then fitted himself for the Fire, which consumed him to Ashes. So this year ended, in which there were sixty seven burnt for Religion; and of those, four were Bishops, and thirteen were Priests.

Foreign Af-
fairs.

In *Germany* a Diet was held at *Ausburg*, where the Peace of *Germany* was fully settled: and it was decreed, that the Princes of the *Ausburg* Confession should have the free liberty of their Religion; and that every Prince might in his own State establish what Religion he pleased; excepting only the Ecclesiastical Princes, who were to forfeit their Benefices if they turned. Those of *Austria*, and *Ferdinand's* other Hereditary Dominions, desired freedom for their Consciences: but *Ferdinand* refused it; yet he appointed the Chalice to be given in the Sacrament. The Duke of *Bavaria* did the like in his Dominions. At all this the Pope was highly offended, and talked of deposing *Ferdinand*. He had nothing so much in his mouth, as the Authority former Popes had exercised, in deposing Princes at their pleasure. He had sworn to the Cardinals before he was chosen, that he would make but four Cardinals in two years; but he created seven within one half year, and would

would not hear the Consistory argue against it, or remember him of his Promise; but said, his Power was absolute, and could not be limited. One of these Cardinals was *Gropper* the Dean of *Colen*, a man of great Learning and Vertues, but inconstant and fearful, as was shewn in the former Book: he refused to accept of that Dignity so generally sought after in their Church; and was more esteemed for rejecting it, than others were that had by their Ambition aspired to it.

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In the end of this year, and the beginning of the next, a memorable thing fell out; of which if I give a large account, I do not fear to be much censured by the Reader for it; especially since it is not impertinent to this work, the King and Queen being so much concerned in it. It was *Charles*, the 5th. laying down, first, some of his hereditary Dominions in *October* this year; and the rest, with the Empire, not long after. He had now enjoyed, the one, forty years, and the other thirty six. He was much disabled by the Gout, which had held him, almost constantly, for several years: he had been in the greatest Fatigues that ever any Prince had undergone, ever since the 17th. year of his age: he had gone, nine times into *Germany*, six times into *Spain*, seven times into *Italy*, four times into *France*; had been ten times in the *Netherlands*, had made two Expeditions into *Africk*, and been twice in *England*, and had crossed the Seas eleven times. He had not only been a Conqueror in all his Wars, but had taken a *Pope*, a *King of France*, and some Princes of *Germany* Prisoners, besides a vast accession of Wealth and Empire from the *West-Indies*. But he now growing out of love with the Pomp and Greatness of the World, began to have more serious thoughts of another Life; which were much encreased in him, by the answer one of his Captains gave him, when he desired leave to retire, and being asked the reason, said, that between the affairs of the World, and the hour of death, there ought to be some interval. He found his fortune turned: his Designs in *Germany* were blasted: In the Siege of *Mets*, he saw he could no more command Triumphs to wait on him; for though his Army consisted of 100000 Men, yet he was forced to raise his Siege with the loss of 40000 Men: and though his Wars had been this year more successful, both in *Italy* and *Flanders*, yet he thought he was too old to deal with the King of *France*. It was thought, his Son set this forward; who had left *England* in discontent; being weary both of his Queen, and of holding a titular Crown, only in her Right, being excluded from the Government. All these things concurring, made the Emperor in a Solemn Assembly at *Brussels* on the 25th. of *October* in the presence of his Son, and *Maximilian* King of *Boheme*, and of the Duke of *Savoy*, and his two Sisters the Queens Dowagers of *France* and *Hungary*, with a vast number of others of lower quality, first give his Son the Golden Fleece, and so resign the headship of that Order to him; and then, the Dukedoms of *Burgundy*, and *Brabant*, and the other Provinces of the *Netherlands*. Two months after that, he resigned all his other Hereditary Dominions: and the next year, he sent a Resignation of the Empire to the Diet, who thereupon did choose his Brother *Ferdinand* Emperor; to which the Pope made great exceptions; for he said, the Resignation ought to have been only to him, and that being made as

Charles the 5th's Resignation.

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it was, it was null ; and upon that he would not acknowledge the new Emperor.

Charles staid sometime in *Flanders* in a private House. For he left all his Palaces ; and had but little company about him. It is said, that when *Seld* his Brother's Secretary, being sent to him, was leaving him once late at night, all the Candles on the Stairs being burnt out, and none waiting to light him down, the late Emperor would needs carry the Candle down after him : the other, as may be well imagined, being much confounded at it, the Emperor told him, He was now a private Man ; and his Servants knowing there was nothing now to be had by attending, did not wait carefully. He bad him tell his Brother, what a change he had seen in him, and how vain a thing the attendance of Courtiers was ; since he was so soon forsaken by his own Servants. He reserved but 100000 Crowns a year for his own use : and sixty Servants. But at his coming into *Spain*, he found even that small Pension was not readily payed ; at which he was observed to be much displeased. He retired to a place in the Confines of *Castile* and *Portugal*, which he had observed in his Hunting to be fit for a retreat, by reason of the pleasantness of the Situation, and the temperateness of the Air : and there he had ordered a little Apartment of seven Rooms fourteen foot square, to be built for him. He kept only twelve servants about himself and sent the rest to stay in the neighbouring Towns.

He gave himself at first much to mechanical Curiosities, and had great varieties of Clocks, and some other motions, which surprised the ignorant Monks, who were afraid they were the performances of Magick ; especially his Machines of Birds of wood that did fly out and come back, and the representations of Armies, that by Springs engaged and fought. He also designed that great work of carrying the *Tago* up a Hill near *Toledo* ; which was afterwards done at a vast charge. He gave himself to Gardening, and used to Graft and Imp with his own hand : and keeping but one Horse, rid abroad some times, attended only by one Footman.

The making of Clocks was not then so perfect, as it is since : so that he could never bring his Clocks to strike in the same minute : and he used upon that to say, he saw the Folly of endeavouring to bring all Men to be of the same mind in Religion, since he could not bring Machines to agree exactly.

He set himself also much to study ; and in the second year of his retirement, went oftner to the Chappel, and to the Sacrament, than he had done at first : He used also to Discipline himself, with a Cord, which, after his death, having some marks of the severity he had put himself to, was laid up among his Sons chiefest Rarities. But amidst all this, it was believed he became in most points to be of the belief of the Protestants, before he died : and as his Confessor was burnt afterwards for Heresie, so *Miranda* the Archbishop of *Toledo*, who used to come often to him, was upon the same suspicions kept long in Prison. Near the end of two years, at the Anniversary of his Mothers Funeral, who had died but a few years before, having lived long mad ; he took a conceit, that he would see an *Obit* made for himself, and would have his own Funeral Rites performed ; to which he came himself

himself with the rest of the Monks, and prayed most devoutly for the Rest of his own Soul; which set all the Company on weeping. Two days after, he sickned of a Feaver, of which he died on the 21st. of September 1558. A rare and great instance of a mind surfeited with the Poms and Glories of the World, seeking for that Quiet in retirement, which he had long in vain searched after in Palaces and Camps.

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And now I return to the Affairs of England. The 21st. of March was Cranmer brought to the end of all his Afflictions, and received his Crown. On the 12th. of September the former year, Brooks Bishop of Gloucester, came to Oxford, as the Popes Subdelegate: and Martin, and Story, Commissioners from the King and Queen, sate with him in St. Maries, to judge him. When he appeared before them, he payed a low reverence to them that sate in the King and Queens Name: but would give none to Brooks, since he sate by an Authority from the Pope, to which he would pay no respect. Then Brooks made a long Speech, to set forth his Apostacy and Heresie, his Incontinence, and finally his Treason; and exhorted him to repent: and insinuated to him great hopes of being restored to his See upon it. After this, Martin made a Speech of the difference between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Authority.

When they had done, Cranmer first kneeled down, and said the Lord's Prayer; next he repeated the Apostles Creed: then he told them he would never acknowledge the Bishop of Rome's Authority; he owned his Allegiance to the Crown, according to the Oath he had often sworn; and the submitting to the Pope was directly contrary to that: he could not serve two Masters. He said, the Bishops of Rome not only set up Pretensions that were contrary to the Power of Princes, but they had also made Laws contrary to those made by God: instancing it in the Worship of an unknown Tongue, the denying the Chalice to the People, the pretending to dispose of Crowns, and exalting themselves above every Creature, which shewed them not to be the Vicars of Christ, but to be Antichrists, since all these things were manifestly contrary to the Doctrine of Christ, that was delivered in the Gospel. He remembered Brooks, that he had sworn to the King's Supremacy. Brooks said, it was to K. Henry the 8th. and that Cranmer had made him swear it. To which Cranmer replied, that he did him wrong in that; for it was done in his Predecessor Warham's time, who had asserted the King's Supremacy; and it was also sent to be discussed in the Universities, and they had set their Hands and Seals to it; and that Brooks, being then a Doctor, had signed it with the rest: so that all this being done before he came to be Archbishop, it ought not to be called his deed.

After this, Story made another Speech, of the Authority of the Church; magnifying the See of Rome, and enlarging on those Arguments commonly insisted on; and desired Brooks would put Cranmer to make a plain Answer, and cut off all Debates. Then followed a long Discourse between Martin and Cranmer: in which Martin objected, that he had once sworn to the Pope when he was consecrated, but that aspiring to be Archbishop, he had changed his mind in compliance to King Henry; That he had condemned Lambert of Heresie, for denying the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and afterwards turned to that himself. To all this Cranmer answered, pretending that never man came more unwil-

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lingly into a Bishoprick than he did to his. That he was so far from having aspired to it, that tho the King had sent one post to him, to come over to be consecrated, he being then in *Germany*; yet he had delayed his Journey seven weeks, hoping that in all that time the King might have forgot him: That at his Consecration he publickly explained his meaning in what sence he swore to the Pope, so that he did not act deceitfully in that particular: And that when he condemned *Lambert*, he did then believe the Corporal Presence; which he continued to do, till *Dr. Ridley* shewed him such Reasons and Authorities as perswaded him to change his mind, and then he was not ashamed to retract his former Opinion. Then they objected his having been twice married, his keeping his Wife secretly in King *Henry's* time, and openly in King *Edward's* Reign; his setting out Heretical Books and Articles, and compelling others to subscribe them: his forsaking the Catholick Church, and denying Christ's Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar; and disputing against it so publickly lately at *Oxford*. He confessed his living in Marriage, and that he thought it was lawful for all Men to marry; and that it was certainly better to do so, than to lie with other mens Wives, as many Priests did: He confessed all the other Articles; only he said, he had never forced any to subscribe.

After this, *Brooks* made a long Speech to him, with many of the common Arguments concerning the Pope's Power, and the Presence in the Sacrament: to which *Cranmer* made another large Answer. Then many Witnesses were examined upon the Points they had heard *Cranmer* defend in the Schools; and in conclusion they cited him to appear before the Pope within eighty days, to answer for all those things which were now objected to him. He said, he would do it most willingly, if the King and Queen would send him: but he could not go, if he were still detained a Prisoner.

After this he was sent back to Prison, where he lay till the 14th. of February this Year: and then *Bonner* and *Thirleby* were sent down to degrade him. *Bonner* desired this Employment, as a pleasant Revenge on *Cranmer*, who had before deprived him: but it was forced on the other, who had lived in great friendship with *Cranmer* formerly, and was a gentle and good natur'd man, but very inconstant and apt to change. They had *Cranmer* brought before them, and then they caused to read their Commission, which declared him *Contumax* for not coming to *Rome*, and required them to degrade him. They clothed him in Pontifical Robes, a Miter and the other Garments, with a Crosier in his hand: but the Robes were made of Canvas, to make him shew more ridiculous in them. Then *Bonner* made a Speech full of Jcers; *This is the Man that despised the Pope, and is now judged by him: This is the Man that pulled down Churches, and is now judged in a Church: This is the Man that contemned the Sacrament, and is now condemned before it*: with other such Expressions, at which *Thirleby* was much offended, and pulled him off by the Sleeve, desiring him to make an end: and challenged him afterwards, that he had broke the Promise he had made him before, of treating him with respect. And he was observed to weep much all the while: He protested to *Cranmer*, that it was the most sorrowful Action of his whole Life, and acknowledged the great Love and Friendship that had been between them; and that no Earthly Consideration, but

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but the Queens Command, could have induced him to come, and do what they were then about : He shed so many Tears, that oft he stopt, and could not go on in his discourse for the abundance of them. But *Cranmer* said, his Degradation was no trouble to him at all ; he reckoned himself as long ago cut off from all dependance and communion with the Sec *Rome* ; so their doing it now with so much Pageantry did not much affect him : only he put in an Appeal from the Pope, to the next free General Council : he said, he was cited to *Rome*, but all the while kept a Prisoner ; so there was no reason to proceed against him in his absence, since he was willing to have gone thither and defended his Doctrine : he also denied any authority the Pope had over him, or in *England* : and therefore appealed from his Sentence. But notwithstanding that, he was degraded, and all that ludicrous Attire was taken, piece after piece, from him, according to the Ceremonies of Degradation, which are in use in the Church of *Rome*.

He is degraded.


But there were new Engines contrived against him. * Many had been sent to confer with him, both *English* and *Spanish* Divines, to perswade him to recant : he was put in hopes of Life and Preferment again, and removed out of Prison to the Dean's Lodgings at *Christ-Church* ; where all the Arguments that could be invented, were made use of to turn him from his former perswasion : And, in conclusion, as *St. Peter* himself had with Curses denied his Saviour, so he who had resisted now almost three years, was at last overcome ; and humane infirmity, the fears of Death, and the hopes that were given him, prevailed with him to set his Hand to a Paper, renouncing all the Errors of *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, acknowledging the Pope's Supremacy, the seven Sacraments, the Corporal Presence in the Eucharist, Purgatory, Prayer for departed Souls, the Invocation of Saints ; to which was added, his being sorry for his former Errors ; and concluded, exhorting all that had been deceived by his Example or Doctrine, to return to the unity of the Church : and protesting that he had signed it willingly, only for the discharge of his own Conscience.

He recants.

Fox, and other later Writers from him, have said, that one reason of this Compliance, was, that he might have time to finish his Answer to *Gardiner's* Book, against that which he had written concerning the Sacrament : and *Fox* has printed the Letter which he avouches to prove this by. But the good Man (it seems) read the Letter very carelessly ; for *Cranmer* says no such thing in it ; but only, that he had appealed to the next General Council, to try if that could procure him a longer delay, in which he might have time to finish his Book : and between these two, there is a great difference. How long this was signed before his Execution, I find it no where marked, for there is no Date put to his Subscription.

Cranmer's Recantation was presently printed, and occasioned almost equally great, Insultings on the one hand, and Dejection on the other. But the Queen was not at all wrought on by it ; and was now forced to discover that her private Resentments governed her in this matter ; which before she had disowned. She was resolved he should be made a Sacrifice, for giving the Judgment of Divorce in her Mothers Marriage ; and tho' hitherto though she had pretended only Zeal for Religion, yet now when that could be no more alledged, yet she persisted in her Resolution of having him burnt. She said, since he had bin the great Pro-

moter

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All this while *Cranmer* expressed great inward confusion, lifting up his Eyes often to Heaven, and then letting them fall downward, as one ashamed of himself; and he often poured out floods of tears. In the end, when *Cole* bid him declare his Faith; he first prayed, with many moving expressions of deep remorse and inward horror: Then he made his Exhortation to the People, First, "Not to love or set their hearts on the things of the World: to obey the King and Queen out of conscience to God: to live in mutual Love: and to relieve the Poor according to their abundance. Then he came to that, on which; he said, all his past Life, and that which was to come, did hang, being now to enter either into the joys of Heaven, or the pains of Hell. He repeated the Apostles Creed, and declared his belief of the Scriptures; and then he spake to that, which he said troubled his Conscience, more than any thing he had ever done in his whole Life: which was, the subscribing a Paper contrary to the Truth, and against his Conscience, out of the fear

"fear of Death, and the love of Life : and when he came to the Fire, he was resolved that Hand that had signed it, should burn first. He rejected the Pope as Christ's enemy, and Antichrist ; and said, he had the same belief of the Sacrament, which he had published in the Book he writ about it.

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Upon this, there was a wonderful Confusion in the Assembly : Those who hoped to have gained a great Victory that day, seeing it turning another way, were in much disorder : They called to him to dissemble no more. He said, he had ever loved simplicity, and, before that time, had never dissembled in his whole Life. And going on in his Discourse, with abundance of tears, they pulled him down, and led him away to the Stake, which was set in the same place where *Ridley* and *Latimer* were burnt. All the way the Priests upbraided him for his changing : but he was minding another thing.

When he came to the Stake, he first prayed, and then undressed himself : and being tied to it, as the Fire was kindling, he stretched forth his Right hand towards the Flame ; never moving it, save that once he wiped his Face with it, till it was burnt away : which was consumed before the Fire reached his Body. He expressed no disorder for the pain he was in : sometimes saying, *that unworthy Hand!* and oft crying out, *Lord Jesus, receive my Spirit.* He was soon after quite burnt.

He suffers
Martyrdom
with great
constancy of
Mind.

But it was no small matter of Astonishment, to find his Heart entire, and not consumed among the Ashes : which tho the Reformed would not carry so far, as to make a Miracle of it, and a clear proof that his Heart had continued true, tho his Hand had erred ; yet they objected it to the Papists, that it was certainly such a thing, that if it had fallen out in any of their Church, they had made it a Miracle.

Thus did *Thomas Cranmer* end his days, in the sixty seventh year of his Age. He was a Man raised of God for great Services ; and well fitted for them. He was naturally of a mild and gentle temper, not soon heated, nor apt to give his Opinion rashly of things, or persons : and yet his gentleness, though it oft exposed him to his Enemies, who took advantages from it to use him ill, knowing he would readily forgive them ; did not lead him into such a weakness of Spirit, as to consent to every thing that was uppermost : for as he stood firmly against the six Articles in King *Henry's* time, notwithstanding all his heat for them ; so he also opposed the Duke of *Somerſet* in the matter of the sale and alienation of the Chantry Lands, and the Duke of *Northumberland* during his whole Government ; and now resisted unto Blood : so that his meekness was already a vertue in him, and not a pusillanimity in his temper. He was a man of great Candor. He never dissembled his Opinion, nor disowned his Friend : two rare qualities in that Age, in which there was a continued course of dissimulation, almost in the whole English Clergy and Nation, they going backward and forward, as the Court turned. But this had got him that esteem with King *Henry*, that it always preserv'd him in his days. He knew, what Complaints soever were brought against him, he would freely tell him the truth : so instead of asking it from other hands, he began at himself. He neither disowned his esteem of Queen *Anne*, nor his friendship to *Cromwel*, and the Duke of *Somerſet*, in their misfortunes ; but owned, he had the same thoughts of them in their lowest Condition that he had in their greatest State.

His Character

He being thus prepared by a candid and good nature, for the searches into

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But now I shall give account of the rest that were burnt this year. On the 27th. of Jan. *Tho. Wirtle* a Priest, *Bartlet Green* a Gentleman, *Tho. Bennet*, *John Tudson*, and *John Went*, Three Tradesmen, *Isabel Foster*, and *Joan Warne*, having all been presented because they came not to Church; Articles were put to them, and upon their Answers they were all condemned, and burnt in *Smithfield* at the same Stake. And on the 31st. of that Month, *John Lomas*, and four Women were burnt at *Canterbury*. They were presented, because they came not to Confession; whereupon Articles being given them, they were found guilty of Heresie, and burnt in one Fire. In the beginning of March two Women were burnt at *Ipswich*; Three Tradesmen were burnt in *Salisbury* on the 24th. of March. On the 29th. of April, *Robert Drakes* a Priest, *William Tynas* a Deacon, and four Tradesmen that were sent out of *Essex*, because they came not to Church, were condemned, and all burnt together in *Smithfield*. *John Hanpole*, and *Joan Boock*, were burnt at *Rockester* on the first of April: and on the second *John Hallier* a Priest was burnt in *Canterbury*.

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Others suffered on the 11th account

Six Tradesmen were sent up from *Colchester*: and the Bishop of *London*, who had hitherto kept his Prisoners for some time to see if he could prevail with them, growing weary of that fruitless labour, and becoming by many Acts of cruelty less sensible of those affections which belong to humane Nature; did without any more ado exhibit the Articles to them; and they answering in the way he accounted Heresie, he gave them time to consider if they would recant, till the Afternoon: but they continuing in the same mind, he condemned them, and sent them back to *Colchester*, where they were all burnt in one Fire.

On the 15th. of May, he gave yet a more astonishing instance of his barbarity. *Laverock* an old Cripple, a man of sixty eight years old, and *Jo. Apprice* a blind man, were upon the like account condemned, and burnt in the same Fire at *Stratford-le-bow*; they comforting one another, that they were now to be freed of their lameness and blindness. The day after, three Women were burnt in *Smithfield*: another blind man, with a Tradesman, were burnt at *Glocester* this Month. On the 21st. of the Month, three were burnt at *Beckles* in *Suffolk*. On the 6th. of June four Men were burnt at *Lewis* in *Suffex*. Another was burnt there on the 20th. and one was burnt at *Leicester* on the 26th. But on the 27th. of June, *Bonner* made an unheard of Execution of thirteen, whereof eleven were Men, and two Women, all burnt in one Fire in *Stratford-le-bow*. He had condemned in all sixteen, but, by what intercession I do not know, three of them were preserved by a Warrant from Cardinal *Poole*. It seems *Bonner* thought it not worth the while, to burn those singly, and therefore sent them in such droves to the Stake: but whether the horror of this Action, or the discontent, because the Cardinal had saved some of them, wrought on him, I know not; the latter being the more likely; he burnt no more till April next Year.

The 30th. of June three were burnt at *Bury* in *Suffolk*: On the 16th. of July three men were burnt at *Newberry*. But this July there was done in *Gernsey* an Act of as great inhumanity, as ever was recorded in any Age. A Mother and her two Daughters, were burnt at the same Stake; and one of them a married Woman, big with Child, when she was in the Fire, the violence of it bursting her Belly, a Boy fell out into the Flame,

A strange barbarity at Gernsey of burning a Child, born in the Fire.

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Flame, that was snatched out of it by one that was more merciful than the rest: but after they had a little consulted about it, the Infant was thrown in again, and there was literally baptised with Fire. There were many Eye-witnesses of this, who attested it afterwards in *Queen Elizabeth's* time, when the matter was enquired into, and special care was taken to have full and evident Proofs of it. For indeed the Fact was so unnatural, that a man must either be possessed with a very ill opinion of the Actors, or be well satisfied about the number and credibility of the Witnesses, before he could believe it. But Lies and Forgeries are seldom made of Actions done in the Face of the Sun, and before so great an Assembly as was present at this. Therefore complaint being made of it to *Queen Elizabeth*, the Dean of *Gernsey* was put in Prison for it; and afterwards, he, and nine more, that were all accessory to it, took out their Pardons. So merciful was the Government then, to pardon an Action of such a monstrous nature, because done with some colour of Law; since, it was said, the Mother was condemned to be burnt, and no exception was made of her Belly. On the 18th. of July two Women and one Man were burnt at *Greenstead*. On the first of August *Joan Wast*, a blind Woman, was burnt at *Darby*. On the 8th. of September one was burnt at *Bristol*; and another in the same place on the 25th of that Month. On the 24th. four were burnt at *Mayfield* in *Suffex*. On the 27th. a Man and a Woman were burnt at *Bristol*: And on the 12th. of October a man was burnt at *Nottingham*. And thus ended the burning this Year: those that suffered were in all eighty five. All these persons were presented as suspect of Heresie, and were required to answer the Questions that the Bishop put to them; which related to the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament, the necessity of Auricular Confession, or the Sacrifice of the Mass: and upon the Answers they made, were condemned to the Fire: But none of them were accused of any violence committed on the Persons of any Church-man, or of any affront put on their Religion; and all their Sufferings were meerly for their Conscience, which they kept as private as they could: so that it rather appeared in their abstaining from the Communion of a Church which, they thought, had corrupted the chief parts of Worship, than in any thing they had said or done. It was an unusual and an ungrateful thing to the *English* Nation, that is apt to compassionate all in misery, to see four, five, six, seven, and once thirteen burning in one Fire: and the sparing neither Sex nor Age, nor Blind nor Lame. but making havock of all equally; and above all, the barbarity of *Gernsey*, raised that horror in the whole Nation, that there seems ever since that time, such an abhorrence to that Religion to be derived down from Father to Son, that it is no wonder an aversion so deeply rooted, and raised upon such grounds, does upon every new provocation, or jealousy of returning to it, break out in most violent and convulsive Symptoms.

The Reformation
spreads
for all the Per-
secution.

But all those Fires did not extinguish the Light of the Reformation, nor abate the love of it. They spread it more, and kindled new heats in Mens minds: so that what they had read of the former Persecutions under the Heathens, seemed to be now revived. This made those who loved the Gospel meet oft together, though the malice of their Enemies obliged them to do it with great caution and secrecy: yet there were sometimes at their Meetings about 200. They were instructed and
watched

watched over by several faithful Shepherds, who were willing to hazard their Lives, in feeding this Flock committed to their care. The chief of these were *Scambler* and *Bentham*, afterwards promoted by Queen *Elizabeth* to the Sees of *Peterborough* and *Litchfield*: *Foule*, *Bernher*, and *Rough* a *Scotch-man*, that was afterwards condemned, and burnt by *Bonner*. There was also care taken, by their Friends beyond Sea, to supply them with good Books; which they sent over to them for their instruction and encouragement. These that fled beyond Sea went at first for the most part to *France*, where, though they were well used in opposition to the Queen, yet they could not have the free exercise of their Religion granted them: so they retired to *Geneva*, and *Zurick*, and *Ar-ran*, in *Switzerland*; and to *Strasburg* and *Frankfort*, in the upper *Germany*; and to *Emden* in the lower.

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At *Frankfort* an unhappy difference fell in among some of them, who had used before the *English* Liturgy, and did afterwards comply with it, when they were in *England*, where it had Authority from the Law: yet they thought that being in Forreign Parts they should rather accommodate their Worship to those among whom they lived; so instead of the *English* Liturgy, they used one near the *Geneva* and *French* Forms. Others thought, that when those in *England* who had compiled their Liturgy, were now confirming what they had done with their Blood; and many more were suffering for it; it was an high contempt of them, and their sufferings, to depart from these Forms. This contradiction raised that heat, that *Dr. Cox*, who lived in *Strasburg* with his Friend *Peter Martyr*, went thither; and being a Man of great reputation, procured an Order from the Senate, that the *English* Forms should only be used in their Church. This dissention, being once raised, went further than perhaps it was at first intended. For those who at first liked the *Geneva* way better, that, being in Forreign Parts, they might all seem to be united in the same Forms; now began to quarrel with some things in the *English* Liturgy: and *Knox*, being a Man of a hot temper, engaged in this matter very warmly; and got his Friend *Calvin* to write somewhat sharply of some things in the *English* Service. This made *Knox* and his Party leave *Frankfort*, and go to *Geneva*. *Knox* had also written indecently of the Emperor, which obliged the Senate of *Frankfort* to require him to be gone out of their Bounds. There fell in other Contests, about the censuring of offences; which some of the Congregation would not leave in the hands of the Ministers only, but would have it shared among the whole Congregation. Upon these matters there arose great debates, and many Papers were written on both sides, to the great grief of *Parker* and others, who lived privately in *England*; and to the scandal of the strangers, who were not a little offended to see a company of People fly out of their Country for their Consciences, and in stead of spending their time in Fasting and Prayer for their persecuted Brethren at home, to fall into such quarrels about matters which themselves acknowledged, were not the Substantials of Religion, nor Points of Conscience: in which certainly they began the Breach, who departed from that way of Worship, which they acknowledged was both lawful and good: but there followed too much animosity on both sides, which were the Seeds of all those differences that have since distracted this Church.

The Tradition
at *Frankfort*
among the
English there:

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They who reflected on the Contests that the *Novatians* raised, both at *Rome*, and *Carthage*, in *Cyprians* time; and the Heats the *Donatists* brought into the *African* Churches, soon after the Persecution was over, found somewhat parallel both to these Schisms now during the Persecution, and to those afterwards raised when it was over.

Pool is made
Arch-bishop
of *Canterbury*.

I now return to the Affairs of *England*. On the 22^d. of *March*, the very day after *Cranmer* was burnt, *Pool* was consecrated Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* by the Arch-bishop of *York*, the Bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Worcester*, *Lincoln*, *Rocheſter*, and *St. Aſaph*. He had come over only a Cardinal Deacon; and was laſt Winter made a Priest, and now a Bishop. It ſeems he had his *Conge d'Elire* with his Election, and his Bulls from *Rome*, already diſpatched before this time. The Pope did not know with what face to reſuſe them, being preſſed by the Queen on his account, though he wanted only a colour to wreak his revenge on him; to which he gave vent upon the firſt opportunity that offered it ſelf. It ſeems, *Pool* thought it indecent to be consecrated as long as *Cranmer* lived; yet his chooſing the next day for it, brought him under the ſuſpicion of having procured his death: ſo that the words of *Elijah* to *Ahab* concerning *Naboth*, were applied to him, *Thou haſt killed and taken poſſeſſion*. On the 28th. of that Month he came in State through *London*, to *Bow-Church*; where the Bishops of *Worceſter* and *Ely*, after the former had ſaid Maſs, put the Pall about him. This was a Device ſet up by Pope *Paschall* the ſecond in the beginning of the twelfth Century, for the engaging of all Arch-biſhops to a more immediate dependance on that See: they being, after they took the Pall, to act as the Popes *Legates born*, (as the Phraſe was,) of which it was the Enſign. But it was at the firſt admitted with great contradiction both by the Kings of *Sicily*, and *Poland*, the Arch-biſhops of *Palermo*, and *Gneſna*, being the firſt to whom they were ſent; all men wondring at the novelty of the thing, and of the Oath which the Popes required of them at the delivery of it. This being put on *Pool*, he went into the Pulpit, and made a cold Sermon, about the Beginning, the Uſe, and the Matter of the Pall, without either Learning or Eloquence. The Subject could admit of no Learning, and for Eloquence, though in his younger days, when he writ againſt King *Henry*, his ſtile was too luxuriant and florid, yet being afterwards ſenſible of his exceſs that way, he turned as much to the other Extream, and cutting off all the Ornaments of Speech, he brought his ſtile to a flatneſs that had neither life nor beauty in it.

Some more
Religious Hou-
ſes endowed.

All the Buſineſs of *England* this Year, was the raiſing of Religious Houſes. *Greenwich* was begun with laſt Year. The Queen alſo built a Houſe for the *Dominicans* in *Smithfield*, and another for the *Franciscans*: and they being Begging Orders, theſe Endowments did not coſt much. At *Sion* near *Brainford* there had been a Religion Houſe of Women of the Order of *St. Bridget*. That Houſe was among the firſt that had been diſſolved by King *Henry* the eighth, as having harboured the Kings Enemies, and been Complices to the Buſineſs of the Maid of *Kent*. The Queen a-new Founded a Nunnery there. She alſo Founded a Houſe for the *Carthuſians* at *Sheen* near *Richmond*, in a gratitude to that Order for their ſuffering upon her Mothers account. From theſe ſhe went to a greater Foundation, but that which coſt her leſs: for ſhe ſuppreſſed the Deanry, and the Cathedral of *Weſtminſter*; and in September this Year turned,

turned it into a Monastery; and made *Fecknam*, Dean of *Pauls*, the first Abbot of it. I have not met with her Foundation of it, which perhaps was razed out of the Records in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign; for it is not enrolled among the other Patents of this Year. But on the 23^d. of *September*, she gave Warrants for Pensions to be paid to the Prebends of *Westminster*, till they were otherwise provided: and about that time *Fecknam* was declared Abbot; though the solemn Installment of him, and fourteen other Monks with him, was not done, till the 21st. of *November*.

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There had been many Searches and Discoveries made, in the former Reign, of great disorders in these Houses; and at the dissolution of them many had made Confession of their ill Lives, and gross Superstition; all which were laid up and Recorded in the Augmentation Office. There had been also in that state of things, which they now called, The late Schism, many Professions made by the Bishops and Abbots, and other Religious Men, of their renouncing the Popes Authority, and acknowledging the Kings Supremacy: therefore it was moved, that all these should be gathered together and destroyed. So on the 23^d. of *September*, there was a Commission granted to *Bonner*, and *Cole*, (the new Dean of *Pauls* in *Fecknam's* room) and *Dr. Martin*, to search all Registers; to find out both the Professions made against the Pope, and the Scrutinyes made in Abbies; which, as the Commission that is in the *Collection* sets forth, tended to the subversion of all good Religion and Religious Houses: These they were to gather, and carry to the Cardinal, that they might be disposed of as the Queen should give order. It is not upon Record how they executed this Commission, but the effects of it appear in the great defectiveness of the Records, in many things of consequence, which are razed and lost. This was a new sort of Expurgation, by which they intended to leave as few foot-steps to Posterity, as they could, of what had been formerly done. Their care of their own credits led them to endeavour to suppress the many Declarations themselves had formerly made, both against the See of *Rome*, the Monastick Orders, and many of the old Corruptions, which they had disclaimed. But many things escaped their diligence; as may appear by what I have already collected: and considering the pains they were at, in vitiating Registers, and destroying Records; I hope the Reader will not think it strange, if he meets with many defects in this Work. In this Search, they not only took away what concerned themselves, but every collateral thing that might inform or direct the following Ages how to imitate those Precedents: and therefore, among other Writings, the Commission that *Cromwel* had to be Vice-gerent was destroyed: but I have since that time met with it, in a Copy that was in the *Cotton Library*, which I have put in the *Collection*. How far this resembled the endeavours that the Heathens used in the last and hottest Persecution, to burn all the Registers of the Church, I leave to the Reader. The Abbey of *Westminster* being thus set up, some of the Monks of *Glassenbury*, who were yet alive, were put into it. And all the rest of the old Monks that had been turned out of *Glassenbury*, and who had not married since, were invited to return to this Monastery. They began to contrive how to raise their Abbey again, which was held the Ancientest, and was certainly the richest in *England*: and therefore they moved the Queen and the

All the former
Records con-
cerning the
are razed.

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Endeavours
to raise the
Abbey of
Glassenbury.

Cardi-

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Cardinal, that they might have the House and Site restored and repaired, and they would by Labour and Husbandry maintain themselves; not doubting but the People of the Country would be ready to contribute liberally to their subsistence. The Queen and Cardinal liked the Proposition well; so the Monks wrote to the Lord *Hastings*, then Lord Chamberlain, to put the Queen in mind of it, and to follow the Business till it were brought to a good Issue; which would be a great Honour to the Memory of *Joseph of Arimathea* who lay there, whom they did humbly beseech to pray to Christ for good success to his Lordship. This Letter I have put in the *Collection* copied from the Original. What followed upon it, I cannot find. It is probable, the Monks of other Houses made the like endeavours, and every one of them could find some rare thing belonging to their House, which seemed to make it the more necessary to raise it speedily. These of *St. Albans* could say, the first Martyr of *England* lay in their Abbey: those of *St. Edmundsbury* had a King that was Martyred by the Heathen *Danes*: those of *Battel* could say, they were Founded for the remembrance of *William* the Conquerors Victory, from whence the Queen derived her Crown: and those of *St. Austins* in *Canterbury* had the Apostle of *England* laid in their Church. In short, they were all in hopes to be speedily restored. And though they were but few in Number, and to begin upon a small Revenue, yet as soon as the belief of Purgatory was revived, they knew how to set up the old Trade a-new; which they could drive with the greater advantage; since they were to deal with the People by a new Motive, besides the old ones formerly used, that it was Sacrilege to possess the Goods of the Church; of which it had been robbed by their Ancestors. But in this it was necessary to advance slowly: since the Nobility and Gentry were much allarmed at it; and at the last Parliament, many had laid their Hands to their Swords in the House of Commons, and said they would not part with their Estates; but would defend them: yet some that hoped to gain more favour from the Queen, by such compliance, did Found Chantries for Masses for their Souls. In the Records of the last Years of Queen *Maries* Reign, there are many Warrants granted by her for such Endowments: for though the Statute of *Mortmain* was repealed; yet for greater security it was thought fit to take out such Licences. This is all I find of our home Affairs this Year.

Foreign Affairs.

Foreign Affairs were brought to a quieter state. For by the Mediation of *England*, a Truce for five Years was concluded between *France* and *Spain*; and the new King of *Spain* was inclined to observe it faithfully; that so he might be well settled in his Kingdoms, before he engaged in War: but the violent Pope broke all this. He was much offended with the Decree made at *Ausburg* for the liberty of Religion; and with *Ferdinand* for ordering the Chalice to be given to his Subjects; and chiefly, for his assuming the Title of Emperor without his approbation. Upon this last provocation the Pope sent him word, that he would let him know, to his grief, how he had offended him. He came to talk in as haughty a Style, as any of all his Predecessors had ever done, that he would change Kingdoms at his pleasure. He boasted that he had made *Ireland* a Kingdom: that all Princes were under his Feet, (and as he said, that, he used to tread with his Feet against the ground;) and he would allow

The Pope is extravagantly insolent.

1556.

allow no Prince to be his Companion, nor be too familiar with him: nay, rather than be driven to a mean Action, he would set the whole World on fire. But to pretend to do somewhat for a Reformation, he appointed a Congregation to gather some Rules for the condemning of Simony. These he published, and said, having now reformed his own Court, he would next reform the Courts of Princes: and because they had complained much of the corruptions of the Clergy, and Court of *Rome*; he resolved to turn the matter on them, and said, he would gather all the abuses that were in their Courts and reform them. But he was much provoked by an Embassy that came from *Poland*, to desire of him, that they might have the Mass in their own Tongue, and the Communion in both kinds; that their Priests might be allowed to marry, that they might pay Annates no more to *Rome*, and call a National Council in their own Kingdom. These things put him out of all patience, and with all the bitterness he could use, he expressed how detestable they were to him. He then said, he would hold a Council; not that he needed one, for himself was above all: but it should never meet in *Trent*, to which it had been a vain thing to send about sixty Bishops of the least able, and forty Doctors of the most insufficient, as had been twice done already: that he would hold it in the *Lateran*, as many of his Predecessors had done: he gave notice of this to the Ambassadors of all Princes: he said he did that only in curtesie, not intending to ask their advice or consent, for he would be obeyed by them all. He intended in this Council to reform them and their Courts, and to discharge all Impositions which they had laid on the Clergy: and therefore he would call it whether they would or not, and if they sent no Prelates to it, he would hold it with those of his own Court: and would let the world see what the Authority of that See was, when it had a Pope of courage to govern it.

But after all these Imperious humors of his, which sometimes carried him to excesses, that seemed not much different from madness; he was heartily troubled at the Truce between the *French* and the *Spaniards*. He hates the *Spaniards* most, because they supported the *Colonesi*, whom he designed to ruine. And therefore he sent his Nephew into *France*, with a Sword and Hat which he had Consecrated, to perswade the King to break the Truce; offering his assistance for the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the use of one of the younger Sons of *France*: though it was believed he designed it for his own Nephew. He also sent the *French* King an Absolution from his Oath that he had sworn for the maintaining of the Truce, and promised to create what Cardinals he pleased, that so he might be sure of a Creature of his own to succeed in the Popedom. Yet the Pope dissembled his design in this, so closely, that he perswaded Sir *Edward Caru*, that was then the Queens Ambassador at *Rome*, that he desired nothing so much as a general Peace: and he hoped, as the Queen had mediated in the Truce, she would continue her endeavours till a perfect Peace were made. He said, he had sent two Legates to procure it; and since he was the common Father of Christendom, God would impute to him, even his silence in that matter, if he did not all he could to obtain it. He complained much of the growth of Heresie in *Poland*, and in the King of the *Romans's* Dominions. For the repressing of it, he said, he intended to have a General Council: and in order to that it was necessary there should be a Peace, since a

He breaks the Truce betwixt France and Spain, absolving the French King from his Oath.

Truce

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Truce would not give sufficient encouragement to those who ought to come to the Council. He said, he intended to be present at it himself, and to hold it in the Church of St. John in the *Lateran*: for he thought *Rome*, being the Common Country of all the World, was the meetest Place for such an Assembly: and he, being so very old, could go no where out of *Rome*; therefore he was resolved to hold it there. But he said, he relied chiefly on the assistance of the Queen, whom he called, *That Blessed Queen, and his most gracious and loving Daughter*: and holding her Letters in his Hand, he said, they were so full of respect and kindness to him, that he would have them read in the Consistory: and mad a Cross over her Subscription. It was no wonder such discourses, with that way of deportment, deceived so honest and plain hearted a Man as *Carr* was; as it will appear from the Letter that he writ over upon this occasion to the Queen, which I have put in the *Collection*. But it soon appeared on what design he had sent his Legate to *France*; for he pressed that King vehemently to break the Truce, and renew the War. To this the *French* King being perswaded by the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, Duke of *Guise*, and consented, though all the rest about him dissuaded him from such a dishonourable breach of Faith, or meddling more in the War of *Italy*, which had been always fatal to their People. The *Colonesi* had been furnished with assistance from *Naples*; upon which, the Pope had it proposed in the Consistory, that the King of *Spain*, by giving them assistance, had lost his Territories: and being then assured of assistance from *France*, he began the War, imprisoning the Cardinals and Prelates of the *Spanish* Faction; and the Ambassadors of *Spain* and *England*; pretending they kept correspondence with the *Colonesi* that were Traitors. He also sent to raise some Regiments among the *Guisons*. But when they came, some told him they were all Hereticks, and it would be a reproach for him to use such Souldiers: he understanding they were good Troops, said, He was confident God would convert them, and that he look'd on them as Angels sent by God for the defence of his Person. Upon this breaking out of the Popes, the Duke of *Alva*, that was then in *Naples*, being himself much devoted to the Papacy, did very unwillingly engage in the War. He first used all ways to avoid it; and made several Protestations of the indignities that his Master had received, and his unwillingness to enter into a War, with him that should be the Common Father of Christendome. But these being all to no purpose, he fell into *Campania*, and took all the Places in it, which he declared he held for the next Pope: he might also have taken *Rome* itself, but the Reverence he had for the Papacy restrained him.

This being known in *England*, was a great grief to the Queen and Cardinal, who saw what advantages those of the Reformation would take from the Popes absolving Princes from the most Sacred Ties of Humane Societies; since the breach of Faith and publick Treaties was a thing abhorred by the most depraved Nations: and when he, who pretended to be the Vicar of Christ who was the Prince of Peace, was kindling a new Flame in Christendom; these things were so scandalous, that they knew they would much obstruct and disorder all their designs. And indeed the Protestants every where were not wanting to improve this all they could. It seemed a strange thing, that in the same Year, a great Conqueror, that had spent his Life in Wars and Affairs, should in
the

the 56th year of his Age retire to a Monastery: and that a Bishop at eighty, who had pretended to such abstraction from the World that he had formerly quitted a Bishoprick to retire into a Monastery, should now raise such a War, and set *Europe* again in a flame:

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In the beginning of the next Year was the Visitation of the Universities. To *Cambridge* *Pool* sent *Scot* Bishop of *Chester*, his *Italian* Friend *Ormaneto*, with *Watson*, and *Christopherson*, the two Elect Bishops of *Lincoln*, and *Chichester*, (in the rooms of *White*, removed to *Winchester*; out of which *Pool* reserved a Pension of 1000 *l.* and of *Day* that was dead) with some others. When they came thither, on the 11th of *January* they put the Churches of *St. Maries* and *St. Michaels* under an Interdict; because the Bodies of *Bucer*, and *Fagius*, two Hereticks, were laid in them. The University Orator received them with a Speech, that was divided between an Invective against the Hereticks, and a Commendation of the Cardinal, who was then their Chancellor. They went through all the Colledges, and gathered many Heretical Books together, and observed the Order used in their Chappels. When they came to *Clare-Hall*, they found no Sacrament; *Ormaneto* asked the Head, *Swinburn*, how that came; he answered, The Chappel was not yet consecrated: Then *Ormaneto* chid him more for officiating so long in it; but trying him further, he found he had many Benefices in his Hands; for which he reproved him so severely, that the poor Man was so confounded that he could answer nothing to the other Questions he put to him. But *Christopherson* himself, being Master of *Trinity* Colledge, did not escape. *Ormaneto* found, he had mis-applied the Revenues of the House, and had made a Lease of some of their Lands to his Brother-in-law below the value: *Ormaneto* tore the Lease to pieces, and chid him so sharply, that he, fearing it might stop his preferment, fell sick upon it.

1557.
The Visitation of the Universities.

Then followed the Pageantry of burning the two Bodies of *Bucer*, and *Fagius*. They were cited to appear, or if any would come in their Name, they were required to defend them: so after three Citations, the dead Bodies not rising to speak for themselves, and none coming to plead for them, (for fear of being sent after them) the Visitors thought fit to proceed. On the 26th of *January* the Bishop of *Chester* made a Speech, shewing the earnestness of the University to have Justice done; to which they, the Commissioners, though most unwilling, were obliged to condescend: therefore, having examined many Witnesses of the Heresies that *Bucer* and *Fagius* had taught, they judged them obstinate Hereticks; and appointed their Bodies to be taken out of the Holy Ground, and to be delivered to the Secular Power. The Writ being brought from *London*, on the 6th of *February* their Bodies were taken up, and carried in Coffins, and tied to Stakes, with many of their Books, and other Heretical Writings, and all were burnt together. *Pern* preached at it; who as he was that Year Vice-Chancellor, so he was in the same Office four years after this; when by Queen *Elizabeths* Order, publick Honours were done to the Memories of those two learned Men; and Sermons and Speeches were made in their Praise: but *Pern* had turned so oft, and at every one was so zealous, that such turnings came to be nicknamed from him. On the Feast of Purification, *Watson* preached at *Cambridge*; where to extol the Rites and Processions of the Catholics,

1557. and their carrying Candles on that day, he said, *Joseph* and the Blessed Virgin had carried Wax Candles in Procession that day, as the Church had still continued to do from their Example: which was heard not without the laughter of many.

The Cardinal did also send *Ormanet*, and *Brooks* Bishop of *Glocester*, with some others, to visit the University of *Oxford*. They went over all the Colledges as they had done at *Cambridge*; and burnt all the *English* Bibles, with such other Heretical Books as could be found. Then they made a Process against the Body of *Peter Martyrs* Wife, that lay buried in one of the Churches: but she being a Forreigner that understood no *English*, they could not find Witnesses that had heard her utter any Heretical Points; so they gave advertisement of this to the Cardinal, who thereupon writ back, That since it was notoriously known, that she had been a Nun, and had married contrary to her Vow, therefore her Body was to be taken up, and buried in a Dunghill, as a Person dying under Excommunication. This was accordingly done. But her Body was afterwards taken up again in Queen *Elizabeths* time, and mixed with *St. Fridiswides* Bones, that she might run the same Fortune with her in all Times coming.

Great Endeavours used to set forward the Persecution most vigorously.

While these things were doing, there was great Complaints made, that the Inferior Magistrates grew every where slack in the searching after, and presenting of Hereticks: they could not find in the Counties a sufficient number of Justices of Peace, that would carefully look after it: and in Towns they were generally harboured. Letters were written to some Towns, as *Coventry*, and *Rye*, which are entred in the Council-Books, recommending some to be chosen their Majors, who were zealous Catholics. It is probable that the like Letters might have been written to other Towns; for the Council-Books for this Reign are very imperfect and defective. But all this did not advance their design. The Queen understood that the Numbers of the Hereticks rather increased than abated: so new Councils were to be taken. I find it said, That some advised that Courts of Inquisition, like those in *Spain*, might be set up in *England*. In *Spain* the Inquisitors, who were then all *Dominicans*, received private Informations; and upon these laid hold on any that were delated or suspected of Heresie; and kept them close in their Prisons till they formed their Processes: and by all the ways of torture they could invent, forced from them Confessions, either against themselves, or others, whom they had a mind to draw within their Toils. They had so unlimited a Jurisdiction, that there was no Sanctuary that could secure any from their Warrants; nor could Princes preserve or deliver Men out of their Hands: nor were their Prisoners brought to any publick Trial, but tried in secret: one of the Advocates of the Court, was for Forms sake assigned to plead for them: but was always more careful to please the Court, than to save his Client. They proceeded against them, both by Articles, which they were to answer, and upon Presumptions: and it was a rare thing for any to escape out of their Hands, unless they redeemed themselves, either by great Presents, or by the discovery of others. These had been set up first in the County of *Tholouse*, for the extirpation of the *Albigenses*; and were afterwards brought into *Spain*, upon *Ferdinand* of *Arragons* driving the *Moors* out of it, that so, none of those might any longer conceal themselves in that Kingdom; who
being

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being a false and crafty sort of Men, and certainly Enemies to the Government, it seemed necessary to use more than ordinary severity to drive them out. But now those Courts examined Men suspected of Heresie, as well as of *Mahometanism*; and had indeed effectually preserved *Spain* from any change in Religion. This made the present Pope earnest with all the Princes of Christendom, to set up such Courts in their Dominions; and *Philip* was so much of the same mind, that he resolved to have them set up in *Flanders*; which gave the first Rise to those Wars, that followed afterwards there, and ended in the loss of the seven Provinces.

In *England* they made now in *February* a good step towards it. For a Commission was given to the Bishops of *London*, and *Ely*, the Lord North, Secretary Bourne, Sir John Mordant, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir Edward Walgrave, Sir Nicholas Hare, Sir Tho. Pope, Sir Roger Cholmly, Sir Richard Read, Sir Tho. Stradling, Sir Rowland Hall, and Serjeant Rastall; Cole Dean of Pauls, William Roper, Randolph Cholmley, and William Cook, Tho. Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, Doctors of the Law: "That since many false Rumors were published among the Subjects, and many Heretical Opinions were also spread among them; therefore they, or any three of them, were to enquire into those, either by Presentments by Witnesses, or any other politick way they could devise: and to search after all Heresies; the Bringers in, the Sellers, or Readers, of all Heretical Books: they were to examine, and punish, all misbehaviours, or negligences, in any Church or Chappel; ~~and to~~ try all Priests that did not preach of the Sacrament of the Altar; all Persons that did not hear Mass, or come to their Parish-Church to Service, that would not go in Processions, or did not take Holy Bread, or Holy Water: and if they found any that did obstinately persist in such Heresies, they were to put them into the Hands of their Ordinaries, to be proceeded against according to the Laws: giving them full Power to Proceed, as their Discretions and Consciences should direct them: and to use all such means as they could invent, for the searching of the Premises: empow'ring them also to call before them such Witnesses as they pleased, and to force them to make Oath of such things as might discover what they sought after. This Commission I have put in the *Collection*. It will shew how high they intended to raise the Persecution, when a Power of such a nature, was put into the Hands of any three of a number so selected. Besides this, there were many subordinate Commissions issued out. This Commission seems to have been granted the former Year, and only renewed now: for in the Rolls of that Year, I have met with many of those subaltern Commissions, relating to this, as superior to them. And on the eighth of *March* after this, a Commission was given to the Arch-bishop of *York*, the Bishop Suffragan of *Hull*, and divers others, to the same effect: but with this limitation, that if any thing appeared to them so intricate, that they could not determine it, they were to refer it to the Bishop of *London* and his Colleagues, who had a larger Commission. So now, all was done that could be devised for extirpating of Heresie, except Courts of Inquisition had been set up; to which, whether this was not a previous step to dispose the Nation to it, the Reader may judge.

A Design to
set up the In-
quisition in
England.

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Number 32.

37.
Proceedings
against the He-
reticks.

I shall next give an account of the Burnings this Year. On the 15th of January six Men were burnt in one Fire at *Canterbury*, and at the same time, two were burnt at *Wye*, and two at *Ashford*, that were condemned with the other six. Soon after the fore-mentioned Commission, two and twenty were sent up from *Colechester* to *London*: yet *Bonner*, though seldom guilty of such gentleness, was content to discharge them. As they were led through *London*, the People did openly shew their affection to them, above a thousand following them: *Bonner*, upon this, writ to the Cardinal, that he found they were obstinate Hereticks; yet since he had been offended with him for his former Proceedings, he would do nothing till he knew his pleasure. This Letter is to be found in *Fox*. But the Cardinal stopt him; and made some deal with the Prisoners to Sign a Paper, of their professing that they believed that Christs Body and Blood was in the Sacrament; without any further explanation: and that they did submit to the Catholick Church of Christ; and should be faithful Subjects to the King and Queen, and be obedient to their Superiours both Spiritual and Temporal according to their duties. It is plain, this was so contrived, that they might have Signed it without either prevaricating or dissembling their Opinions: for it is not said, "That they were to be subject to the Church of Rome, but to the Church of Christ: and they were to be obedient to their Superiours according to their duties, which was a good reserve for their Consciences. I stand the longer on this, that it may appear how willing the Cardinal was to accept of any shew of submission from them, and to stop *Bonnors* rage. Upon this, they were set at liberty. But *Bonner* got three Men and two Women presented to him in *London* in January, and after he had allowed them a little more time than he had granted others, they standing still firm to their Faith, were burnt at *Smithfield* on the 12th of April. After that, *White*, the new Bishop of *Winchester*, condemned three, who were burnt on the third of May in *Southwark*; one of these, *Stephen Gratick*, being of the Diocess of *Chichester*, appealed from him to his own Ordinary: whether he expected more favour from him, or did it only to gain time, I know not: but they brought in a Counterfeit, who was pretended to be the Bishop of *Chichester*, (as *Fox* has printed it from the account written with the Mans own Hand) and so condemned him. On the seventh of May, three were burnt at *Bristol*. On the 18th of June, two Men, and five Women, were burnt at *Maidston*: and on the 19th, three Men, and four Women, were burnt at *Canterbury*; fourteen being thus in two days destroyed by *Thornton* and *Harpfield*: in which it may seem strange, that the Cardinal had less influence to stop the Proceedings in his own Diocess, than in *London*: but he was now under the Popes disgrace, as shall be afterwards shewn. On the 22d of June, six Men, and four Women, were burnt at *Lewis* in *Sussex*, condemned by *White*; for *Christopherson*, Bishop Elect of *Chichester*, was not yet consecrated. On the 13th of July two were burnt at *Normich*: On the second of August ten were burnt at *Colechester*, six in the Morning, and four in the Afternoon: they were some of those who had been formerly discharged by the Cardinals Orders; but the Priests in the Country complained, that the mercy shewed to them had occasioned great disorders among them; Hereticks and the Favourers of them growing insolent upon it: and those who searched after them being disheartned: so now,

Bonner

Bonner being under no more restraints from the Cardinal, new Complaints being made that they came not to Church, condemned them upon their Answers to the Articles, which he objected to them.

1557.

At this time one *George Eagle*, a Taylor, who used to go about from place to place, and to meet with those who stood for the Reformation, where he prayed and discoursed with them about Religion; and from his indefatigable diligence was nick-named *Trudge-over*, was taken near *Colchester*, and was condemned of Treason for gathering the Queens Subjects together; though it was not proved, that he had ever stirred them up to Rebellion; but did it only (as himself always protested) to encourage them to continue stedfast in the Faith: he suffered as a Traytor. On the fifth of *August* one was burnt at *Normich*; and on the twentieth, a Man and a Woman more, were burnt at *Rochester*: One was also burnt at *Litchfield* in *August*, but the day is not named.

The same Month, a Complaint was brought to the Council, of the Magistrates of *Bristol*, that they came seldom to the Sermons at the Cathedral; so that the Dean and Chapter used to go to their Houses in Procession, with their Cross carried before them, and to fetch them from thence: upon which, a Letter was written to them, requiring them to conform themselves more willingly to the Orders of the Church, to frequent the Sermons, and go thither of their own accord. On the 17th. of *September* three Men, and one Woman, were burnt at *Islington* near *London*: and on the same day two Women were burnt at *Colchester*. On the 20th a Man was burnt at *Northampton*: and in the same Month one was burnt at *Laxefield* in *Suffolk*. On the 23d a Woman was burnt at *Normich*. There were seventeen burnt in the Diocess of *Chichester*, about this time: one was a Priest, thirteen were Lay-men, and three Women: but the day is not marked. On the 18th of *November* three were burnt in *Smithfield*. On the 22d of *December* *John Rough* a Scotchman was burnt, whose suffering was on this occasion. On the 12th of *December* there was a private Meeting of such as continued to Worship God according to the Service set out by King *Edward*, at *Islington*; where he was to have administred the Sacrament, according to the Order of that Book. The new Inquisitors had corrupted one of this Congregation to betray his Brethren; so that they were apprehended as they were going to the Communion. But *Rough* being a Stranger, it was considered by the Council whether he should be tryed as a Native. He had a Benefice in *York-shire* in King *Edwards* days; so it was resolved, and signified to the Bishop of *London*, that he should be proceeded against as a Subject. Thereupon *Bonner* objected to him, his condemning the Doctrine of the Church, and setting out the Heresies of *Cranmer* and *Kidley* concerning the Sacrament, and his using the Service set out by King *Edward*; that he had lived much with those who for their Heresies had fled beyond Sea; that he had spoken reproachfully of the Pope and Cardinals, saying, That when he was at *Rome*, he had seen a Bull of the Popes that licenced Stews, and a Cardinal riding openly with his Whore with him: with several other Articles. The greatest part of them he confessed, and thereupon he, with a Woman that was one of the Congregation, was burnt in *Smithfield*. And thus ended the Burnings this Year; seventy nine in all being burnt.

1557.

The Lord
Stourton hang-
ed for Murder.

These Severities against the Hereticks, made the Queen shew less pity to the Lord *Stourton*, than perhaps might have been otherwise expected. He had been all King *Edwards* time a most zealous Papist, and did constantly dissent in Parliament from the Laws then made about Religion. But he had the former Year murdered one *Argall* and his Son, with whom he had been long at variance: and after he had knock'd them down with Clubs, and cut their Throats, he buried them fifteen Foot under ground, thinking thereby to conceal the Fact: but it breaking out, both he and four of his Servants were taken, and indicted for it. He was found guilty of Felony, and condemned to be hanged with his Servants, in *Wiltshire*, where the Murder was committed. On the sixth of *March* they were hanged at *Salisbury*. All the difference that was made in their Deaths, being only thus, That whereas his Servants were hanged in common Halsters, one of Silk was bestowed on their Lord. It seemed an indecent thing, when they were proceeding so severely against Men for their Opinions, to spare one that was guilty of so foul a Murder, killing both Father and Son at the same time. But it is strange, that neither his Quality, nor his former zeal for Popery, could procure a change of the Sentence, from the more infamous way of hanging, to beheading; which had been generally used to Persons of his Quality. It has been said, and it passes for a Maxim of Law, That though in Judgments of Treason the King can order the Execution to be by cutting off the Head, since it being a part of the Sentence, that the Head shall be severed from the Body, the King may in that Case remit all the other parts of the Sentence except that; yet in Felonies the Sentence must be executed in the way prescribed by Law; and that if the King should order beheading in stead of hanging, it would be Murder in the Sheriff, and those that execute it: So that in such a Case they must have a Pardon under the Great Seal for killing a Man unlawfully. But this seems to be taken up without good Grounds, and against clear Precedents: For in the former Reign the Duke of *Somerset*, though condemned for Felony, yet was beheaded. And in the Reign of King *Charles* the First, the Lord *Audley*, being likewise condemned for Felony, all the Judges delivered their Opinions, that the King might change the Execution from hanging to beheading, which was done, and was not afterwards questioned. So it seems the hanging the Lord *Stourton* flowed not from any scruple as to the Queens Power of doing it lawfully, but that on this occasion she resolved to give a publick Demonstration of her Justice and Horror at so cruel a Murder; and therefore she left him to the Law, without taking any further care of him. On the last of *February* he was sent from *London*, with a Letter to the Sheriff of *Wiltshire*, to receive his Body, and execute the Sentence given against him, and his Servants; which was accordingly done, as has been already shewn. Upon this, the Papists took great advantage to commend the strictness and impartiality of the Queens Justice; that would not spare so zealous a Catholick, when guilty of so foul a Murder. It was also said, That the killing of Mens Bodies was a much less crime, than the killing of Souls, which was done by the Propagators of Heresie; and therefore if the Queen did thus execute Justice on a Friend, for that which was a lesser degree of Murder, they who were her Enemies, and guilty of higher Crimes, were to look for no mercy. Indeed, as the Poor Protestants looked for none, so they

they met with very little; but what the Cardinal shewed them: and he was now brought under trouble himself, for favouring them too much, it being that which the Pope made use of to cover his malice against him.

1557.

Now the War had again broken out between *France* and *Spain*, and the King studied to engage the *English* to his assistance. The Queen had often complained to the *French* Court, that the Fugitives, who left her Kingdom, had been well entertained in *France*. She understood that the practices of *Wiat*, and of her other rebellious Subjects, were encouraged from thence: particularly of *Ashton*, who went often between the two Kingdoms, and had made use of the Lady *Elizabeths* Name to raise Seditions, as will appear by a Letter, (that is in the *Collection*) which some of the Council writ to one that attended that Princess. She was indeed the more strictly kept, and worse used upon that occasion. But besides, it so happened, that this Year one *Stafford* had gone into *France*, and gathered some of the *English* Fugitives together, and with Money and Ships, that were secretly given him by that Court, had come and seized on the Castle of *Scarborough*: from whence he published a *Manifesto* against the Queen, that by bringing in the *Spaniards*, she had fallen from her Right to the Kingdom; of which he declared himself Protector. The Earl of *Westmorland* took the Castle on the last of *April*, and *Stafford*, with three of his Complices, being taken, suffered as Traytors on the 28th of *May*. His coming out of *France* added much to the Jealousie, though the *French* King disowned that he had given him any assistance. But *Dr. Wotton*, who was then Ambassador there, resolved to give the Queen a more certain discovery of the Inclinations of the *French*, that so he might engage her in the War, as was desired by *Philip*: He therefore caused a Nephew of his own to come out of *England*, whom when he had secretly instructed, he ordered him to desire to be admitted to speak with the *French* King; pretending that he was sent from some that were discontented in *England*, and desired the *French* Protection. But the King would not see him, till he had first spoken with the Constable. So *Wotton* was brought to the Constable, and *Melville*, from whose Memoirs I draw this, was called to interpret. The young man first offered him the Service of many in *England*; that, partly upon the account of Religion, partly for the hatred they bore the *Spaniards*, were ready, if assisted by *France*, to make stir there. The Constable received and answered this but coldly; and said, He did not see what Service they could do his Master in it. Upon which, he replied, They would put *Calais* into his Hands. The Constable not suspecting a Trick, started at that, and shewed great joy at the Proposition; but desired to know, how it might be effected. Young *Wotton* told him, there were a thousand Protestants in it, and gave him a long formal Project of the way of taking it: with which the Constable seemed pleased, and had much discourse with him about it; he promised him great Rewards, and gave him directions how to proceed in the Design. So the Ambassador having found out what he had designed to discover, sent his Nephew over to the Queen; who was thereupon satisfied, that the *French* were resolved to begin with her, if they found an opportunity. Her Husband King *Philip* finding it was not so easie by Letters or Messagers, to draw her into the War,

Collection
Number 33.The Queen
becomes jea-
lous of the
French.

came

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And denounces War.

The great defeat given the French at St. Quintin.

came over himself about the 20th of May, and stayed with her till the beginning of July. In that time he prevailed so far with her and the Council that she sent over a Herald with a formal Denunciation of War, which made it at *Rhemes*, where the King then was, on the seventh of June. Soon after she sent over 8000 Men, under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, to joyn the *Spanish* Army, that consisting of near 50000 Men, sat down before *St. Quintin*. The Constable was sent to raise the Siege, with a great Force, and all the chief Nobility of *France*. When the two Armies were in view of one another, the Constable intended to draw back his Army; but by a mistake in the way of it, they fell in some disorder. The *Spaniards* upon that, falling on them, did, with the loss only of fifty of their Men, gain an entire Victory: 2500 were killed on the Place; the whole Army was dispersed, many of the first Quality were killed, the Constable with many others were taken Prisoners. The *French* King was in such a consternation upon it, that he knew not which way to turn himself. Now all the *French* cursed the Pope's Counsels, for he had perswaded their King to begin this War, and that with a manifest breach of his Faith. This Action lost the Constable that great reputation, which he had acquired and preserved in a course of much success; and raised the credit of the Duke of *Guise*, who was now sent for in all hast, to come with his Army out of *Italy*, for the preservation of his own Country. *France* indeed was never in greater danger than at that time. For if King *Philip* had known how to have used his Success, and marched on to *Paris*, he could have met with no resistance. But he sat down before *St. Quintins*, which *Coligny* kept out so long, till the first terror was over, that so great a Victory had raised: and then, as the *French* took Heart again, so the *Spaniards* grew less, as well in strength as reputation, and the *English* finding themselves not well used, returned home into their Country.

The Pope is offended with Cardinal Pool.

As soon as the Pope heard, that *England* had made War upon *France*, he was not a little inflamed with it: and his wrath was much heightened, when he heard of the defeat at *St. Quintins*; and that the Duke of *Guise* Army was recalled out of *Italy*; by which he was exposed to the mercy of the *Spaniards*. He now said openly, they might see how little Cardinal *Pool* regarded the Apostolick See, when he suffered the Queen to assist their Enemies, against their Friends. The Pope being thus incensed against *Pool*, sought all ways to be revenged of him. At first he made a Decree (in May this Year) for a General Revocation of all Legates and Nuntio's in the King of *Spain's* Dominions; and among these, Cardinal *Pool* was mentioned with the rest. But *Carne*, understanding this, went first to the Cardinals, and informed them what a prejudice it would be to their Religion, to recall the Cardinal, while things were yet in so unsettled a state in *England*. Of this they were all very sensible, and desired him to speak to the Pope about it. So in an Audience he had of him, he desired a Suspension might be made of that Revocation. The Pope pretended he did it in General, in all the *Spanish* Dominions; yet he promised *Carne* to propose it to the Congregation of the Inquisition, but he was resolved not to recall it; and said, it did not consist with the Majesty of the Place he sat in, to revoke any part of a Decree which he had solemnly given. In the Congregation the Pope endeavoured to have got the Concurrence of the Cardinals, but

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but they were unwilling to joyn in it. So he told *Carne*, that though he would recall so part of his Decree, yet he would give Orders that there should be no Intimation made of it to Cardinal *Pool*: and that if the Queen writ to him to desire his Continuance in *England*, it might be granted. He also let fall some words to *Carne* of his willingness to make Peace with King *Philip*; and indeed at that time he was much distasted with the *French*. Of this *Carne* advertised the King, though he was then so much better acquainted with the Popes dissimulation than formerly, that he did not lay much weight on what he said to him; as will appear by the dispatch he made upon this occasion, which is in the *Collection*. Whether the Queen did upon this write to the Pope or not, I do not know. It is probable she did: for this matter lay asleep till September; and then the Pope did not only recal *Pool*, but intended to destroy him. He did not know where to find a Person to set up against the Cardinal, since *Gardiner* was dead; and none of the other Bishops in *England* were great enough, or sure enough to him, to be raised to so high a Dignity. *Peito* the *Franciscan* Friar seemed a Man of his own temper because he had railed against King *Henry* so boldly to his face: and he being chosen by the Queen to be her Confessor, was looked on as the fittest to be advanced. So the Pope wrote for him into *England*; and when he came to *Rome*, made him a Cardinal; and sent over his Bulls, declaring that he recalled *Pool's* Legatine Power, and required him to come to *Rome*, to answer for some Accusations he had received of him, as a favourer of Hereticks. This might have perhaps been grounded on his discharging that Year so many delated of Heresie, upon so ambiguous a submission as they had made. The Pope also wrote to the Queen, that he was to send over Cardinal *Peito* with full power, requiring her to receive him as the Legate of the Apostolick See. The Queen called for the Bulls, and according to the way formerly practised in *England*, and still continued in *Spain*, when Bulls that were unacceptable were sent over, she ordered them to be laid up without opening them. It has been shewn in the former part, how Arch-bishop *Chicheley*, when he was so proceeded against by Pope *Martin*, appealed to the next General Council; and some that desired to see the Form of such Appeals in those Ages, have thought it an Omission in me, that I had not published his Appeal in the *Collection* of Records, at the end of that Work: therefore upon this occasion, I shall refer the Reader to it, which he will find in the *Collection*. But now, Cardinal *Pool* resolved to behave himself with more submission. For though the Queen had ordered the Popes Breve to him, not to be delivered, yet of himself he laid down the Ensigns of his Legatine Power: and sent *Ormaneto*, who had the Title of the Popes Datary, and was his Friend and Confident, to give an account of his whole behaviour in *England*; and to clear him of these Imputations of Heresie. This he did, with so much submission, that he mollified the Pope: only he said, that *Pool* ought not to have consented to the Queens joyning in War with the Enemies of the Holy See. *Peito* had begun his Journey to *England*: but the Queen sent him word, not to come over; otherwise she would bring him, and all that owned his Authority, within the *Præmunire*. So he stopt in his Journey; and dying in April following, enjoyed but a short while his new Dignity; together with the Bishoprick of *Salisbury*, to which the Pope had advanced him,

Collection
Number 1And recalls
his Legatine
Power.Collection
Number 35.The Queen
refuses to ad-
mit of Card-
inal *Peito* the
new Legate

1557. clearly contrary to the old Law then in force against Provisions from Rome.

A Peace made
between the
Pope and the
King of Spain.

This Storm against *Pool* went soon over, by the Peace that was made between *Philip* and the Pope, of which it will not be unpleasant to give the Relation. The Duke of *Guise* having carried his Army out of *Italy* the Duke of *Alva* marched towards *Rome*, and took and spoiled all Places on his way. When he came near *Rome*, all was in such confusion that he might have easily taken it; but he made no assault. The Pope called the Cardinals together, and setting out the danger he was in with many Tears, said, he would undauntedly suffer Martyrdom: which they, who knew that the trouble he was in, bowed only from his restless ambition and fierceness, could scarce hear without laughter. The Duke of *Alva* was willing to treat. The Pope stood high on the Points of Honour; and would needs keep that entire, though he was forced to yield in the chief matters: he said, rather than lose one jot that was due to him, he would see the whole World ruined; pretending, it was not his own Honour, but Christs, that he sought. In fine, the Duke of *Alva* was required by him to come to *Rome*, and on his knees to ask pardon, for invading the Partrimony of the Church; and to receive Absolution for himself, and his Master. He being superstitiously devoted to the Papacy, and having got satisfaction in other things, consented to this. So the Conqueror was brought to ask pardon, and the vain Pope received him, and gave him Absolution, with as much haughtiness and state as if he had been his Prisoner. This was done on the 14th. of September, and the news of it being brought into *England* on the 6th. of October: Letters were written by the Council to the Lord Major and Aldermen of *London*, requiring them to come to St. *Pauls*, where high Mass was to be said, for the Peace now concluded between the Pope and the King, after which, Bonfires were ordered. One of the secret Articles of the Peace, was the restoring *Pool* to his Legatine Power.

The begin-
nings of a
War between
England and
Scotland.

War being now proclaimed between *England* and *France*, the French sent to the *Scottish* Queen Regent, to engage *Scotland* in the War with *England*. Hereupon a Convention of the Estates was called. But in it there were two different Parties. Those of the Clergy liked now the *English* Interest, as much as they had been formerly jealous of it; and so refused to engage in the War: since they were at Peace with *England*. They had also a secret dislike to the Regent, for her kindness to the Heretical Lords. On the other hand, those Lords were ready enough to gain the Protection of the Regent, and the Favour of *France*; and therefore were ready to enter into the War; hoping that thereby they should have their Party made the stronger in *Scotland*, by the entertainment that the Queen Regent would be obliged to give to such as should fly out of *England*, for Religion. Yet the greater part of the Convention were against the War. The Queen Regent thought at least to engage the Kingdom in a defensive War, by forcing the *English* to begin with them. Therefore she sent *D'Oysel*, who was in chief command, to fortify *Aymouth*; which by the last Treaty with *England*, was to be unfortified. So the Governour of *Berwick* making Inroads into *Scotland* for the disturbing of their Works; upon that, *D'Oysel* began the War, and went into *England*, and besieged *Warke* Castle. The *Scottish* Lords upon this, met at *Edenburgh*, and complained that *D'Oysel* was engaging them

them in a War with *England*, without their consent; and required him to return back, under pain of being declared an Enemy to the Nation: which he very unwillingly obeyed. But while he lay there, the Duke of *Norfolk* was sent down with some Troops, to defend the Marches. There was only one Engagement between him and the *Kers*; but after a long dispute, they were defeated. And many of them taken. The Queen Regent seeing her Authority was so little considered, writ to *France*, to hasten the Marriage of her Daughter to the Dolphin; for that he being thereupon invested with the Crown of *Scotland*, the *French* would become more absolute. Upon this a Message was sent from *France* to a Convention of Estates that sat in *December*, to let them know, that the Dolphin was now coming to be of Age, and therefore they desired they would send over some, to treat about the Articles of the Marriage. They sent the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, the Bishop of *Orkney*, the Prior of *St. Andrews*, who afterwards was Earl of *Murray*, the Earls of *Roths*, and *Cassils*, the Lord *Fleeming*; and the Provosts of *Edenburgh* and *Mountross*; some of every Estate, that in the Name of the three Estates they might conclude that Treaty.

These Wars coming upon *England*, when the Queens Treasure was quite exhausted, it was not easie to raise Money for carrying them on. They found such a backwardness in the last Parliament, that they were afraid, the supply from thence would not come easily, or at least, that some favour would be desired for the Hereticks. Therefore they tried first to raise Money by sending Orders under the Privy Seal, for the borrowing of certain Sums. But though the Council writ many Letters, to set on those Methods of getting Money; yet they being without, if not against Law, there was not much got this way: so that after all, it was found necessary to summon a Parliament, to assemble on the 20th. of *January*. In the end of the Year the Queen had Advertisements sent her from the King, that he understood the *French* had a design on *Calais*; but she, either for want of Money, or that she thought the place secure in the Winter, did not send these supplies that were necessary; and thus ended the Affairs of *England* this Year.

In *Germany*, there was a Conference appointed, to bring matters of Religion to a fuller settlement. Twelve Papists and twelve Protestants were appointed to manage it. *Julius Pflugius*, that had drawn the *Interim*, being the chief of the Papists, moved, that they should begin first with condemning the Heresie of *Zuinglius*. *Melancthon*, upon that, said it was preposterous to begin with the condemnation of errors, till they had first settled the Doctrines of Religion. Yet that which the Papists expected, followed upon this: for some of the fiercer *Lutherans* being much set against the *Zuinglians*, agreed to it. This raised heats among themselves, which made the Conference break up, without bringing things to any issue. Upon this occasion, men could not but see that Artifice of the *Roman Church*, which has been often used before and since, with too great success. When they cannot bear down those they call Hereticks with open force, their next way is to divide them among themselves, and to engage them into Heats about those lesser matters, in which they differ; hoping that by those animosities their endeavours, which being united, would be dangerous to the common Enemy, may not only be broken, but directed one against another. This is well enough known

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The Affairs of
Germany.

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to all the Reformed ; and yet many of them are so far from considering it, that upon every new occasion they are made use of to serve the same designs ; never reflecting upon the advantages that have been formerly taken from such contentions.

A Persecution
of Protestants
in France.

In *France*, the number of the Protestants was now encreased much ; and in *Paris*, in *September* this Year, there was a Meeting of about 200 of them in *St. Germain's* to receive the Sacrament according to the way of *Geneva* : which being known to some of their Neighbours, they furnished themselves with Stones to throw at them when they broke up their Meeting. So when it was late, as they went home, Stones were cast at some of them : and the enraged Zealots forced the doors, and broke in upon the rest. The men, drawing their Swords, made their way through them, and most of them escaped : but 160 Women, with some few Men, delivered themselves Prisoners to the Kings Officers that came to take them. Upon this there were published all the blackest calumnies that could be devised, of the loose and promiscuous embraces that had been in this Meeting : and so exactly had their Accusers copied from what the Heathens had anciently charged on the Meetings of the Christians, that it was said, they found the Blood of a Child, whom they had Sacrificed and eaten, among them. These things were confidently told at Court, where none durst contradict them, for fear of being judged a favourer of them. But afterwards there was printed an Apology for the Protestants. In it they gloried much, that the same false accusations by which the Heathens had defamed the Primitive Christians, were now cast on them. Those that were taken were proceeded against : Six Men and one Woman were burnt. It had gone further, if there had not come Envoys, both from the *German* Princes, and the Cantons of *Switzerland*, to interpose for them : upon which, since the King needed assistance in his Wars, especially from the latter, the Prosecution was let fall. The Pope was much troubled, when he heard that the King would exercise no further severity on the Hereticks : and though himself had hired them in his Wars, yet he said, the Affairs of *France* could not succeed, as long as their King had so many Hereticks in his Army. That King had also made two Constitutions that gave the Pope great offence : the one, that Marriages made by Sons under thirty, and Daughters under twenty five, without their Fathers consent, should be void ; the other was for charging the Ecclesiastical Benefices with a Tax, and requiring all Bishops and Curates to reside on their Benefices. So scandalous a thing was Non-residence then held, that every where the Papists were ashamed of it. Upon which the Pope complained a-new, that the King presumed to meddle with the Sacraments, and to tax the Clergy.

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Calais is be-
sieged.

The beginning of the next Year was famous for the loss of *Calais*. The Lord *Wentworth* had then the Command of it ; but the Garrison consisted only of 500 Men, and there were not above 200 of the Townsmen, that could be serviceable in a Siege. The Duke of *Guise*, having brought his Army out of *Piedmont*, was now in *France*, and being desirous, when the Constable was a Prisoner, to do some great Action which might raise him in reputation above the other, who was his only Competitor in *France*, set his thoughts on *Calais*, and the Territory about

about it. There were two Forts on which the security of the Town depended. The one *Newnambridge*, a Mile from it, that commanded the Avenues to it from the Land; from which to the Town there was a way raised thorough a Marsh lying on both hands of it. On the other side, to the Sea, the Fort of *Risbank* commanded the Harbour; so that the whole strength of the Place, lay in those two Forts.

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On the first of *January* the Duke of *Guise* came and sat down before it. The Governour having but a small Force within, did not think fit to weaken it by sending such Supplies as those Forts required; so they were taken without any opposition. Then the Town being thus shut up, the Enemy pressed it hard, and drew the Water out of its Current, by which the Ditches about the Town and Castle were drained; and having prepared devices for their Souldiers to pass them without sticking in the Mire, they made the Assault; after they had opened a great breach by their Ordnance: and when the Sea was out, others crossed on that side, and so carried the Castle by Storm; which the Governour had look'd on as impregnable, and so had brought his chief Force to the defence of the Town. Seeing the Castle thus unexpectedly lost, he did all he could with his small force to regain it; but being still repulsed, and having lost 200 of his best men, he was forced to render the Place on the 7th of *January*. By their Articles, all the Townsmen and Souldiers were to go whither they pleased, only he and fifty more were to be Prisoners of War. Thus in one Weeks time, and in Winter, was so strong a Town lost by the *English*, that had been for many Ages in their Hands. It was taken 210 years ago by *Edward* the third after the Battle of *Cressy*; and was still called the Key of *France*, as long as it continued in *English* Hands. But now, in a time of War, it was in as ill a condition, as if they had been in the profoundest Peace: And though *Philip* had offered to put men into it, yet the *English*, being jealous that those Advertisements were but Artifices of his, to perswade them to admit a *Spanish* Garrison into it, left it in so naked a condition, that the Governour could do little to preserve it. But yet, that it might appear he had not been too careful of himself, he was content to agree that he should be a Prisoner of War.

And taken.

From this, the Duke of *Guise* went to *Guisnes*, commanded by the Lord *Gray*; whose Garrison consisted of about 1100 Men: but the loss of *Calais* had much disheartned them. At the first impression the *French* carried the Town, and the Garrison retired into the Castle: but *Gray*, breaking out on the Souldiers that were fallen to plundering, did beat them out again, and burnt the Town. The *French* battered the Castle, till they made a breach in the Out-works of it, which they carried, after a long resistance, in which the *English* lost 300. So the Lord *Gray* was fain to render it; He, and all the Officers, being made Prisoners of War. There was another Castle in that little County, *Hammes*, which lay in such a Marsh, that was thought inaccessible: but the Garrison that was in it, abandoned it, without staying till the Enemy came before them. The *French* Writers speak more meanly of the resistance made by the Lord *Gray*, than of that made by the Lord *Wentworth*: for there went out of *Guisnes* about 800 Souldiers, whereas there went not out of *Calais* above 300. But one of our own Writers magnifies the Lord *Gray*, and speaks dishonourably of the Lord *Wentworth*, adding, which was an In-

Guisnes and the rest of that Territory taken by the *French*.

vention

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vention of his own, that he was attainted for the taking of *Calais*. All that Historians ground for it, is only this, that there was indeed a Mock-citation issued out against the Lord *Wentworth*; to which he could not appear, being not freed from his imprisonment by the *French* all this Reign: but he came over in the beginning of the next, when the Treaty of Peace being on foot, he obtained his liberty, and was tried by his Peers in the first Parliament in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, and acquitted. It was, as he alledged for himself, his misfortune to be employed in a Place, where he had not so much as a fourth part of that Number of Men that was necessary to hold out a Siege. But in the declinations of all Governments, when losses fall out, they must be cast on those that are entrusted, to excuse those who are much more guilty, by neglecting to supply them as the Service required. Among the Prisoners, one of the chief was Sir *Edward Grimston*, the Comptroller of *Calais*, and a Privy Counsellor: He had often, according to the duty of his Place, given advertisement of the ill condition the Garrison was in. But whether those to whom he writ were corrupted by *French* Money, or whether the low state of the Queens Treasury made that they were not supplied, is not certain. It was intended he should not come over to discover that; and therefore he was let lie a Prisoner in the *Bastile*; and no care was taken of him or the other Prisoners: The Ransome set on him was so high, that having lost a great estate, which he had purchased about *Calais*, he resolved not to do any further prejudice to his Family by redeeming his liberty at such a rate; and intended either to continue a Prisoner, or make his escape. He lay above two years in the *Bastile*, and was lodged in the top of it: at the end of that time he procured a File, and so cut out one of the Bars of the Window, and having a Rope conveyed to him, he changed Clothes with his Servant, and went down on the Rope, which proving a great deal too short, he leaped a great way, and having done that before the Gates were shut, made his escape without being discovered. But his Beard, which was grown long, made him fear he should be known by it. Yet by a happy Providence he found in the Pockets of his Servants Cloaths a pair of Scissars, and going into the Fields, did so cut his Beard, that he could not have been known; and having learnt the Art of War in the Company of the *Scotch Guard de Manche*, he spake that Dialect: So he passed as a *Scotch* Pilgrim; and by that means escaped into *England*. And there he offered himself to a Trial, where, after the Evidence was brought, his Innocence did so clearly appear, that the Jury were ready to give their Verdict without going from the Bar. So he was acquitted, and lived to a great Age, dying in his 98th. Year. He was Great Grand-father to my Noble Patron and Benefactor Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, which has made me the more willing to enlarge thus concerning him, to whose Heir I owe the chief opportunities and encouragements I have had in composing this Work.

Now the Queen had nothing left of all those Dominions that her Ancestors had once in *France*, but the Isles of *Jersey*, *Gernsey*, *Alderney*, and *Sarke*. The last of these, being a naked Place, only inhabited by some Hermites; but having the advantage of a Harbour, the *French* made themselves Masters of it. The strength of it consisted in the difficulty of the ascent: the little Fort they had, being accessible but in one place, where

where two could only go up a-breast. So an ingenious *Fleming* resolved to beat them out of it: He came thither, and pretending he had a Friend dead in his Ship, offered them a good Present, if he might bury him within their Chappel. The *French* consented to it, if he would suffer himself and his Men to be so narrowly searched, that they might not bring so much as a Knife a-shoar. This he consented to; and as he landed with his Coffin, the *French-men* were to send some to his Ship to receive the Present. So the Coffin being carried into the Chappel, and the *French* apprehending nothing from unarmed men; the Coffin was opened, which was full of good Arms, and every man furnishing himself they broke out upon the *French*, and took them all; as their Companions in the Ship did those who went a-board to bring the Present.

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And retaken
by an ingenious
stratagem.

The news of the loss of *Calais*, filled *England* with great discontent. Those who were otherwise dissatisfied with the conduct of Affairs, took great advantages from it, to disparage the Government, which the Queen had put into the Hands of Priests, who understood not War, and were not sensible of the Honour of the Nation. It was said, they had drained her Treasury by the restitutions and foundations they got her to make; and being sensible how much the Nation hated them, they had set the Queen on other ways of raising Money than by a Parliament; so that never did the Parliament meet, with greater disorder and trouble, than now. But that loss affected none so deeply as the Queen her self; who was so sensible of the dishonour of it, that she was much oppressed with melancholly, and was never chearful after it. Those who took on them to make Comments on Divine Providence, expounded this loss as their affections led them. Those of the Reformation said, it was Gods heavy Judgment upon *England*, for rejecting the light of his Gospel, and persecuting such as still adhered to it. But on the other hand, the Papists said, *Calais* could not prosper, since it had been a Receptacle of Hereticks, where the Laws against them had never been put in execution. King *Philip*, as soon as he heard of this loss, wrote over to *England*, desiring them to raise a great Force with all possible haste, and send it over to recover *Calais* before it was fortified: and he would draw out his Army, and joyn with them; for if they did not retake it before the season of working about it came on, it was irrecoverably lost. Upon which there was a long Consultation held about it. They found they could not to any purpose send over under 20000 Men; the Pay of them for five Months would rise to 170000 *l.* Garrisons, and an Army against the *Scots*, and securing the Coasts against the *French*, would come to 150000 *l.* The setting out of a Fleet, and an Army by Sea, would amount to 200000 *l.* and yet all that would be too little, if the *Danes* and *Swedens*, which they were afraid of, should joyn against them. There was also great want of Ammunition and Ordnance, of which they had lost vast quantities in *Calais* and *Guisnes*. All this would rise to be above 520000 *l.* and they doubted much whether the People would endure such Impositions, who were now grown stubborn, and talked very loosely. So they did not see how they could possibly enter into any Action this Year. One Reason among the rest, was suggested by the Bishops, they saw a War would oblige them to a greater moderation in their Proceedings at home.

Great discontent
in *England*.

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home : they had not done their Work, which they hoped a little more time would perfect ; whereas a slackning in that, would raise the drooping Spirits of those whom they were now pursuing. So they desired another Year to prosecute them, in which time they hoped so to clear the Kingdom of them, that with less danger they might engage in a War, the Year after. Nor did they think it would be easy to bring new raised men, to the hardships of so early a Campaign ; and they thought the *French* would certainly work so hard in repairing the breaches, that they would be in a good condition to endure a strait and long Siege. All this they wrote over to the King on the first of *February*, as appears from their Letter, which will be found in the *Collection*.

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A Parliament
is called.

The Parliament was opened on the 20th. of *January*, where the Convocation, to be a good Example to the two Houses, granted a Subsidy of eight Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in four Years : In the House of Peers, the Abbot of *Westminster*, and the Prior of *St. John of Jerusalem*, took their Places according their Writs. *Tresham*, that had given great assistance to the Queen upon her first coming to the Crown, was now made Prior. But how much was done towards the endowing of that House, which had been formerly among the richest of *England*, I do not know. On the 24th. of *January* the Lords sent a Message to the Commons, desiring that the Speaker, with ten or twelve of that House, should meet with a Committee of the Lords ; which being granted, the Lords proposed, that the Commons would consider of the defence of the Kingdom. What was at first demanded, does not appear ; but after several days arguing about it, they agreed to give one Subsidy, a Fifteenth, and a Tenth ; and ordered the Speaker to let the Queen know what they had concluded : who sent them her hearty Thanks for it. Then, Complaints being made of some *French-men* that were not Denizens, it was carried, that they should go out of the Kingdom, and not return during the War. The Abbot of *Westminster*, finding the Revenues of his House were much impaired, thought, that if the old Privileges of the Sanctuary were confirmed, it would bring him in a good Revenue from those that fled to it : so he pressed for an Act to confirm it. He brought a great many ancient Grants of the Kings of *England*, which the Queen had confirmed by her Letters Patents ; but they did not prevail with the House, who proceeded no further in it. In this Parliament the Procurers of wilful Murder were denied the Benefit of Clergy ; which was carried in the House of Lords by the greater number, as it is in their Journals. The Bishops did certainly oppose it, though none of them entered their dissent. Sir *Ambrose*, and Sir *Robert Dudley*, two Sons of the late Duke of *Northumberland*, were restored in Blood. The Countess of *Suffex's* Joynstate was taken from her for her living in Adultery so publicly, as was formerly mentioned. In the end of the Session a Bill was put in, for the confirming of the Queens Letters Patents : it was designed chiefly for confirming the Religious Foundations she had made. As this went through the House of Commons, one *Coxley* said, He did not approve such a general Confirmation of those she had given, or might give : lest this might be a colour for her to dispose of the Crown from the right Inheritors. The House was much offended at this, and expressed such

such dislike at the imagination that the Queen would alienate the Crown; that they both shewed their esteem for the Queen, and their resolution to have the Crown descend after her death to her Sister. *Coxley* was made to withdraw, and voted guilty of great irreverence to the Queen. He asked pardon, and desired it might be imputed to his youth: yet he was kept in the Serjeants Hands, till they had sent to the Queen to desire her to forgive his offence. She sent them word, that at their sute she forgave it; but wished them to examine him, from whence that motion sprung. There is no more entred about it in the Journal, so that it seems to have been let fall. The Parliament was, on the seventh of *March*, prorogued to the seventh of *November*.

1558.

Soon after this, the King of *Sweden* sent a Message secretly to the Lady *Elizabeth*, who was then at *Hatfield*, to propose Marriage to her. King *Philip* had once designed to marry her to the Duke of *Savoy*, when he was in hope of Children by the Queen: but that hope vanishing, he broke it off, and intended to reserve her for himself. How far she entertained that motion, I do not know: but for this from *Sweden*, she rejected it, since it came not to her by the Queens direction. But to that it was answered, the King of *Sweden* would have them begin with her self, judging that fit for him as he was a Gentleman; and her good liking being obtained, he would next, as a King, address himself to the Queen. But she said, as she was to entertain no such Propositions unless the Queen sent them to her; so if she were left to her self, she assured them she would not change her state of Life. Upon this, the Queen sent Sir *Tho. Pope* to her, in *April*, to let her know how well she approved of the Answer she had made to them; but they had now delivered their Letters, and made the Proposition to her, in which she desired to know her mind. She thanked the Queen for her favour to her, but bade *Pope* tell her, that there had been one or two noble Propositions made for her in her Brother King *Edwards* time; and she had then desired to continue in the state ~~she~~ was in, which of all others pleased her best, and she thought there was no state of Life comparable to it: She had never before heard of that King, and she desired never to hear of that Motion more. She would see his Messenger no more, since he had presumed to come to her without the Queens leave. Then *Pope* said, he did believe, if the Queen offered her some Honourable Marriage, ~~she~~ she would not be averse to it: She answered, What she might do afterwards she did not know; but protested solemnly, that as she was then inclined, if she could have the greatest Prince in *Christianity*, she would not accept of him; though perhaps the Queen might think, this flowed rather from a Maids modesty, than any ~~fixed~~ ^{which is rejected by her.} determination in her. This I take from a Letter *Pope* wrote about it, which is in the *Collection*. Yet her Life at this time was, neither so pleasant, nor so well secured, but that, if her aversion to a married state had not been very much rooted in her, it is not unlikely, she would have been glad to be out of the Hands of her unkind Keepers; who grew the more apprehensive of her, the more they observed her Sister to decay: and, as the Bishops did apprehend,

The King of Sweden treats a Marriage with the Lady Elizabeth.

Collection Number 37.

1558. hend, she would overthrow all that they had been building, and cementing with so much Blood; so some of them did not fail to suggest the putting of her out of the way: and now that Ige is so near the Throne, in the Course of this History, I shall look back through this Reign, to give account of what befel her in it.

She was hardly used all this Reign.

When she was suspected to be accessary to *Wiat's* Conspiracy: the day after his breaking out, the Lord *Hastings*, Sir *Tho. Cornwallis*, and Sir *Richard Southwell*, were sent for her to come to Court. She then lay sick at her House at *Asbridge*: but that excuse not being accepted, she was forced to go: so being still ill, she came by slow Journeys to the Queen. She was kept shut up in private at Court, from the fourth of *March* to the 16th. and then *Gardiner*, with nineteen of the Council, came to examine her about *Wiat's* Rebellion. She positively denied she knew any thing of it, or of Sir *Peter Carew's* designs in the *West*, which they also objected to her. In conclusion, they told her the Queen had ordered her to be sent to the *Tower*, till the Matter should be further enquired into; and though she made great Protestations of her Innocence, yet she was carried thither, and led in by the Traitors Gate; all her own Servants being put from her. Three Men, and as many Women of the Queens Servants, were appointed to attend on her; and no Person was suffered to have access to her. Sir *John Gage*, who was the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, treated her very severely, kept her closely shut up, without leave to walk either in the Galleries, or on the Leads; nor would he permit her Servants to carry in her Meat to her, but he did that by his own Servants. The other Prisoners were often examined about her, and some were put to the Rack, to try if they could be brought any way to accuse her: but though *Wiat* had done it, when he hoped to have saved his own Life by so base an Action; yet he afterwards denied that she knew any of their designs: and lest those denials he made at his Examinations might have been suppressed, and his former Depositions be made use of against her, he declared it openly on a Scaffold at his death. After some days close Imprisonment, the great intercession made by the Lord *Chandois*, then Constable of the *Tower*, it was granted that she might sometimes walk in the Queens Rooms, in the presence of the Constable, the Lieutenant, and three Women, the Windows being all shut. Then she got leave to walk in a little Garden for some Air; but all the Windows opened to it were to be kept shut, when she took her Walk: and so jealous were they of her, that a Boy of four years old was severely threatned, and his Father sent for and chid, for his carrying Flowers to her. The Lord *Chandois* was observed to treat her with too much respect; so he was not any more trusted with the charge of her, which was committed to Sir *Hen. Benefield*. About the middle of *May* she was sent, under the Guard of the Lord *Williams* and *Benefield*, to *Woodstock*. She was so straitly kept, and *Benefield* was so sullen to her, that she believed they intended to put her privately to death. The Lord *Williams* treated her nobly at his House on the way, at which *Benefield* was much disgusted. When she

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she was at *Woodstock*, she was still kept under Guards, and but seldom allowed to walk in the Gardens, none being suffered to come near her. After many Months Imprisonment, she obtained leave to write to the Queen; *Benefield* being to see all she wrote. It was believed that some were sent secretly to kill her; but the Orders were given so strictly, that none of them could come near her, without a Special Warrant; and so she escaped at that time. But after, King *Philip* understood the whole Case, he broke all those designs, as was formerly shewn; and prevailed to have her sent for to Court. When she came to *Hampton-Court*, she was kept still a Prisoner. Many of the Council, *Gardiner* in particular, dealt often with her, to confess her offences, and submit to the Queens mercy. She said, she had never offended her, not so much as in her thoughts; and she would never betray her own Innocency by such a Confession. One night when it was late, she was sent for by the Queen, before whom she kneeled down, and protested she was, and ever had been, a most faithful Subject to her. The Queen seemed still to suspect her, and wished her to confess her guilt, otherwise she must think, she had been unjustly dealt with: She answered, That she was not to complain, but to bear her burden, only she begged her to conceive a good opinion of her. So they parted fairly, which King *Philip* had perswaded the Queen to; and being afraid that the sowerness of the Queens temper, might lead her into passion, he was secretly in a corner of the Room, to prevent any further breach, in case she should have been transported into new heats: but there was no occasion given for it. Soon after that, she was discharged of her Guards, and suffered to retire into the Country; but there were always many Spies about her, and she, to avoid all suspicion, meddled in no sort of business, but gave her self wholly to Study. And thus she passed these five years, under no small fears and apprehensions; which was perhaps a necessary preparation for that high degree to which she was soon after advanced, and which she held in the greatest and longest course of Prosperity and Glory, that ever any of her Sex attained to.

The Bishops, when the Parliament was sitting, did always intermit their Cruelties: but as soon as it was over, they fell to them afresh. On the 28th. of March, *Cuthbert Simpson*, that was in Deacons Orders, with two others, were burnt in *Smithfield*. *Simpson* had been taken with *Rough*, that suffered the Year before this. He was put to much torture, he lay three hours on the Rack; besides, two other Inventions of Torture were made use of to make him discover all those in *London* who met with them in their private Assemblies: but he would tell nothing, and shewed such patience, that the Bishops did publicly commend him for it. On the ninth of April a Man was burnt at *Hereford*: On the 19th. of May three Men were burnt at *Colchester*. At this time, Complaints being made to the Queen, that Books of Heresie, Treason, and Sedition, were either brought in from Foreign Parts, or secretly printed in *England*, and dispersed among her Subjects; she set out, on the sixth of June, a Proclamation of a strange nature: "That whosoever had any of these, and did not presently burn them, without reading,

The Progress
of the Persecution.

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“or shewing them to any other Person, they should be esteemed Rebels; and without any further delay, be executed by the Martial Law. On the 27th. of that Month, when seven were to be led out to be burnt in *Smithfield*, it was proclaimed in the Queens Name that no Man should pray for them, or speak to them, or say, *God help them*; which was thought a strain of barbarity beyond all the Examples of former times, to deprive dying Men of the good wishes and prayers of their Friends. But however this might restrain Men from giving outward Signs of their praying for them, it could not bind up their inward and secret Devotions. Those seven had been taken at a Meeting in *Islington*, with many others; of whom some died in Prison, and six others were burnt at *Brainford* the 14th. of *July*. The rest of them were kept by *Bonner*, who now seemed to have been glutted with the Blood of so many Innocents, and therefore to have put a stop to the effusion of more: yet those that were kept Prisoners by him, did not so entirely escape his fury, but that he disciplined them himself with Rods, till he was weary; and so gave over that odd way of Pastoral Correction; rather to ease himself, than in pity to them whom he whipt. On the tenth of *July* a Minister was burnt at *Norwich*: On the second or third of *August*, a Gentleman was burnt near *Winchester*: In *August* four were burnt at *Bury*; and in *November* three more were burnt there. On the fourth of *November* a Man, and a Woman, were burnt at *Ipswich*: At that time a Woman was burnt at *Exeter*: and to close up all, on the tenth of *November* three Men, and two Women, were burnt at *Canterbury*, which made in all thirty nine this Year. There had been seventy nine burnt the former Year, ninety four the Year before that, and seventy two the first Year of the Persecution: which in all come to 284. But he that writ the Preface to Bishop *Ridley's* Book *De Cæna Domini*, who is supposed to be *Grindal*, afterwards Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, says, That in the two first Years of the Queens Persecution there were above eight hundred put to most cruel kinds of death for Religion: by which it seems *Fox*, on whom I depend in the Numbers I have assigned, has come far short in his account. Besides those that were burnt, many others died in Bonds, of whom there are sixty reckoned. There were also great Numbers of those who were vexed with long and grievous Imprisonment: and though they redeemed their Lives by the renouncing, or rather the dissembling of their Consciences; yet this being but forced from them, they carried with them their old Opinions; and the Wound they gave their Consciences to save their Lives, as it begot in many of them great horror for what they had done, so it raised in them the most mortal hatred to those who had driven them to such straits: so that if that Religion was hateful before to the Nation, for the Impostures and Scandals that were discovered in the Clergy, and some few Instances of their Cruelty, the repeated Burnings, and other Cruelties, of which now they saw no end, did encrease their aversion to it beyond all expression.

At first, the Bishops dealt earnestly with those who were brought before them, to recant; and were ready at any time to receive them: the Queens Pardon was also sent to them as they were ready

to

to be tied to the Stake, if they would then turn. But now it was far otherwise. For in the Council-Books there is an Entry made of a Letter, written on the first of *August* this Year, to Sir *Richard Pexall* Sheriff of *Hampshire*, signifying, "That the Queen thought it very strange, that he had delayed the Execution of the Sentence against one *Bembridge*, condemned of Heresie, because he had recanted: requiring him to execute it out of hand, and if he still continued in the Catholick Faith, which he outwardly pretended, he was then to suffer such Divines as the Bishop of *Winchester* should appoint, to have access to him for confirming him in the Faith, and to attend on him at his death, that he might die Gods Servant: and as soon as the Sheriff had thus burnt him, he was to come to the Council, and answer for his presumption in delaying it so long. The Matter of Fact was thus: *Bembridge* being tied to the Stake, and the Fire taking hold on him, he, through the violence of it, yielded, and cried out, *I recant*. Upon which, the Sheriff made the Fire be put out; and *Bembridge* Signed such a Recantation as Doctor *Seton*, who was near him, writ for him: but for all that, upon this Order of Council, he was burnt; and the Sheriff was put in the *Fleet*: so that now it appeared that it was not so much the conversion of those they called Hereticks, as their destruction, that the Bishops desired: and so much were their Instruments set on these Severities, that though they saw the Queen declining so fast, that there was no appearance of her living many days; yet the Week before she died, they burnt, as hath been said, five together in one Fire at *Canterbury*.

There was nothing done in the War with *France* this Year, but the sending out a Fleet of 120 Ships, with 7000 Land-men in it, under the Command of the Lord *Clinton*; who landed at *Port Conquet*, in the Point of *Brittain*, where after a small resistance made by the *French*, he burnt the Town; but the Country being gathered together, the *English* were forced to return to their Ships, having above 600 of their Men. The design was, to have seized on *Brest*, and fortified it; which was proposed by King *Philip*, who had sent thirty of his Ships to their assistance. This the *French* knowing by some of the Prisoners whom they took, went and fortified *Brest*, and kept a great Body of Men together, to resist in case the *English* should make a second impression. But the Lord *Clinton*, seeing he could do nothing, returned, having made a very expensive and unprosperous attempt. The *English* had lost their Hearts; the Government at home was so little acceptable to them, that they were not much concerned to support it; they began to think, Heaven was against them.

There were many strange accidents at home, that struck terror in them. In *July*, Thunder broke near *Nottingham*, with such violence, that it beat down two little Towns, with all the Houses and Churches in them: the Bells were carried a good way from the Steeples, and the Lead that covered the Churches, was cast 400 Foot from them, strangely wreathed. The River of *Trent*, as it is apt upon Deluges of Rain to swell and over-run the Country; so it broke out this Year with extraordinary violence; many Trees were plucked up

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An unhappye Expedition against France.

Strange and unusual accidents.

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up by the Roots, and with it there was such a Wind, that carried several Men and Children a great way, and dashed them against Trees or Houses, so that they died. Hail-stones fell that were fifteen Inches about in other Places: and which was much more terrible, a contagious intermitting Feaver, not unlike the Plague, raged every where: so that three parts of four of the whole Nation were infected with it. So many Priests died of it, that in many Places there were none to be had for the performing of the Offices. Many Bishops died also of it, so that there were many vacancies made by the Hand of Heaven, against Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown: and it spreading most violently in *August*, there were not Men enough in many Counties, to reap the Harvest: so that much Corn was lost. All these Symptoms concurred to encrease the aversion the People had to the Government; which made the Queen very willing to consent to a Treaty of Peace, that was opened at *Cambrai* in *October*; to which she sent the Earl of *Arundel*, the Bishop of *Ely*, and *Dr. Wotton*, as her Plenipotentiaries.

A Treaty of
Peace between
England,
France, and
Spain.

The occasion of the Peace was from a meeting that the Bishop of *Arras* had with the Cardinal of *Lorraine* at *Peronne*; in which he proposed to him, how much *Philip* was troubled at the continuance of the War; their Forces being so much engaged in it, that they could make no resistance to the *Turk*, and the mean while Heresie encreasing and spreading in their own Dominions, while they were ~~so~~ taken up that they could not look carefully to their Affairs at home, but must connive at many things: therefore he pressed the Cardinal to perswade the King of *France* to an Accommodation. The Cardinal was easily induced to this, since besides his own zeal for Religion, he saw that he might thereby bear down the Constables greatness; whose Friends, chiefly his two Nephews, the Admiral, and *Dandelot*, who went then among the best Captains in *France*, were both suspect of being Protestants; upon which, the latter was shortly after put in Prison: so he used all his endeavours to draw the King to consent to it; in which he had the less opposition, since the Court was now filled with his Dependants, and his four Brothers, who had got all the great Officers of *France* into their Hands: and the Constable, and Admiral being Prisoners, there was none to oppose their Councils. The King thinking, that by the recovery of *Calais*, and the Places about it, he had gained enough to ballance the loss of *St. Quintin*, was very willing to hearken to a Treaty: and he was in an ill state to continue the War, being much weakened both by the loss he suffered last Year, and the blow that he received in *July* last: the Marshal de *Thermes* being enclosed by the Count of *Egmont* near *Graveling*, where the French Army being set on by the Count, and galled with the English Ordnance from their Ships that lay near the Land, was defeated, 5000 killed, the Marshal and the other chief Officers being taken Prisoners. These losses made him sensible, that his Affairs were in so ill a condition, that he could not gain much by the War.

The Marshal of
Graveling.

The Number
of the Prote-
stants growing
in France.

The Cardinal was the more earnest to bring on a Peace, because the Protestants did not only encrease in their Numbers, but they came so openly to avow their Religion, that in the publick Walks with-

without the Suburbs of *St. Germain*, they began to sing *David's Psalms* in French Verse. The newness of the thing amused many, the devotion of it wrought on others, the Musick drew in the rest; so that the Multitudes that used to divert themselves in those Fields, instead of their ordinary sports, did now nothing for many nights, but go about singing Psalms: and that which made it more remarkable was, that the King and Queen of *Navarre* came and joyned with them. That King, besides the Honour of a Crowned Head, with the small part of that Kingdom that was yet left in their Hands, was the first Prince of the Blood. He was a soft and weak Man; but his Queen, in whose Right he had that Title, was one of the most extraordinary Women that any Age hath produced, both for knowledge far above her Sex, for a great judgment in Affairs, an Heroical Greatness of Mind, and all other Vertues; joyned to a high measure of Devotion, and true Piety: all which, except the last, she derived to her Son *Henry the Great*. When the King of *France* heard of this Psalmody, he made an Edict against it; and ordered the doers of it to be punished: but the Numbers of them, and the respect to those Crowned Heads, made the business to go no further.

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On the 24th. of *April* was the Dolphin married to the Queen of *Scotland*. Four Cardinals, *Bourbon*, *Lorrain*, *Chastilion*, and *Bertrand*, with many of the Princes of the Blood, and the other great Men of *France*, and the Commissioners sent from *Scotland*, were present. But scarce any thing adorned it more than the *Epithalamium* written upon it by *Buchanan*; which was accounted one of the Perfectest Pieces of *Latin Poetry*. After the Marriage was over, the *Scotch Commissioners* were desired to offer the Dolphin the Ensigns of the Regality of *Scotland*, and to acknowledge him their King; but they excused themselves, since that was beyond their Commission, which only empowred them to treat concerning the Articles of the Marriage, and to carry an account back to those that sent them. Then it was desired that they would promote the business at their return to their Country; but some of them had expressed their aversion to those Propositions so plainly, that it was believed they were poisoned by the Brethren of the House of *Guise*. Four of them died in *France*; the Bishop of *Orkney*, and the Earls of *Roths*, and *Cassils*, and the Lord *Fleeming*. The Prior of *St. Andrews* was also very sick; and though he recovered at that time, yet he had never any perfect health after it. When the other four returned into *Scotland*, a Convention of the Estates was called, to consult about the Proposition they brought.

The Dolphin married the Queen of Scotland.

This Assembly consists of all those Members that make up a Parliament, who were then, the Bishops, and Abbots, and Priors, who made the first Estate; the Noblemen, that were the second Estate; and the Deputies from the Towns; one from every Town, only *Edinburgh* sends two, were the third Estate. Anciently all that held Lands of the Crown, were summoned to Parliaments, as well the greater as the lesser Barons. But in King *James the first's* time, the lesser Barons, finding it a great charge to attend on such Assemblies, desired to be excused from it; and procured an Act of Parliament

A Convention of Estates in Scotland.

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ment exempting them, and giving them power to send from every County, two, three, four, or more, to represent them: but they afterwards thought this rather a Charge than a Privilege, and did not use it; so that now the second Estate consisted only of the Nobility. But the Gentry finding the prejudice they suffered by this, and that the Nobility grew too absolute, procured, by King *James the sixth's* favour, an Act of Parliament restoring them to their Right of sending Deputies, two from every County, except some small Counties that send only one. But according to the Ancient Law, none has a Vote in the Elections, but those who hold Lands immediately of the Crown, of such a value. The difference between a Parliament, and a Convention of Estates, is, that the former must be summoned forty days before it sits; and then it meets in State, and makes Laws, which are to be prepared by a Committee of all the Estates, called the Lords of the Articles: but a Convention may be called within as few days as are necessary, for giving notice to all parts of the Nation to make their Elections: They have no Power of making Laws, being only called for one particular Emergent; which, during the division of the Island, was chiefly upon the breaking out of War betwixt the two Nations, and so their Power was confined to the giving of Money for the occasion which then brought them together.

In the Convention now held, after much debate and opposition, whether they should consent to the demand made by the Ambassador sent from *France*, it was carried, that the Dolphin should be acknowledged their King: great assurances being given, that this should be only a bare Title, and that he should pretend to no Power over them. So the Earl of *Argile*, and the Prior of *St. Andrews*, who had been the main sticklers for the *French* Interest, upon the promises that the Queen Regent made them, that they should enjoy the free exercise of their Religion, were appointed to carry the Matrimonial Crown into *France*. But as they were preparing for their Journey, a great revolution of Affairs fell out in *England*.

A Session of
Parliament in
England.

The Parliament met on the fifth of *November*. On the seventh the Queen sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and ordered him to open to them the ill condition the Nation was in: for though there was a Treaty begun at *Cambray*, yet it was necessary to put the Kingdom in a posture of defence, in case it should miscarry. But the Commons were now so dissatisfied, that they could come to no resolution. So on the 14th. day of *November* the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Pembroke*, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Lincoln*, and *Carlisle*, the Viscount *Mountacute*, the Lords *Clinton*, and *Howard*, came down to the House of Commons, and sat in that place of the House, where the Privy-Counsellors used to sit. The Speaker left his Chair, and he, with the Privy-Counsellors that were of the House, came and sat on low Benches before them. The Lord Chancellor shewed the necessity of granting a Subsidy, to defend the Nation, both from the *French*, and the *Scots*. When he had done, the Lords withdrew; but though the Commons entred, both that, and the two following days, into the debate, they came to no issue in their Consultations.

The

The Queen had never enjoyed her health perfectly, since the false conception that was formerly spoken of; upon which followed the defect from her Husband, and the despair of Issue, that encreased her Melancholly: and this receiving a great addition from the loss of Calais, and the other misfortunes of this Year; she, by a long declination of Health, and decay of her Spirits, was now brought so low, that it was visible she had not many days to live: and a Dropsie coming on her, put a conclusion to her unhappy Reign, and unfortunate Life on the 17th. of November, in the 43d. Year of her Age, after she had reigned five Years, four Months, and eleven Days.

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The Queens sickness.

And death.

At the same time Cardinal Pool, as if one Star had governed both their Nativities, was also dying; and his end being hastened by the Queens death, he followed her within sixteen hours, in the 59th. Year of his Age. He left his whole estate to Aloise Prioli a Noble Venetian, with whom he had lived six and twenty years in so entire a friendship, that as nothing could break it off, so neither was any thing able to separate them from one anothers company. Prioli, being invited by Pope Julius to come and receive a Cardinals Hat, preferred Pools company before it; and as he had supplied him in his necessities in Italy, so he left his Country now to live with him in England. Pool made him his Executor: But Prioli was of a more Noble temper, than to enrich himself by his Friends Wealth; for as he took care to pay all the Legacies he left, so he gave away all that remained, reserving nothing to himself but Pools Breviary and Diary. And indeed the Cardinal was not a Man made to raise a Fortune, being, by the greatness of his Birth, and his excellent Vertues, carried far above such mean designs. He was a Learned, Modest, Humble, and good natured Man; and had indeed such Qualities, and such a Temper, that if he could have brought the other Bishops to follow his Measures, or the Pope and Queen to approve of them, he might have probably done much to have reduced this Nation to Popery again. But God designed better things for it: so he gave up the Queen to the Bloody Councils of Gardiner, and the rest of the Clergy. It was the only thing in which she was not led by the Cardinal. But she imputed his Opinion in that Particular, rather to the sweetness of his Temper, than to his Wisdom and Experience: and he, seeing he could do nothing of what he projected in England, fell into a languishing, first of his mind, that brought after it a decay of his Health, of which he died. I have dwelt the more copiously on his Character, being willing to deny to none, of whom I write, the Praises that are due to them: and he being the only man of that whole Party, of whom I found any reason to say much good, I was the more willing to enlarge about him, to let the World see, how little I am biassed in the account I give, by Interest or Opinion. So that if I have written sharply of any others that have been mentioned in this Reign, it was the force of Truth, and my abhorrence of their barbarous Cruelties, that led me to it, more than my being of a contrary Perswasion to them. It is certain, that Pools method, of correcting the manners of the Clergy, and being gentle to the Reformed, would in all appearance have been much more fatal to the Progress of the Reformation; that was set forward by nothing more, than

Cardinal Pool dies.

His Character.

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by the severities shewed to those that differed from them, and the indulgence of the Bishops to the vices of their own Party. Yet *Poole* had a vast superstition to the See of *Rome*; and though his being at the Council of *Trent*, had opened his Eyes to many things, which he had not observed before; yet he still retained his great submission to that See, and thought it impossible to maintain the Order and Unity of the Church, but by holding Communion with it; which carried him, in opposition to many apprehensions himself had of some Theological Points, still to support the Interests of the Papacy. His neglect of the offer of it, when it was made to him, shewed this flowed from no aspirings of his own, but purely from his judgment: so that what mistakes soever, his Education, and Heats with King *Henry*, and the disasters of his Family, might have involved him in, it cannot be denied, that he was a Man of as great Probity and Vertue as most of the Age, if not all of that Church, in which he lived.

The Queens
Character.

For the Queen her self, her Character has appeared so manifestly in her Reign, that I need make no further description of her. She was a Woman of a strict and innocent Life; that allowed her self few of the diversions, with which Courts abound. She was bred to Learning, and understood the *Latin* Tongue well; but what further knowledge she had, does not appear to me. She was constant at her Devotions, and was as much addicted to the Interests and Humours of the Clergy, as they could have wished her. She had great resentments of her own ill usage in her Fathers and Brothers times; which made her be easily induced to take her revenge, though she coloured it with her zeal against Heresie. She did not much mind any other Affairs, but those of the Church: so that if she could have extirpated Heresie, she seemed to regard all other things very little; and being given up to follow the Dictates of *Rome*, with a nice scrupulosity of Conscience, it was no wonder she went on in these designs very vigorously. For as the Pope was ever calling on all Princes that were under his obedience, to set up the Courts of Inquisition; so the fourth General Council of *Lateran*, to which, with the other General Councils, she payed no less reverence than to the Scriptures, charged Catholick Princes to extirpate all Hereticks out of their Dominions; such as were slack must be required to do it by their Bishops; and if that prevailed not, they were to be excommunicated by them; and if they continued negligent, and under that Censure a year; they were to be deprived by the Pope, and their Dominions to be given to others, who should take more care to extirpate Heresie. The Pope ~~had~~ also in *February* this Year published a Constitution, to which he had made all the Cardinals set their Hands, confirming all former Decrees and Canons against Hereticks; declaring, that all Prelates, Princes, Kings, and Emperors, that had fallen into Heresie, should be understood to be deprived of their Dominions, without any further Sentence: and that any Catholicks who would take the Forfeiture, should have a good Title to all that they invaded and seized. The Bishops, besides the other Canons binding them to proceed against Hereticks, were, by the Words of the Oath of Obedience which they swore to the Pope at their Consecration, engaged to oppose and persecute the Hereticks with all their might: so that their giving

ag severe Counsels, and the Queens following them, flowed mainly from the Principles of their Religion : in which the softness of her temper made it the more easie to perswade her to a Compliance, to those courses, to which her inclination led her without any such Motives. To conclude, her death was as little lamented, as any of all our Princes ever was, the Popish Clergy being almost the only Mourners that were among her own People. 1558.

Thus lived and died *Mary Queen of England*, by Inheritance, and of *Spain* by Marriage.

The END of the Second BOOK.



R. White sculp.

*Nata Grenvici
1533 Sep^r 7.
Sorori Successit
in Regno
1558. Nov. 17.*



*Obijt
1603 Mar. 24
Anno Etatis
70.*

BOOK III.

OF THE
SETTLEMENT
OF THE
REFORMATION
OF
RELIGION,

In the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign.



QUEEN *Maries* Death was conceal'd for some hours. What the secret Consultations were upon it is not known; but the Issue of them appeared about nine a Clock. Then the Lord Chancellor went to the House of Lords, and first imparted to them the News of the Queens Death; which, as it struck the Bishops with no small fear, so those Counsellors who had been before in their advices about her Sister, did apprehend she might remember it against them. Yet they all agreed to proclaim her *Queen*: and by the Zeal they expressed for her coming to the Crown, intended to balance the Errors they had formerly been led to, rather in compliance to the late Queens resentments, than out of any ill will they bore her self. They sent for the House of Commons, and the Lord Chancellor signified to them the Queens Death; which, he said, would have been a much more sorrowful loss to the nation if they had not such a Successor, that was the next and indisputed Heir to the Crown, *Elizabeth*, of whose Right and Title none could make any question; therefore they intended to proclaim her Queen, and desired their Concurrence. This was Echoed with many and long repeated Cries. God save Queen Elizabeth. Long and happily may She Reign.

1558.
Queen *Elizabeth* succeeds.

1558.
And proclaimed
ed Queen.

The Parliament being declared to be dissolved by the late Queens death, the Lords proclaimed *Elizabeth* Queen; and went into *London*, where it was again done by the Lord Major, and received every where with such excessive Joy, that there was no sign of sorrow expressed for the death of *Queen Mary*, but what the Priests shewed; who, in so publick and universal a Joy, were forced to betake themselves to secret Groans, since they durst not vent them in publick. Never did any before her come to the Throne with so many good Wishes and Acclamations, which the horror of the Cruelties, and the reflection of the Misasters of the former Reign, drew from the People, who now hoped to see better Times.

And comes to
London.

The Queen was then at *Flatfield*, where having received the news of her Sisters death, and of her being proclaimed *Queen*, she came from thence to *London*. On the 19th, at *Highgate* all the Bishops met her, whom she received civilly, except *Bonner*, on whom she looked as defiled with so much Blood, that she could not think it fit to bestow any mark of her favour on him. She was received into the City, with Throngs much greater than even such Occasions used to draw together, and followed with the loudest shouts of Joy that they could raise. She lay that night at the Duke of *Norfolk's* House in the *Charter-house*, and next day went to the *Tower*. There at her Entry she kneeled down, and offered up thanks to God for that great change in her Condition; that whereas she had been formerly a Prisoner in that Place, every hour in fear of her Life, she was now raised to so high a Dignity. She soon cleared all Peoples apprehensions as to the hardships she had formerly met with, and shewed she had absolutely forgot from whom she had received them: even *Bene-field* himself not excepted; who had been the chief Instrument of her Sufferings: But she called him always her *Gealer*, which though she did in a way of Raillery, yet it was so sharp that he avoided coming any more to the Court.

She sends a
Dispatch to
Rome.

She presently dispatched Messengers to all the Princes of Christendome giving notice of her Sisters death, and her Succession. She writ in particular to King *Philip*, a large acknowledgment of his kindness to her, to whom she held her self much bound for his interposing so effectually with her Sister for her Preservation. She also sent to Sir *Edward Karn*, that had been her Sisters Resident at *Rome*, to give the Pope the news of her Succession. The haughty Pope received it in his ordinary Stile, declaring, "That *England* was held in Fee of the Apostolick See, that she could not succeed being Illegitimate, nor could he contradict the Declarations made in that matter by his Predecessors, *Clement* the seventh, and *Paul* the third: He said, it was great boldness in her to assume the Crown without his consent; for which in reason she deserved no favour at his hands: yet, if she would renounce her Pretensions, and refer her self wholly to him, he would shew a fatherly affection to her, and do every thing for her that could consist with the Dignity of the Apostolick See. When she heard of this, she was not much concerned at it; for she had written to *Karn* as she did to her other Minister: and had renewed his Powers upon her first coming to the Crown, being unwilling in the beginning of her Reign to provoke any Party against her: But hearing how the Pope received this Address, she recalled *Karn's* Powers, and commanded him to come home. The Pope on the other hand require

But to no ef-
fect.

quired him not to go out of *Rome*, but to stay and take the care of an Hospital over which he set him : which it was thought that *Karn* procured to himself, because he was unwilling to return into *England*, apprehending the change of Religion that might follow, for he was himself zealously addicted to the See of *Rome*.

1558.

As soon as *Philip* heard the news, he ordered the Duke of *Feria*, whom he had sent over in his Name to comfort the late Queen in her sickness, to Congratulate the new Queen, and in secret to propose Marriage to her ; and to assure her he should procure a Dispensation from *Rome* : and at the same time he sent thither to obtain it. But the Queen, though very sensible of her Obligation to him, had no mind to the Marriage. It appeared by what hath been said in the former Book, and by the Sequel of her whole Life, that though upon some occasions, when her Affairs required it, she treated about her Marriage, yet she was firmly resolved never to marry. Besides this, she saw her People were generally averse to any Forreigner, and particularly to a *Spaniard* : and she made it the steady Maxime of her whole Reign, from which she never departed, to rule in their affections as well ~~over~~ their Persons. Nor did she look on the Popes Dispensation as a thing of any force to warrant what was otherwise forbidden by God : and the Relation between King *Philip* and her being the Reverse of that which was between her Father and Queen *Katharine*, it seeming to be equally unlawful for one Man to marry two Sisters, as it was for one Woman to be married to two Brothers, she could not consent to this Marriage without approving King *Henry's* with Queen *Katharine* : and if that were a good Marriage, then she must be Illegitimate, as being born of a Marriage which only the unlawfulness of that could justify. So Inclination, Interest, and Conscience, all concurred to make her reject King *Philip's* motion. Yet she did it in terms so full of Esteem and Kindness for him, that he still insisted in the Proposition ; in which she was not willing to undeceive him so entirely, as to put him out of all hopes, while the Treaty of *Cambray* was in dependence, that so she might tie him more closely to her Interests.

King *Philip*
courts her
Marriage.

The *French*, hearing of Queen *Maries* Death, and being allarm'd at *Philips* design upon the new Queen, sent to *Rome*, to engage the Pope to deny the Dispensation, and to make him declare the Queen of *Scotland* to be the right Heir to the Crown of *England*, and the pretended Queen to be Illegitimate. The Cardinal of *Lorraine* prevailed also with the *French* King, to order his Daughter-in-law to assume that Title, and to put the Arms of *England* on all her Furniture.

The Queen of
Scots pretends
to the Crown
of *England*.

But now to return to *England*, Queen *Elizabeth* continued to employ some of the same Counsellors, that had served Queen *Mary* : namely, *Heath* the Lord Chancellor, the Marquess of *Winchester* Lord Treasurer, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, and *Pembroke*, the Lords *Clinton*, and *Howard*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *John Mason*, Sir *Richard Sackville*, and Dr. *Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. Most of these had complied with all the Changes that had been made in Religion backward and forward since the latter end of King *Henry's* Reign, and were so dextrous at it, that they were still employed in every new Revolution. To them, who were all Papists, the Queen added, the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, Sir *Thomas*

The Queens
Council.

Parre,

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Parre, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambrose Cave, Sir Francis Knolles, and Sir William Cecil, whom she made Secretary of State; and soon after she sent for *Sir Nicolas Bacon*; who were all of the Reformed Religion. She renewed all the Commissions to those formerly intrusted, and, ordered, that such as were imprisoned on the account of Religion should be set at liberty. After this, a Man that used to talk pleasantly, said to her, that he came to supplicate in behalf of some Prisoners not yet set at liberty: She asked who they were: he said they were *Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John*, that were still shut up; for the People longed much to see them abroad. She answered him as pleasantly, she would first talk with themselves, and see whether they desired to be set at such liberty as he requested for them.

A Consultation about the change of Religion.

Now the two great things under Consultation were Religion, and Peace. For the former, some were appointed to consider how it was to be Reformed. *Beal*, a Clerk of the Council, gave advice to *Cecil*, that the Parliaments under *Queen Mary* should be declared void; the first being under a force, (as was before related) and the Title of *Supreme Head* being left out of the Summons to the next Parliament before it was taken away by Law: from whence he inferred, that both these were not lawfully held or duly summoned; and this being made out, the Laws of *King Edward* were still in force: but this was laid aside as too high and violent a way of proceeding, since the annulling of Parliaments, upon little errors in Writs, or some particular disorders, was a Precedent of such consequence that to have proceeded in such a manner, would have unhinged all the Government and security of the Nation. More moderate Courses were thought on. The Queen had been bred up from her Infancy with a hatred of the Papacy, and a Love to the Reformation: But yet as her first Impressions in her Fathers Reign were in favour of such old Rites as he had still retained; so in her own Nature she loved State, and some Magnificence, in Religion, as well as in every thing else: She thought that in her Brothers Reign they had stript it too much of external Ornaments, and had made their Doctrine too narrow in some Points; therefore she intended to have some things explained in more general terms, that so all Parties might be comprehended by them. She inclined to keep up Images in Churches: and to have the manner of Christs Presence in the Sacrament left in some general words; that those who believed the Corporal Presence might not be driven away from the Church by too nice an Explanation of it. Nor did she like the Title of *Supreme Head*; she thought it imported too great a Power, and came too near that Authority which Christ only had over the Church. These were her own private thoughts. She considered, nothing could make her Power great in the World abroad, so much as the uniting all her People together at home: her Fathers and her Brothers Reign had been much distracted by the Rebellions within *England*, and she had before her Eyes the Instance of the Coldness that the People had expressed to her Sister on all occasions for the maintaining or recovering of the Dominions beyond Sea: Therefore she was very desirous to find such a Temper in which all might agree. She observed that in the Changes formerly made, particularly in renouncing the Papacy, and making some Alterations in Worship, the whole Clergy had concurred, and so she resolved to follow and imitate these by easie steps.

There

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There was a long Consultation had about the Method of the Changes she should make. The substance of which shall be found in the *Collection*, in a Paper, where, in the way of Question and Answer, the whole design of it is laid down. This Draught of it was given to Sir *William Cecil*, and does exactly agree with the account that *Cambden* gives of it. That Learned and Judicious Man has written the History of this Queens Reign, with that Fidelity and Care, in so good a Stile, and with so much Judgment, that it is without question the best part of our *English History*: but he himself often says, that he had left many things to those who should undertake the History of the Church; therefore in the Account of the beginnings of this Reign, as I shall in all things follow him with the credit that is due to so extraordinary a Writer, so having met with some things which he did not know, or thought not necessary in so succinct a History to enlarge on, I shall not be afraid to write after him, though the Esteem he is justly in may make it seem superfluous to go over these matters any more.

A Method of
doing it pro-
posed.
Collection
Number 1

"It seemed necessary for the ~~Queen~~ to do nothing before a Parliament were called; for only from that Assembly could the Affections of the People be certainly gathered. The next thing she had to do, was to balance the dangers that threatened her both from abroad and at home. The Pope would certainly excommunicate and depose her, and stir up all Christian Princes against her: The King of *France* would lay hold of any opportunity to embroil the Nation; and by the assistance of *Scotland*, and of the *Irish*, might perhaps raise troubles in her Dominions. Those that were in Power in Queen *Maries* time, and remained firm to the old Superstition, would be discontented at the Reformation of Religion: the Bishops and Clergy would generally oppose it: and since there was a necessity of demanding Subsidies, they would take occasion, by the discontent the People would be in on that account, to inflame them: and those who would be dissatisfied at the retaining of some of the old Ceremonies, would on the other hand disparage the changes that should be made, and call the Religion a Cloak'd Papistry, and so alienate many of the most zealous from it. To remedy all these things, it was proposed to make Peace with *France*, and to cherish those in that Kingdom that desired the Reformation. the Courses and Practises of *Rome* were not much to be feared. In *Scotland* those must be encouraged who desired the like change in Religion; and a little Money among the Heads of the Families in *Ireland*, would go a great way. And for those that had born Rule in Queen *Maries* time, ways were to be taken to lessen their credit throughout *England*: they were not to be too soon trusted or employed, upon pretence of Turning; but those who were known to be well affected to Religion, and the Queens Person, were to be sought after and encouraged. The Bishops were generally hated by the Nation: It would be easie to draw them within the Statute of *Præmunire*, and upon their falling into it, they must be kept under it, till they had renounced the Pope, and consented to the Alterations that should be made. The Commissions of the Peace, and for the *It*, were to be carefully reviewed, and such Men were to be put in them, as would be firm to the Queens Interests. When the

The Heads of
it.

1558.

ges should be made, some severe punishments would make the more readily submit. Great care was to be had of the Universities, and other public Schools, as *Exeter* and *Winchester*, that the next Generation might be better instructed with the Love and Knowledge of Religion. Some learned Men, as *Bill, Parker, May, Cox, Whitehead, Grindall, Pilkington*, and *Sir Thomas Smith*, were to be ordered to meet and consider of the Book of Service. In the mean while the People were to be restrained from Innovating without Authority: and the Queen, to give some hope of a Reformation, might appoint the Communion to be given in both kinds. The Persons that were thought fit to be trusted with the Secret of these Consultations, were the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Bedford*, and *Pembroke*, and the Lord *John Gray*. The Place that was thought most convenient for the Divines to meet in, was *Sir Thomas Smiths House* in *Channon Row*, where an Allowance was to be given for their Entertainment.

The forwardness in many to the Reformation.

As soon as the News of ~~Queen Marys~~ coming to the Crown was known beyond Sea, all those who had fled thither for shelter did return into *England*: and those who had lived in Corners during the late Persecution, now appeared with no small assurance: and these, having notice of the Queens Intentions, could not contain themselves, but in many Places begun to make Changes, to set up King *Edwards* Service, to pull down Images, and to affront the Priests. Upon this the Queen, to make some discovery of her own Inclinations, gave order, that the Gospels and Epistles, and the Lords Prayer, the Apostles Creed, and the Ten Commandments, should be read in *English*, and that the Lctany should be also used in *English*: and she forbade the Priests to Elevate the Host at Mass. Having done this, on the 27th. of *December* she set out a Proclamation against all Innovations, requiring her Subjects to use no other Forms of Worship than those she had in her Chappel, till it should be otherwise appointed by the Parliament, which she had summoned to meet on the 23d. of *January*. The Writs were issued out by *Bacon*, into whose Hands she had delivered the Great Seal. On the fifth of *December*, she performed her Sisters Funeral Rites with great Magnificence at *Westminster*. The Bishop of *Winchester* being appointed to preach the Sermon, did so mightily extoll her and her Government, and so severely taxed the disorders which he thought the Innovators were guilty of, not without reflections on the Queen, that he was thereupon confined to his House till the Parliament met.

Parker designed to be Archbishop of Canterbury.

One of the chief things under consultation, was, to provide what fit to be put into the Sees that were now vacant, or that might fall to be so afterwards, if the Bishops should continue intractable. Those now vacant, were the Sees of *Canterbury*, *Hereford*, *Priseol*, and *Bangor*: and in the beginning of the next Year the Bishops of *Norwich*, and *Glocester* died: so that, as *Cambden* hath it, there were but fourteen Bishops living when the Parliament met. It was of great importance to find Men able to serve in these Employments, chiefly in the See of *Canterbury*. For this, Dr. *Parker* was soon thought on. Whether others had the offer of it before him,

or not, I cannot tell: but he was writ to by Sir *Nicholas Bacon* 1558. on the ninth of *December*, to come up to *London*; and afterwards on the 30th. of *December*, by Sir *William Cecil*; and again by Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, on the fourth of *January*. He understood, that it was for some high preferment; and being a Man of an humble Temper, distrustful of himself, that loved privacy, and was much disabled by sickness, he declined coming up all he could; he begged he might not be thought of for any publick Employment, but that some Prebend might be assigned him, where he might be free both from care and Government; since the Infirmities, which he had contracted by his flying about in the Nights in *Queen Maries* time, had disabled him from a more publick station. That to which he pretended, shews how moderate his desires were: for he professed, an Employment of twenty Nobles a year would be more acceptable to him than one of, ~~two hundred~~ Pound. He had been Chaplain to *Queen Anne Bullen*, and had received a special charge from her, a little before he died, to look well to the Instruction of her Daughter in the Principles of the Christian Religion; and now the *Queen* had a grateful Remembrance of those Services. This, joyned with the high Esteem that Sir *Nicholas Bacon* had of him, soon made her resolve to raise him to that great Dignity. And since such high Preferments are generally, if not greedily sought after, yet very willingly undertaken by most Men; it will be no unfit thing to lay open a modern Precedent, which indeed favours more of the Ancient than the latter Times; for then in stead of that *Ambitus*, which has given such offence to the World in the latter Ages, it was ordinary for Men to fly from the offer of great Preferments. Some run away when they understood they were to be Ordained, or had been Elected to great Sees, and fled to a Wilderness. This shewed they had a great Sense of the care of Souls, and were more apprehensive of that weighty Charge, than desirous to raise or enrich themselves or their Families. It hath been shewed before, that *Cranmer* was very unwillingly engaged in the See of *Canterbury*; and now, he that succeeded him in that See with the same designs, was drawn into it with such unwillingness that it was almost a whole Year before he could be prevailed upon to accept

The account of this will appear in the Series of Letters both written to him, and by him, on that Head; which were communicated to me by the present most Worthy and most Reverend Primate of this Church. I cannot mention him in this place without taking notice, that as in his other great Vertues and Learning he has gone in the steps of those most eminent Arch-bishops that went before him; so the whole Nation is witness how far he was from aspiring to high Preferment, how he withdrew from all those opportunities that might be steps to it, how much he was surprized with his unlooked-for advancement, how unwillingly he was raised and how humble and affable he continues in that high Station he is now in: but this is a Subject that I must leave for thee to enlarge on that shall write the History of this present

1559.

Bacon made
Lord Keeper.

In the beginning of the next Year, the Queen having found that *Heath* Arch-bishop of *York*, then Lord Chancellor, would not so long with her, as he had done in the Reigns of her Father and Brother, and having therefore taken the Seals from him, and put them in Sir *Nicholas Bacons* Hand, did now by Patent create him Lord Keeper. Formerly those that were Keepers of the Seal, had no Dignity nor Authority annexed to their Office; they did not hear Causes, nor preside in the House of Lords, but were only to put the Seals to such Writs or Patents as went in course; and so it was only put in the Hands of a Keeper, but for some short Interval. But now *Bacon* was the first Lord Keeper that had all the Dignity and Authority of the Lord Chancellor conferred on him; and his not being raised to that high Title, perhaps flowed from his own modesty; for as he was one of the most Learned, most Pious, and Wisest Men of the Nation; so he retained in all his greatness a Modesty equal to what the Ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* had carried with them to their highest advancement. He was Father to the great Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viscount *St. Albans*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, that will be always esteemed one of the greatest Glories of the *English* Nation.

The Queens
Coronation.

The Queen was now to be Crowned; and having gone on the twelfth of *January* to the *Tower*, she returned from thence in State on the thirteenth. As she went into her Chariot, she lifted up her "Eyes to Heaven, and blessed God that had preserved her to see that Joyful Day, and that had saved her as he did his Prophet *Daniel* out of the mouth of the Lyons. She acknowledged her "Deliverance was only from him to whom she offered up the "Praise of it. She passed through *London* in great Triumph: and having observed that her Sister, by the fullness of her behaviour to the People, had much lost their affections, therefore she always used, as she passed through Crowds, but more especially this day, to look out of her Coach cheerfully on them, and to return the respects they paid her with great sweetness in her Looks; commonly saying, *God bless You, my People*; which affected them much. But nothing pleased the City more than her behaviour as she went under one of the Triumphal Arches; there was a rich Bible brought to her, as from Heaven, by a Child, representing *Truth*; She with great Reverence kissed both her Hands, and receiving it, kissed and laid it next her Heart; and professed she was better pleased with that Present, than with all the other magnificent ones that had been that day made her by the City: This drew Tears of Joy from the Spectators Eyes. And indeed this Queen had a strange Art of insinuating her self by such ways into the affections of her People. Some said she was too Theatrical in it; but it wrought her end; since by these little things in her deportment she gained more on their affections, than other Princes have been able to do by more real and significant Arts of Grace and Favour. The day following she was Crowned at *Westminster* by *Oglethorp* Bishop of *Carlisle*, all the other Bishops refusing to assist at that Solemnity. He, and the

self

rest of that Order, perceived that she would change the Religion then established, and looked on the Alterations she had already made, as Pledges of more to follow; and observed by the favour that *Cecil* and *Bacon* had with her, that she would return to what had been set up by her Brother. They had already turned so oft, that they were ashamed to be turning at every time. *Heath*, *Tonstall*, and *Thirleby*, had complied in King *Edwards* time, as well as in King *Henry's*; and though *Thirleby* had continued in credit and favour with them till the last; yet he had been one of those who had gone to *Rome*, where he made such publick Professions of his respect to the Apostolick See; and he had also assisted at the degradation and condemnation of *Cranmer*; so that he thought it indecent for him to return to that Way any more: Therefore he with all the rest resolved to adhere to what they had set up in Queen *Maries* time. There were two of King *Edwards* Bishops yet alive, who were come into *England*, yet the Queen chose rather to be consecrated by a Bishop actually in Office, and according to the old Rites, which none but *Oglethorp* could be perswaded to do. After that, she gave a general Pardon according to the Common Form.

On the 23^d. of *January*, being the day to which the Parliament was summoned, it was Prorogued till the 25th. and then it was opened with a long Speech of the Lord *Bacons*, in which he laid before them the distracted Estate of the Nation, both in matters of Religion, and the other Miseries that the Wars and late Calamities had brought upon them: all which he recommended to their care. For Religion, the Queen desired they would consider of it without heat or partial affection, or using any reproachful Term of *Papist* or *Heretick*, and that they would avoid the Extreame, of Idolatry and Superstition on the one hand, and contempt and irreligion on the other; and that they would examine matters without Sophistical Niceties, or too subtil Speculations, and endeavour to settle things so as might bring the People to an Uniformity and Cordial Agreement in them. As for the state of the Nation, he shewed the Queens great unwillingness to lay new Impositions on them, upon which he run out largely in her commendation, giving them assurance that there was nothing she would endeavour more effectually than the advancing of their Prosperity, and the preserving their affections. He laid open the loss of *Calais*, with great reflections on those who had been formerly in the Government; yet spoke of it as a thing which they could not at that time hope to recover; and laid before them the charge the Government must be at, and the necessities the Queen was in; adding in her Name, that she would desire no Supply, but what they did freely and cheerfully offer.

One of the first things that the Commons considered, was, whether the want of the Title of *Supream Head*, which the Queen had not yet assumed, was a Nullity in the Summons for this and other Parliaments in which it had been omitted; but after this had been considered some days, it was judged to be no nullity; for the annulling

1559.

The Parliament meets

1559.

The Treaty
at Cambray.

Nulling of a Parliament, except it had under a force, or for some other error in the Constitution, was a thing of dangerous Consequence.

But leaving the Consultations at *Westminster*, I shall now give an account of the Treaty of Peace at *Cambray*. That at which things stuck most, was the rendring of *Calais* again to the *English*, which the *French* did positively refuse to do. For a great while the *French* demanded it with so much earnestness, that he declared he would make Peace on no other terms; since as he was bound in point of Honour to see the *English*, who engaged in the War only on his account, restored to the condition that they were in at the beginning of it; so his Interest made him desire that they might be Masters of that Place, by which, it being so near them, they could have the Convenience of sending over Forces to give a diversion to the *French* at any time thereafter, as their Alliances with him should require. But when *Philip* saw there was no hope of a Marriage with the Queen, and perceived that she was making alterations in Religion, he grew less careful of her Interests, and secretly agreed a Peace with the *French*. But that he might have some colour to excuse himself for abandoning her, he told her Ambassador, that the *French* had offered him full satisfaction in all his own concerns, so that the Peace was hindered only by the consideration of *Calais*; and therefore, unless the *English* would enter into a League with him for keeping up the War six years longer, he must submit to the necessity of his Affairs. The Queen perceiving that she was to expect no more assistance from the *Spaniard*, who was so much engaged to the old Superstition, that he would enter into no strict League with any whom he accounted an Heretick, was willing to listen to the Messages that were sent her from *France*, by the Constable and others, inducing her to agree to a Peace. She on the other hand complained that the Queen of *Scotland*, and her Husband in her Right, had assumed the Title and Arms of *England*: It was answered, That was done as the younger Brothers in *Germany* carried the Title of the great Families from whence they were descended; and for Titles, the Queen of *England* had little Reason to quarrel about that, since she carried the Title, and gave the Arms of *France*.

A Peace with
France agreed
to.

The Queen and her Council saw it was impossible for her to carry on the War with *France* alone. The laying heavy Impositions on her Subjects in the beginning of her Reign, might render her very ungrateful to the Nation, who loved not to be charged with many Subsidies: and when the War should produce nothing but some Waits on the *French* Coasts, which was all that could be expected, since it was unreasonable to look for the Recovery of *Calais*, it might turn all the Joy they were now in at her coming to the Crown into as general a discontent. It was the ruine of *Duke of Somersæt*, that he had engaged in a War in the beginning of King *Edwards* Reign, when he was making Changes in Religion at home: therefore it was necessary to yield to the necessity of the time, especially since the loss of *Calais* was no reproach on the Queen

Queen, but on her Sister: so it was resolved on, to make a general Peace, that being at quiet with their Neighbours, they might with the less danger apply themselves to the correcting what was amiss in *England*, both in Religion, and the Civil Government. At length a Peace was made on these Terms, That there should be free Commerce between the Kingdoms of *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*: the *French* should keep *Calais* for eight years; and at the end of that time should deliver it to the *English*: and if it were not then delivered, they should pay to the *English* 500000 Crowns, for which they should give good Security by Merchants that lived in other Parts, and give Hostages till the Security were given: but if during these years the Queen made War on *France*, or *Scotland*, she was to lose her Right to that Town; or if the *French* or *Scots* made War on her, *Calais* should be presently restored; to which she was still to reserve her Right: *Aymouth* in *Scotland* was to be razed, and a Commission was to be sent down to some of both Kingdoms, to agree all lesser differences. On these Terms a Peace was made, and proclaimed between those Crowns; to which many of the *English*, that did not apprehend what the charge of a War for the regaining of *Calais* would have amounted to, were very averse; thinking it highly dishonourable, that they, whose Ancestors had made such Conquests in *France*, should be now beaten out of the only remainder that they had on the Continent; and thus make a Peace by which it was in effect parted with for ever. For all these Conditions about restoring it were understood to be only for palliating so inglorious a business. But the Reformed cast the blame of this on the Papists; and some moved, that all the late Queens Council should be questioned for their Misgovernment in that Particular: for it was thought nothing would make them so odious to the Nation, as the charging that on them. They on the other hand did cast the blame of it on the Lord *Wentworth*, that had been Governour of *Calais*, and was now professedly one of the Reformed, and had been very gentle to these of that persuasion during his Government. But he put himself on a Trial by his Peers, which he underwent on the 22^d. of *April*, and there did so clear himself, that he was by the Judgement of the Peers, acquitted.

The Queens Government being thus quieted abroad, she was thereby at more leisure to do things at home. The first Bill that was put into the House of Lords to try their affections and disposition to a Change in the matters of Religion, was that for the Restitution of the Tenth and First-Fruits to the Crown. It was agreed to by the Lords on the fourth of *February*, having been put in the 30th. of *January*, and was the first Bill that was read: the Arch-bishop of *York*, the Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, *Landaffe*, *Litchfield*, *Exeter*, *Chester*, and *Carlisle*, protested against it: these were all of that Order that were at the Session, except the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Lincoln*, and the Abbot of *Westminster*, who it seems were occasionally present. On the sixth of *February* it was sent down to the Commons, which they readily agreed; and so it had the Royal Assent. By it, not only the Tenth and First-Fruits were again restored to the Crown.

1559.

The Proceedings of the Parliament.

1559.

Crown, but also all Impropriated Benefices which had been surrendered up by Queen Mary.

They address
to the Queen
for her mar-
rying.

But the Commons reflecting on the miseries in which they had been lately involved by Queen Mary's Marriage, had much debate about an Address to the Queen to induce her to marry. On the fourth of February it was argued in the House of Commons; and on the sixth, the Speaker, with the Privy-Counsellors of the House, and thirty Members more, were sent with their desires to the Queen. "They expressed the affections of the Nation to her, and said, That if they could hope she might be Immortal they would rest satisfied; but that being a vain Imagination, they earnestly besought her to choose such a Husband as might make the Nation and her self happy; and by the blessing of God, bring such Issue as might Reign after her death, which they prayed God might be very late. She said, "She looked on that as an expression both of their affection and respect, since they had neither limited Time nor Place. She declared that she had hitherto lived in a single state with great satisfaction; and had neither entertained some Honourable Propositions which, the Lord Treasurer knew, had been made to her in her Brothers time, nor had been moved by the fears of death that she was in, while she was under her Sisters displeasure, (of which she would say little; for though she knew, or might justly suspect, by whose means it was, yet she would not utter it, nor would she charge it on the Dead, or cast the burthen of it wholly upon her Sister: But she assured them, if ever she married, she would make such a Choice as should be to the satisfaction and good of her People: she did not know what credit she might yet have with them; but she knew well, she deserved to have it, for she was resolved never to deceive them: her People were to her in stead of Children, and she reckoned her self married to them, by her Coronation: They would not want a Successor when she died; and for her part, she should be well contented that the Marble should tell Posterity, **HERE LIES A QUEEN THAT REIGNED SO LONG, AND LIVED AND DIED A VIRGIN:** She took their Address in good part, and desired them to carry back her hearty thanks for the care the Commons had of her.

The Queens
Answer.

The Journals of the House of Lords are imperfect, so that we find nothing in them of this matter: yet it appears that they likewise had it before them: for the Journals of the House of Commons have it marked, that on the fifteenth of February, there was a Message sent from the Lords, desiring that a Committee of thirty Commoners might meet with twelve Lords to consider what should be the Authority of the Person whom the Queen should marry. The Committee was appointed to treat concerning it; but it seems the Queen desired them to turn to other things that were more pressing; for I find nothing, after this, entered in the Journals of Parliament concerning it.

On the ninth of *February* the Lords past a Bill for the Recognizing of the Queens Title to the Crown. It had been considered whether as Queen *Mary* had procured a former Repeal of her Mothers Divorce, and of the Acts that passed upon it declaring her Illegitimate, the like should be done now. The Lord Keeper said, The Crown purged all defects, and it was needless to look back to a thing which would at least cast a reproach on her Father: the enquiring into such things too anxiously would rather prejudice than advance her Title. So he advised that there should be an act passed in general Words, asserting the lawfulness of her descent, and her Right to the Crown, rather than any special Repeal. Queen *Mary* and her Council were careless of King *Henry's* Honour; but it became her rather to conceal than expose his Weakness. This being thought both Wise and Pious Council, the act was conceived in general Words, "That they did assuredly believe and declare, that by the Laws of God and of the Realm she was their lawful Queen, and that she was rightly, lineally, and lawfully descended from the Royal Blood, and that the Crown did without all doubt or ambiguity belong to her, and the Heirs to be lawfully begotten of her Body after her; and that they, as representing the Three Estates of the Realm, did declare and assert her Title, which they would defend with their Lives and Fortunes. This was thought to be very wise Council: for if they had gone to repeal the Sentence of Divorce which passed upon her Mothers acknowledging a Precontract, they must have set forth that was on her when she made that Confession: and that, as it was a great dishonour to her Father, so it would have raised discourses likewise to her Mothers prejudice; which must have rather weakned than strengthened her Title: And, as has been formerly observed, this seems to be the true reason why in all her Reign there was no Apology printed for her Mother. There was another Act passed for the restoring of her in Blood to her Mother, by which she was qualified, as a private Subject, to succeed, either to her Grand-fathers Estate, or to any others by that Blood.

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They recognize her Title to the Crown

But for the matters of Religion, the Commons began; and on the fifteenth of *February*, brought in a Bill for the English Service, and concerning the Ministers of the Church. On the 21st. a Bill was read for annexing the Supremacy to the Crown again; and on the 17th. of *March* another Bill was brought in, confirming the Laws made about Religion in King *Edwards* time. And on the 21st. another was brought in, That the Queen should have the Nomination of the Bishops, as it had been in King *Edwards* time. The Bill for the Supremacy was past by the Lords on the 18th. of *March*; the Archbishop of *York*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Viscount *Mountacute*, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Worcester*, *Landaffe*, *Coventry*, *Exeter*, *Chester*, and *Carlisle*, and the Abbot of *Westminster*, dissenting. But afterwards the Commons annexed many other Bills to it, as that about the Queens making Bishops, not according to the Act made in King *Edwards* time, but by the old way Elections, as it was Enacted in the 25th. Year of her Fathers Reign,

The Acts that were passed concerning Religion,

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with several Provisoos; which passed in the House of Lords with the same dissent. By it, "all the Acts past in the Reign of King Henry, for the abolishing of the Popes Power, are again revived; and the Acts in Queen *Maries* time, to the contrary, are repealed. There was also a Repeal of the Act made by her for proceeding against Hereticks. They revived the Act made in the first Parliament of King *Edward*, against those that spoke irreverently of the Sacrament, and against private Masses, and for Communion in both kinds: And declared the Authority of Visiting, Correcting, and Reforming all things in the Church, to be for ever annexed to the Crown, which the Queen and her Successors might by her Letters Patents depute to any Persons to exercise in her Name. All Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Persons, and all in any Civil Employment, were required to swear that they acknowledged the Queen to be the *Supream Governour in all Causes as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal within her Dominions*; that they renounced all Forreign Power and Jurisdiction; and should bear the Queen Faith and true Allegiance: Whosoever should refuse to swear it, was to forfeit any Office he had either in Church or State; and to be from thenceforth disabled to hold any Employment during Life. And if within a Month after the end of that Session of Parliament, any should, either by discourse or in writing, set forth the Authority of any Forreign Power, or do any thing for the advancement of it, they were to forfeit all their Goods and Chattels: and if they had not Goods to the value of twenty Pounds, they were to be Imprisoned a whole year; and for the second offence they were to incur the Pains of a *Premunire*: and the third offence in that kind was made Treason. To this a Proviso was added, That such Persons as should be Commissioned by the Queen to Reform and Order Ecclesiastical Matters, should judge nothing to be Heresie but what had been already so judged, by the Authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the first four General Councils, or by any other General Council in which such Doctrines were declared to be Heresies by the expresse and plain Words of Scripture: All other Points, not so decided, were to be judged by the Parliament with the assent of the Clergy in their Convocation.

This Act was in many things short of the Authority that King *Henry* had claimed, and the severity of the Laws he had made. The Title of *Supream Head* was left out of the Oath: This was done to mitigate the Opposition of the Popish Party; but besides, the Queen her self had a scruple about it, which was put in her Head by one *Lever*, a famous Preacher among those of the Reformation, of which *Sands*, afterwards Bishop of *Worcester*, complained to *Parker* in a Letter that is in the *Collection*. There was no other punishment inflicted on those that denied the Queens Supremacy, but the loss of their Goods; and such as refused to take the Oath, did only lose their Employments; whereas to refuse the Oath in King *Henry's* time brought them into a *Premunire*, and to deny the Supremacy Treason. But against this Bill the Bishops made Speeches in House of Lords. I have seen a Speech of this kind was said

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The Bishops
oppose the
Queens su-
premacie.

hate

have been made by Arch bishop *Heath*; but it must be forgery put out in his Name: for he is made to speak of the Supremacy as a new and unheard of thing, which he, who had sworn it so oft in King *Henry's* and King *Edwards* times, could not have the face to say. The rest of the Bishops opposed it, the rather, because they had lately declared so high for the Pope that it had been very indecent for them to have revolted so soon. The Bishop of *Durresme* came not to this Parliament. There were some hopes of gaining him to concur in the Reformation: for in the Warrant the Queen afterwards gave to some for Consecrating the new Bishops, he is first named; and I have seen a Letter of Secretary *Cecils* to *Parker*, that gives him some hope that *Tonstal* would joyn with them. He had been offended with the Cruelties of the late Reign; and though the resentments he had of his ill usage in the end of King *Edwards* time, had made him at first concur more heartily to the restoring of *Impery*, yet he soon fell off, and declared his dislike of those violent Courses; and neither did he, nor *Heath*, bring any trouble within their Diocesses upon the account of Religion; though it is hardly credible that there was no occasion for their being severe, if they had been otherwise inclined to it. The Bishop of *Ely* was also absent at the passing of this Act; for though he would not consent to it, yet he had done all that was prescribed by it so often before, that it seems he thought it more decent to be absent, than either to consent to it, or to oppose it.

The Power that was added for the Queens Commissionating some to Execute her Supremacy, gave the Rise to that Court, which was commonly called the *High Commission Court*; and was to be in the room of a single Person, to whom, with the Title of Lord Vice-gerent, King *Henry* did delegate his Authority. It seems, the Clergy-men with whom the Queen consulted at this time thought this too much to be put in one Mans Hand, and therefore resolved to have it shared to more Persons, of whom a great many would certainly be Church-men: so that they should not be altogether kept under by the hard Hands of the Laity, who having groaned long under the Tyranny of an Ecclesiastical Yoke, seemed now disposed to revenge themselves by bringing the Clergy as much under them; for so Extreams do commonly rise from one another.

The Popish Clergy were now every where beginning to declaim against Innovation and Heresie. *Harfsfield* had in a Sermon at *Cathedral* in *February*, stirred the People much to Sedition: and the Members belonging to that Cathedral had openly said, that Religion should not, nor could not be altered. The Council also heard that the Prebendaries there had bought up many Arms: so a Letter was written to Sir *Thomas Smith*, to examine that matter. *Harfsfield* was not put in Prison, but received only a Rebuke. There came also complaints from many other Places of many Seditious Sermons: So the Queen, following the Precedent her Sister had set her, did, in the beginning of *March*, suspend all Preaching, except by such as had a Licence under the Great Seal. But lest the Clergy might now in the Convocation set out Orders in Opposition to what the Queen was about to do; she sent, and required them, under the Pains of a *Præmunire*, to make no Canons. Yet

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Harpsfield, that was Prolocutor, with the rest of the lower House, made an Address to the upper House, to be by them presented to the Queen for the discharge of their Consciences. They reduced the Particulars into five Articles. 1. That Christ was corporally present in the Sacrament. 2. That there was no other Substance there but his Body and Blood. 3. That in the Mass there was a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Dead and the Living. 4. That St. Peter and his lawful Successors had the Power of feeding and governing the Church. 5. That the Power of treating about Doctrine, the Sacraments, and the Order of Divine Worship, belonged only to the Pastors of the Church. These they had sent to the two Universities, from whence they were returned, with the Hands of the greatest part in them to the first four; but it seems they thought it not fit to sign the last: For now the Queen had resolved to have a publick Conference about Religion in the Abbey-Church of *Westminster*.

The Arch-bishop of *York* was continued still to be of the Council; so the Conference being proposed to him, he, after he had Communicated it to his Brethren, accepted of it, though with some unwillingness. It was appointed that there should be nine of a side, who should confer about these three Points. 1. *Whether it was not against the Word of God, and the Custom of the Ancient Church, to use a Tongue unknown to the People, in the Common-Prayers and the administration of the Sacraments?* 2. *Whether every Church had not Authority to appoint, change, and take away, Ceremonies, and Ecclesiastical Rites, so the same were done to edification.* 3. *Whether it could be proved by the Word of God, that in the Mass there was a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Dead, and the Living?* All was ordered to be done in Writing. The Bishops, as being actually in Office, were to read their Papers first upon the first point, and the Reformed were to read theirs next; and then they were to exchange their Papers, without any discourse concerning them, for the avoiding of jangling. The next day they were to read their Papers upon the second, and after that, upon the third Head: and then they were to answer one anothers Papers. The Nine on both sides were, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Litchfield*, *Chester*, *Carlisle*, and *Lincoln*, and Doctors *Cole*, *Harpsfield*, *Langdale*, and *Chedsey*, on the Popish side: and *Scory* late Bishop of *Chichester*, *Cox*, *Whitehead*, *Grindal*, *Horn*, *Sands*, *Guest*, *Almer*, and *Jewel*, for the Protestants. The last of *March* was appointed to be the first day of Conference, where the Privy Council was to be present, and the Lord Keeper was to see that they should not depart from the Rules to which they had agreed.

The noise of this drew vast numbers of People to so unusual a sight: it being expected that there should be much fairer dealings now, than had been in the Disputes in *Queen Maries* time. The whole House of Commons came to hear it, as no doubt the Lords did also, though it is not marked in their Journal. At their meeting, the Bishop of *Winchester* said their Paper was not quite ready, and pretended they had mistaken the Order: But Dr. *Cole* should deliver what they had prepared, though it was not yet in that order that they could copy it out. The Secret of this was, the Bishops had in their private Consultations agreed to read their Paper, but not to give those they called Hereticks a Copy.

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Copy of it: They could not decently refuse to give a publick account of their Doctrine, but they were resolved not to enter into Disputes with any about it: This seemed to be the giving up of the Faith, if they should suffer it again to be brought into question: Besides, they look'd on it as the highest Act of Supremacy, for the Queen to appoint such Conferences: for she and her Council would pretend to judge in these Points, when they had done disputing. For these Reasons they would not engage to make any Exchange of Papers. The Lord Keeper took notice that this was contrary to the Order laid down at the Council Board, to which the Arch-bishop of York had in their Names consented. But they pretending they had mistaken the Order, Cole was appointed to deliver their Minds, which he did in a long Discourse, the greatest part of which he read out of a Book, that will be found in the *Collection*. For though they refused to deliver a Copy of it, yet Parker some way procured it, among whose Papers I found it. The Substance of it was, "That although it might seem that the Scriptures had appointed the Worship of God to be in a known Tongue; yet that might be changed by the Authority of the Church, which had changed the Sabbath, appointed in the Scripture, without any Authority from thence. Christ washed his Disciples Feet, and bid them do the like, yet this was not kept up: Christ instituted the Sacrament of his Body and Blood after Supper; and yet the Church appointed it to be received fasting: so had the Church also given it only in one kind, though Christ himself gave it in both: And whereas the Apostles, by Authority from the Holy Ghost, commanded all Believers to abstain from Blood, yet that was not thought to oblige any now: and though there was a community of Goods in the Apostles times, it was no obligation to Christians to set up that now: so that this matter was in the power of the Church. And since the Church of Rome had appointed the *Latin Service* to be every where used, it was Schismatical to separate from it: for according to *Ireneus*, all Churches ought to agree with her, by reason of her great Preeminence. Upon which they run out largely to shew the mischiefs of Schism, both in France, Spain, Germany, and in other Countries. And for the Britains and Saxons of England, their first Apostles, that converted them to Christianity, were Men of other Nations, and did never use any Service but that of their Native Language. All the Vulgar Tongues did change much, but the *Latin* was ever the same: and it was not fit for the Church to be changing her Service. The Queen of Ethiopia's Eunuch read *Isaiah's* Book, though he understood it not; upon which, God sent *Philip* to him to expound it: So the People are to come to their Teachers, to have those things explained to them which they cannot understand of themselves. There were many Rites in the Jewish Religion, the signification whereof the People understood as little then, as the Vulgar do now: *Latin* now; and yet they were commanded to use them. The People were to use their private Prayers in what Tongue they pleased, though the publick Prayers were put up in *Latin*; and such Prayers may be for their profit, though they understand them not, as absent Persons are the better for the Prayers which they do not hear, much

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Argument
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"less

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“less understand. They said, it was not to be thought that the Holy Ghost had so long forsaken his Church, and that a few lately risen up were to teach all the World. They concluded, that they could bring many more Authorities; but they, being to defend a Negative, thought it needless, and would refer these to the Answers they were to make.

Arguments
against it.

When this was done, the Lord Keeper turned to those of the other side, and desired them to read their Paper. *Horn* was appointed by them to do it. He began with a short Prayer to God to enlighten their minds, and with a Protestation that they were resolved to follow the Truth according to the Word of God. Then he read his Paper, which will be also found in the *Collection*. “They founded their Assertion on St. Pauls words, who, in the 14th. Chapter of his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, had treated on that Subject of set purpose; and spake in it, not only of Preaching, but of Praying with the Understanding; and said, that the Unlearned were to say *Amen* at the giving of Thanks. From that Chapter they argued, that St. Paul commanded that all things should be done to Edification, which could not be by an unknown Language: He also charged them that nothing should be said that had an uncertain sound; and that, as the sound of a Trumpet must be distinct, so the People must understand what is said, that so they might say *Amen* at the giving of Thanks. He also required those that spake in a strange Language, and could not get one to interpret, to hold their peace; since it was an absurd thing for one to be a Barbarian to others in the Worship of God: and though the speaking with strange Tongues was then an extraordinary Gift of God, yet he ordered that it should not be used where there was no Interpreter. They added, that these things were so strictly commanded by St. Paul, that it is plain they are not indifferent, or within the Power of the Church. In the Old Testament, the *Jews* had their Worship in the Vulgar Tongue, and yet the new Dispensation being more Internal and Spiritual, it was absurd that the Worship of God should be less understood by Christians, than it had been by the *Jews*. The chief end of Worship is according to *David*, that we may shew forth Gods Praises, which cannot be done, if it is in a strange Tongue. Prayer is the offering up of our desires to God, which we cannot do, if we understand not the Language they are in. *Baptisme* and the *Lords Supper* are to contain Declarations of the Death and Resurrection of Christ, which must be understood, otherwise why are they made? The use of Speech is to make known what one brings forth to another. The most Barbarous Nations perform their Worship in a known Tongue, which shews it to be a Law of Nature. It is plain from *Justin Martyrs* Apology, that the Worship was then in a known Tongue; which appears also from all the Ancient Liturgies: and a long Citation was brought out of St. *Basil*, for the singing of Psalms, duly weighing the Words with much attention and devotion; which, he says, was practised in all Nations. They concluded, wondering how such an abuse could at first creep in, and be still so stiffly maintained; and why those who would be thought the Guides and Pastors of the Church, were so unwilling to return to the Rule of St. Paul, and the Practice of the Primitive Times.

There

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There was a great shout of Applause, when they had done. They gave their Paper, signed with all their Hands, to the Lord Keeper, to be delivered to the other side, as he should think fit. But he kept it till the other side should bring him theirs. The Papists, upon this, said, they had more to add on that Head, which was thought disingenuous by those that had heard them profess they had nothing to add to what *Cole* had said. Thus the Meeting broke up for that day, being *Saturday*; and they were ordered to go forward on *Monday*, and to prepare what they were to deliver on the other two Heads. The Papists, though they could complain of nothing that was done, except the applause given to the Paper of the Reformers; yet they saw by that, how much more acceptable the other Doctrine was to the People; and therefore resolved to go no further in that matter. At the next meeting, they desired that their Answer to the Paper read by the Reformed might be first heard: To this the Lord Keeper said, That they had delivered their mind the former day, and so were not to be heard till they had gone through the other Points; and then they were to return on both sides to the answering of Papers. They said that what *Cole* had delivered the former day, was *Extempore*, and of himself; but it had not been agreed on by them. This appeared to all the Assembly to be very foul dealing; so they were required to go on to the second Point. Then they pressed that the other side might begin with their Paper, and they would follow: for they saw what an advantage the others had the former day, by being heard last. The Lord Keeper said, the Order was that they should be heard first, as being Bishops now in Office. But both *Winchester*, and *Lincoln*, refused to go any further, if the other side did not begin. Upon which there followed a long debate; *Lincoln* saying that the first Order, which was, that all should be in *Latin*, was changed; and that they had prepared a Writing in *Latin*: But in this, not only the Counsellors, among whom sat the Arch-bishop of *York*, but the rest of his own Party contradicted him. In conclusion, all, except *Fecknam*, refused to read any more Papers: he said, he was willing to have done it, but he could not undertake such a thing alone; and so the Meeting broke up.

But the Bishops of *Winchester*, and of *Lincoln*, said, the Doctrine of the Catholick Church was already established, and ought not to be disputed; except it were in a Synod of Divines: that it was too great an encouragement to Hereticks, to hear them thus discourse against the Faith, before the unlearned Multitude: and that the Queen by so doing had incurred the Sentence of Excommunication; and they talked of excommunicating her and her Council. Upon this they were both sent to the *Tower*. The Reformed took great advantage from the Issue of this Debate, to say, their Adversaries knew that upon a fair hearing the Truth was so manifestly on their side, that they durst not put it to such hazard. The whole World saw that this Disputation was managed with great Impartiality, and without noise or disorder; far different from what had been in Queen *Maries* time: so they were generally much confirmed in their former belief, by the Papists flying the Field. They on the other hand said, they saw the rude Multitude were now carried with a Fury against them; the Lord Keeper was their professed Enemy;

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The Conference between the Papists and Protestants breaks up.

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the Laity would take on them to judge, after they had heard them; and they perceived they were already determined in their minds; and that this Dispute was only to set off the changes that were to be made with the Pomp of a Victory: and they blamed the Bishops for undertaking it at first, but excused them for breaking it off in time. And the Truth is, the strength of their Cause, in most Points of Controversie, resting on the Authority of the Church of *Rome*, that was now a thing of so odious a sound, that all Arguments brought from thence, were not like to have any great effect. Upon this whole matter, there was an act of State made, and Signed by many Privy Counsellors, giving an account of all the steps that were made in it, which will be found in the *Collection*.

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This being over, the Parliament was now in a better disposition to pass the Bill for the Uniformity of the Service of the Church. Some of the Reformed Divines were appointed to review King *Edwards* Liturgy, and to see if in any Particular it was fit to change it. The only considerable Variation was made about the Lords Supper, of which somewhat will appear from the Letter of *Sandys* to *Parker*. It was proposed to have the Communion Book so contrived, that it might not exclude the belief of the Corporal Presence: for the chief design of the Queens Council was, to unite the Nation in one Faith; and the greatest part of the Nation continued to believe such a Presence. Therefore it was recommended to the Divines to see that there should be no express definition made against it; that so it might lie as a Speculative Opinion, not determined, in which every Man was left to the Freedom of his own Mind. Hereupon the Rubrick that explained the Reason for kneeling at the Sacrament, *That thereby no Adoration is intended to any Corporal Presence of Christs natural Flesh and Blood, because, that is only in Heaven*, which had been in King *Edwards* Liturgy, was now left out. And whereas at the delivery of the Elements in King *Edwards* first Liturgy, there was to be said, *The Body or Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ Preserve thy Body and Soul to Everlasting Life*; which words had been left out in his second Liturgy, as favouring the Corporal Presence too much; and in stead of them, these words were ordered to be used in the distribution of that Sacrament, *Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy Heart by Faith with Thanksgiving; and Drink this in remembrance that Christs Blood was shed for thee, and be thankful*. They now joyned both these in one. Some of the Collects were also a little altered: and thus was the Book presented to the House. But for the Book of Ordination, it was not in express terms named in the Act; which gave an occasion afterwards to question the lawfulness of the Ordinations made by that Book. But by this Act the Book that was set out by King *Edward*, and confirmed by Parliament in the fifth Year of his Reign, was again authorized by Law; and the Repeal of it in Queen *Maries* time was made void. So the Book of Ordinations being in that Act added to the Book of Common Prayer, it was now legally in force again; as was afterwards declared in Parliament, upon a Question that was raised about it by *Bonner*.

1559.

Debates about the Act of Uniformity.

The Bill that was put in on the 15th. of February, concerning the new Service, being laid aside, a new one was framed, and sent up by the Commons on the 18th. of April, and debated in the House of Lords: *Henth* made a long Speech against it, rather Elegant than Learned; "He enlarged much on the several Changes which had been made in "King *Edward's* time: he said, that both *Cranmer* and *Ridley* changed "their Opinions in the matter of Christ's presence: he called *Ridley* "the most notable learned Man that was of that way. These Changes "he imputed to their departing from the Standard of the Catholick "Church: he complained much of the robbing of Churches, the breaking "of Images, and the Stage-Plays made in mockery of the Catholick Re- "ligion. Upon all these Reasons he was against the Bill. The Bishop of *Chester* spake also to it: "He said, the Bill was against both Faith and Cha- "rity: that Points once defined were not to be brought again into que- "stions; nor were Acts of Parliament Foundations for a Churches Be- "lief: he enlarged on the Antiquity of their Forms; and said, it was "an insolent thing to pretend that our Fathers had lived in Ignorance. "The Prophets oftentimes directed the *Israelites* to ask of their Fathers. "Matters of Religion could not be understood by the Laity. It was "of great consequence to have their Faith well grounded. *Jeroboam* "made *Israel* to sin, when he set up a new way of Worship: and not "only the Orthodox, but even the *Arrian* Emperors ordered, that "points of Faith should be examined in Councils. *Gallio* by the light of "Nature knew that a Civil Judge ought not to meddle with matters of "Religion: In the Service-Book that was then before them, they "had no Sacrifice for their Sins, nor were they to adore Christ in "the Host; and for these reasons he could not agree to it: but if any "thought he spoke this because of his own concern, or pittied him for "what he might suffer by it, he would say in the words of our Saviour "Weep not for me, Weep for your selves.

After him spake *Flecknam* Abbot of *Westminster*; "He proposed three "Rules by which they should judge of Religion; its Antiquity, its "constancy to it self, and the influence it had on the Civil Government: "he said the old Religion began in the time of King *Lucius*, according "to *Gildas*; the Book now proposed, was not used before the two last "years of King *Edward*: the one was always the same, the other was "changed every second year, as appeared in the point of the Presence "of Christ in the Sacrament: there had been great Order and Obe- "dience in Queen *Maries* Reign; but now every where great Insolences were committed by the People, with some very indecent Prophanations of the most holy things: he recommended to them, in "St. *Austins* words, the adhering to the Catholick Church: the very "name *Catholick*, which Hereticks had not the confidence to assume, "shewed their Authority. The Consent of the whole Church in all "Ages, with the perpetual Succession of Pastors in St. *Peter's* Chair, "ought to weigh more with them, than a few new Preachers, who had "distracted both *Germany* and *England* of late.

Thus I have given the substance of their Speeches, being all that I have seen of that side. I have seen none at all on the other side; tho it is not probable but some were made in defence of the Service, as well as these were against it. But upon this Occasion I shall set down the

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Arguments for
the Changes
made in the
Service.

substance of the second Paper, which the Reformed Divines had prepared on the second point, for the Conference about the Authority of every particular Church to change or take away Ceremonies. I do not put it in the Collection, because I have not that which the Papists prepared in Opposition to it. But the heads of this Paper were as followeth.

“ It is clear by the Epistles which *St. Paul* writ to the *Corinthians* and other Churches, that every Church has Power in it self to order the Forms of their Worship, and the administration of the Sacraments, among them, so as might best tend to Order, Edification and Peace. The like power had also the seven Angels of the Churches, to whom *St. John* writ. And for the first three Ages, there was no General Meeting of the Church in Synods, but in those times the neighbouring Pastors and Bishops, by mutual advice rather than Authority, ordered their Affairs: and when Heresies sprung up, they condemned them, without staying for a General Determination of the whole Church. There were also great differences among them in their Customs, as about observing *Lent* and *Easter*. Ceremonies grew too soon to a great number. When Errors or Abuses appeared, private Bishops reformed their own Diocesses: So those who came in the room of *Arrian* Bishops, even when that Heresie was spread over all the East, and the See of *Rome* it self was defiled with it, yet reformed their own Churches. *Ambrose* finding the custom of Feasting in Churches on the Anniversaries of the Martyrs gave occasion to great Scandals, took it away. Even in *Queen Maries* time, many of the old Superstitions of Pilgrimages and Reliques, which had been abolish’d in *King Henry’s* time, were not then taken up again: from which they argued, that if some things might be altered, why not more? So that if there was good reason to make any Changes, it could not be doubted but that as *Hzekiah* and *Josiah* had made by their own power, so the Queen might make Reformations; which were not so much the setting up of new things, as the restoring of the state of Religion to what it was anciently; which had been brought in by consent of Parliament and Convocation in *King Edward’s* time. The Rules they offer’d in this Paper about Ceremonies, were, that they should not be made necessary parts of Worship; that they should not be too many, nor dumb and vain, nor should be kept up for gain and advantage.

These were the Arguments used on both sides: But the Reformed being superior in number, the Bill passed in the House of Lords; the Archbishop of *York*, the Marquess of *Winchester*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Viscount *Mountacute*, the Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, *Ely*, *Coventry*, *Chester*, and *Carlisle*; and the Lords *Morley*, *Stafford*, *Dudley*, *Wharton*, *Rich*, and *North*, and the Abbot of *Westminster* dissenting. By this Act the new Book was to take place by *St. John Baptist’s* day.

Another Act passed, that the Queen might reserve to her self the Lands belonging to Bishopricks, as they fell void, giving the full value of them in Impropriated Tithes in lieu of them. To this the Bishops dissented on the 7th. of *April*, when it passed in the House of Lords. But when this came to the Commons, there was great opposition made to it. Many had observed, that in *Edward* the 6th’s time, under a pretence of giving some Endowments to the Crown, the Courtiers got all the Church Lands divided amongst themselves; so it was believed the use

to.

to be made of this, would be the robbing of the Church, without enriching the Crown. After many days Debate, on the 17th. of April, the House divided, and 90 were against it, but 133 were for it, and so it passed.

1559.

On the 5th. of May, another Bill passed with the like opposition. It was for annexing of all Religious Houses to the Crown. After that there followed some private Acts for declaring the deprivation of the Popish Bishops in King *Edward's* Time to have been good. When they were restored by Queen *Mary*, the Sentences passed against them, were declared to have been void from the beginning; and so all Leases that were made by *Ridley*, *Poinet*, and *Hooper*, and the Patents granted by the King, of some of their Lands, were annulled. It was particularly remembered in the House of Commons, that *Ridley* had made the confirming of these Leases his last desire, when he was going to be tied to the Stake. The ground on which the Sentences were declared void, was, because the Parties had appealed, though in the Commission, by vertue of which the Delegates deprived them, they were impowered to proceed notwithstanding any Appeal. To this, not only the Bishops, but the Marquess of *Winchester*, and the Lords, *Stafford*, *Dudley*, and *North*, dissented.

It shews the great Moderation of this Government, that this Marquess, notwithstanding his adhering to the Popish Interest in the House of Lords, was still continued Lord Treasurer; which employment he held fourteen Years after this, and died in the 97th. Year of his Age, leaving 103 issued from his own Body behind him. He was the greatest instance of good Fortune and Dexterity, that we find in the English History; who continued Lord Treasurer in three such different Reigns, as King *Edward's*, Queen *Mary's*, and Queen *Elizabeth's* were.

There were a Subsidy, and two Tenths, and two Fifteenths given by the Parliament, with the Tonnage and Poundage, for the Queen's Life; and so on the 8th. of May it was dissolved.

There was three Bills that did not pass in the House of Commons, but upon what account they were laid aside, it does not appear. The one was for the Restoring of the Bishops that had been deprived by Queen *Mary*. There were but three of these alive, *Barlow*, *Scory*, and *Coverdale*; the first of these had resigned, and the last, being old, had no mind to return to his Bishoprick: So perhaps it was not thought worth the while to make an Act for one Man's sake, especially since there were so many vacant Bishopricks in the Queen's hands, and more were like to fall. The other Bill was, for the restoring of all Persons that were deprived from their Benefices because they were married. This the Queen ordered to be laid aside; of which *Sands* complained much in his Letter to *Parker*: But yet the Queen took no notice of the Laws formerly made against their Marriage; and promoted many married Priests, particularly *Parker* himself. There was no Law now in force against Clergy-mens marrying; for Queen *Mary* had only repealed the Laws of *Edward* the 6th. which allowed it, but had made none concerning that Matter: So there was nothing but the Canon Law against it; and that was resolved to be condemned, by continuing that Article of Religion concerning the lawfulness of their Marriage, among those that should be set out. The next Bill, that came to nothing, was a new Act for giving Authority to 32 Persons, to revise the Ecclesiastical Laws,

Bills that were proposed, but not passed.

1559.

The Bishops
refuse the Oath
of Supremacy.

Vita Parkeri.

and digest them into a Body ; it was laid aside at the second Reading in the House of Commons, and has slept ever since.

When the Parliament was over, the Oath of Supremacy was soon after put to the Bishops and Clergy. They thought, if they could stick close to one another in refusing it, the Queen would be forced to dispence with them, and would not at one stroke turn out all the Bishops in England. It does not appear how soon after the Dissolution of the Parliament, the Oath was put to them ; but it was not long after, for the last Collation *Bonner* gave of any Benefice, was on the 6th. of May this Year. The Oath being offered to *Heath*, Archbishop of York, to *Bonner* of London, *Thirleby* of Ely, *Bourn* of Bath and Wells, *Christopher* of Chichester, *Bain* of Litchfield, *White* of Winchester, and *Watson* of Lincoln, *Oglethorpe* of Carlisle, *Turberville* of Exeter, *Pool* of Peterburgh, *Scot* of Chester, *Pates* of Worcester, and *Goldwell* of St. Asaph, they did all refuse to take it : So that only *Kitchin* Bishop of Landaff took it. There was some hope of *Tonstall* ; so it was not put to him till September, but he being very old, chose to go out with so much Company, more for the decency of the thing, than out of any scruple he could have about the Supremacy for which he had formerly writ so much. They were upon their refusal put in Prison for a little while ; but they had all their Liberty soon after, except *Bonner*, *White*, and *Watson*. There were great Complaints made against *Bonner*, that he had, in many things, in the prosecution of those that were presented for Heresie, exceeded what the Law allowed ; so that it was much desired to have him made an Example. But as the Queen was of her own nature Merciful, so the Reformed Divines had learned in the Gospel, not to render Evil for Evil, nor to seek Revenge ; and as *Nazianzen* had of old exhorted the Orthodox, when they had got an Emperor that favoured them, not to retaliate on the *Arrians* for their former Cruelties : So they thought it was for the honour of their Religion, to give this real demonstration of the Conformity of their Doctrine, to the Rules of the Gospel, and of the Primitive Church, by avoiding all Cruelty and Severity, when it looked like Revenge.

The Queens
gentleness to
them.

All this might have been expected from such a Queen, and such Bishops. But it shewed a great temper in the whole Nation, that such a Man as *Bonner* had been, was suffered to go about in safety, and was not made a Sacrifice to the Revenge of those who had lost their near Friends by his means. Many things were brought against him, and *White*, and some other Bishops ; upon which the Queen promised to give a Charge to the Visitors, whom she was to send over England, to enquire into these things ; and after she had heard their Report, she said, she would proceed as she saw cause : by this means she did not deny justice, but gained a little time to take off the Edge that was on Mens Spirits, who had been much provoked by the ill usage they had met with from them.

Heath was a Man of a generous temper, and so was well used by the Queen, for as he was suffered to live securely at his own House in Surrey, so she went thither sometimes to visit him. *Tonstall* and *Thirleby* lived in Lambeth with *Parker*, with great freedom and ease ; the one was learned and good natured, the other was a Man of Business : but too easie and flexible. *White* and *Watson* were morose sullen Men ; to which their studies, as well as their Tempers, had disposed them ; for they were much

much given to Scholastical Divinity, which inclined Men to be Cinical, to over-value themselves, and despise others. *Christopherson* was a good Grecian, and had translated *Eusebius* and the other Church Historians into Latin, but with as little fidelity, as may be expected from a Man violently addicted to a Party. *Barn* was learned in the Hebrew, which he had professed at *Paris*, in the Reign of *Francis* the First. All these chose to live still in *England*: only *Pates*, *Scot*, and *Goldwell*, went beyond Sea. After them went the Lord *Moseley*, Sir *Francis Englefield*, Sir *Robert Peckham*, Sir *Thomas Shelley*, and Sir *John Gage*; who it seems, desired to live where they might have the free exercise of their Religion: And such was the Queens gentleness, that this was not denied them, tho such favour had not been shewed in Queen *Maries* Reign. *Richard* Abbot of *Westminster*, was a charitable and generous Man, and lived in great esteem in *England*. Most of the Monks returned to a Secular course of Life, but the Nuns went beyond Sea.

1559.

Now the Queen intended to send *Injunctions* over *England*, and in the end of *June* they were prepared. There was great difficulty made about one of them; the Queen seemed to think the use of Images in Churches, might be a means to stir up Devotion, and that at least it would draw all People to frequent them the more: for the great measure of her Councils was, to unite the whole Nation into one way of Religion. The Reformed Bishops and Divines opposed this vehemently: they put all their Reasons in a long Writing which they gave her concerning it; the Preface and Conclusion of which will be found in the *Collection*. They protested they could not comply with that, which, as it was against their own Consciences, so it would prove a Snare to the Ignorant: they had often pressed the Queen in that Matter; which, it seems, stuck long with her: They prayed her not to be offended with that Liberty they took, thus to lay their Reasons before her, it being a thing which Christian Princes had at all times taken well from their Bishops. They desired her to commit that Matter to the Decision of a Synod of Bishops and Divines, and not to do such a thing meerly upon some Political Considerations; which as it would offend many, so it would reflect much on the Reign of her most Godly Brother, and on those who had then removed all Images, and had given their Lives afterwards for a Testimony to the Truth.

A Visitation and Injunctions ordered by the Queen

Collection Number 5.

The Queen inclined to retain Images in Churches.

The substance of their Reason, (which for their length I have not put in the *Collection*) is, That the second Commandment forbids the making of any Images, as a resemblance of God. And *Dent.* 27. there was a Curse pronounced on those who made an Image, an abomination to the Lord, and put it in a secret place; which they expounded of some *Sacraria* in private Houses: and *Dent.* 4. among the Cautions *Moses* gives to the People of *Israel* to beware of Idolatry; this is one, that they do not make an Image, for the use of these does naturally degenerate into Idolatry: The Jews were so sensible of this after the Captivity, that they would die, rather than suffer an Image to be put in their Temple. The Book of *Wisdom* calls an Image, A Snare for the feet of the Ignorant. St. *John* charged those he writ to, to beware of Idols. So *Tertullian* said, It was not enough to beware of Idolatry towards them, but of the very Images themselves. And as *Moses* had charged the People not to lay a stumbling-block in the way of the Blind; so

Reasons brought against it.

1559.

it was a much greater sin to leave such a Trap for the weak Multitude. This was not for Edification, since it fed the Superstition of the Weak and Ignorant, who would continue in their former dotage upon them; and would alienate others from the Publick Worship; so that between those that would separate from them if they were continued; and the Multitude that would abuse them, the number of those that would use them aright, would be very inconsiderable: The outward Splendor of them would be apt to draw the minds of the Worshippers, if not to direct Idolatry, yet to staring and distraction of Thoughts. Both *Origen* and *Arnobius* tell us, That the Primitive Christians had no Images at all. *Irenæus* accused the *Gnosticks* for carrying about the Image of Christ. *St. Austin* commends *Varro*, for saying that the old *Romans* worshipped God more chastly, without the use of any Images. *Epiphanius* tore a Veil with an Image on it; and *Serenus* broke Images in *Gregory the Great's* Time. *Valens* and *Theodosius*, made a Law against the Painting or Graving of the Image of Christ: And the use of Images in the Eastern Churches, brought those distractions on that Empire, that laid it open to the Invasions of the Mahometans.

These reasons prevailed with the Queen, to put it into her Injunctions, to have all Images removed out of the Church.

The Injunctions given by King *Edward*, at his first coming to the Crown, were all renewed, with very little variation. To these some things were added, of which I shall give account.

The Heads of
the Injunctions.

It was now where declared, neither in the Scriptures, nor by the Primitive Church, that Priests might not have Wives; upon which, many in King *Edward's* Time had married. Yet great offence was given by the indecent Marriages that some of them then made. To prevent the like Scandals for the future, it was ordered, That no Priest or Deacon should marry without Allowance from the Bishop of the Diocese, and two Justices of the Peace, and the consent of the Womans Parents or Friends. All the Clergy were to use Habits, according to their Degrees in the Universities; the Queen declaring, that this was not done for any Holiness in them, but for Order and Decency. No Man might use any Charm, or consult with such as did. All were to resort to their own Parish Churches, except for an extraordinary Occasion. Inn-Keepers were to sell nothing in the Times of Divine Service. None were to keep Images, or other Monuments of Superstition, in their Houses. None might Preach, but such as were licensed by their Ordinary. In all Places, they were to examine the Causes, why any had been in the late Reign Imprisoned, Famished, or put to Death, upon the pretence of Religion; and all Registers were to be searched for it. In every Parish the Ordinary was to name three or four discreet Men, who were to see that all the Parishioners did duly resort on Sundays and Holy-days to Church; and those who did it not, and upon admonition did not amend, were to be denounced to the Ordinary. On Wednesdays and Fridays, the Common-Prayer and Litany was to be used in all Churches. All slanderous words, as *Papist*, *Heretick*, *Schismatick*, or *Sacramentary*, were to be forboren, under severe pains. No Books might be printed without a License from the Queen, the Arch-Bishop, the Bishop of London, the Chauncellor of the

the Universities, or the Bishop, or Arch-Deacon of the Place where it was printed. All were to kneel at the Prayers, and to shew a Reverence when the Name of *Jesus* was pronounced. Then followed an Explanation of the Oath of Supremacy, in which the Queen declared that she did not pretend to any Authority for the ministring of Divine Service in the Church, and that all that she challenged was that which had at all times belonged to the Imperial Crown of *England*; that she had the Sovereignty and Rule over all manner of Persons under God, so that no Forreign Power had any Rule over them; and if those who had formerly appeared to have Scruples about it, took it in that sence, she was well pleased to accept of it, and did acquit them of all Penalties in the Act. The next was about Altars and Communion-Tables; she ordered, that for preventing of Riots, no Altar should be taken down, but by the consent of the Curate and Church-Wardens; that a Communion-Table should be made for every Church, and that on Sacrament days it should be set in some convenient Place in the Chancel; and at other Times should be placed where the Altar had stood. The Sacramental Bread was ordered to be round and plain, without any Figure on it, but somewhat broader and thicker than the Cakes formerly prepared for the Mass. Then the form of bidding Prayer was prescribed, with some variation from that in King *Edward's* Time; for whereas to the Thanksgiving for God's Blessings to the Church in the Saints departed this Life, a Prayer was added, *That they with us, and we with them, may have a glorious Resurrection*; now those words, *they with us*, as seeming to import a Prayer for the Dead, were left out.

For the Rule about Church-men Marrying, those who reflected on it, said, They complained not of the Law, but as *St. Jerom* did in the making a Law in his Time, they complained of those that had given occasion for it. Ministers wearing such Apparel as might distinguish them from the Laity, was certainly a means to keep them under great restraint, upon every indecency in their Behaviour, laying them open to the Censures of the People; which could not be, if they were habited so, as that they could not be distinguished from other Men: and humane nature being considered, it seems to be a kind of Temptation to many, when they do but think their disorders will pass unobserved. Bowing at the Name of *Jesus*, was thought a fit expression of their grateful acknowledging of our Saviour, and an owning of his Divinity: And as standing up at the Creed, or at the *Gloria Patri*, were solemn expressions of the Faith of Christians; So since *Jesus* is the Name by which Christ is expressed to be our Saviour, it seemed a decent piece of acknowledging our Faith in him, to shew a Reverence when that was pronounced; not as if there were a peculiar sanctity or vertue in it, but because it was his proper Name, *Christ* being but an Application added to it. By the Queen's care, to take away all words of Reproach, and to explain the Oath of Supremacy; not only clearing any ambiguity that might be in the words, but allowing Men leave to declare in wat sence they swore it, the moderation of her Government did much appear; in which, instead of inventing new Traps to catch the Weak, which had been practised in former Reigns, all possible care was taken to explain things so, that they might be as comprehensive to all Interests as was possible. They

1559.

Reflections
made on the
Injunctions.

reckoned,

1559.

reckoned, if that Age could have been on any terms separated from the Papacy, though with allowance for many other superstitious Customs, it would once unite them all; and in the next Age they would be educated, that none of those should any more remain. And indeed this Moderation had all the effect that was designed by it for many Years, in which the Papists came to Church, and to the Sacraments. But afterwards, it being proposed to the King of Spain, then ready to engage in a War with the Queen, upon the account of her supporting of the *United Provinces*, that he must first divide England at home, and procure from the Pope a Sentence against the Queen, and a condemnation of such Papists as went to the English Service; and that for the maintaining and educating of such Priests as should be his Tool to distract the Kingdom, he was to found Seminaries at *Doway*, *Louvain*, and *St. Omers*, from whence they might come over hither, and disorder the Affairs of England: The prosecution of these Counsels rais'd the Popish Party among us, which has ever since distracted this Nation, and has oftner than once put it into most threatenin; convulsive Motions, such as we feel at this day.

The first high
Commission.

Collection
Number 7.

After the Injunctions were thus prepared, the Queen gave out Commissions for those who should visit all the Churches of England, in which they lost no time, for the New Book of Service was by Law to take place on *St. John Baptist's* day; and these Commissions were signed that same day. One of those Commissions, which was for the Arch-Bishoprick and Province of *York*, is put into the Collection. It was granted to the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Derby*, and some others, among whom *Dr. Sands* is one.

The Preamble sets forth, 'That God having set the Queen over the Nation, she could not render an account of that Trust, without endeavouring to propagate the True Religion with the right way of worshipping God in all her Dominions; therefore she intending to have a General Visitation of her whole Kingdom, impowred them, or any two of them, to examine the true State of all the Churches in the Northern Parts; to suspend or deprive such Clergymen as were unworthy, and to put others into their Places, to proceed against such as were obstinate, by Imprisonment, Church Censure, or any other legal way. They were to reserve Pensions for such as would not continue in their Benefices, but quitted them by Resignation; and to examine the condition of all that were Imprisoned on the account of Religion, and to discharge them; and to restore all such to their Benefices, as had been unlawfully turned out in the late Times.

This was the first High Commission that was given out; that for the Province of *Canterbury* was, without doubt, of the same nature. The prudence of reserving Pensions for such Priests as were turned out, was much applauded; since thereby they were kept from extream want, which might have set them on to do mischief; and by the Pension which was granted them upon their good Behaviour, they were kept under some awe, which would not have been otherwise. That which was chiefly condemned in these Commissions, was, the Queen's giving the Visitors Authority to proceed by Ecclesiastical Censures, which seemed a great stretch of her Supremacy: but it was thought, that the Queen

Queen might do that, as well as the Lay-Chancellors did it in the Ecclesiastical Courts; so that one Abuse was the excuse for another.

These Visitors having made Report to the Queen of the Obedience given to the Laws and her Injunctions, it was found, that of 9400 Beneficed Men in *England*, there were no more but fourteen Bishops, six Abbots, twelve Deans, twelve Arch-Deacons, fifteen Heads of Colleges, fifty Prebendaries, and eighty Rectors of Parishes, that had left their Benefices upon the Account of Religion. So compliant were the Papists generally. And indeed the Bishops after this time had the same apprehension of the danger into which Religion was brought, by the jugglings of the greatest part of the Clergy, who retained their affections to the old Superstition, that those in King *Edward's* time had: So that if Queen *Elizabeth* had not lived so long as she did, till all that Generation was dead, and a new set of Men better educated and principled, were grown up and put in their rooms; and if a Prince of another Religion had succeeded before that time, they had probably turned about again to the old Superstitions as nimbly as they had done before in Queen *Mary's* days. That which supported the superstitious Party in King *Edward's* time most, was, that many great Bishops did secretly favour and encourage them: Therefore it was now resolved to look well to the filling of the vacant Sees.

It has been said before, that *Parker* was sent for to *London* by the Queens Order, and the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* was offered him: he was, upon that, cast into such a perplexity of mind, that he was out of measure grieved at it. As soon as he was returned home, he writ a Letter to the Lord-Keeper; which, with all the other Letters that passed in this matter, I have put into the *Collection*: "He professed he never had less joy of a Journey to *London*, and was never more glad to get from it, than upon his last being there. He said, It was necessary to fill that See with a Man that was neither Arrogant, Faint-hearted, nor Covetous; an Arrogant Man would perhaps divide from his Brethren in Doctrine, whereas the whole strength of the Church depended on their Unity; but if there should be Heart-burnings among them, and the private quarrels, that had been beyond Sea, should be brought home, the Peace of the Church would be lost, and the Success of all their Design would be blasted: and if a faint-hearted man were put in, it would raise the Spirits of all their Adversaries; A Covetous Man was good for nothing. He knew his own unfitness both of Body and Mind so well, that though he should be sorry to offend him, and Secretary *Cecil*, whom he honoured above all men in the World, and more sorry to displease the Queen; yet he must above all things avoid God's Indignation, and not enter into a Station into which he knew he could not carry himself so as to answer it either to God, or the World for his Administration. And if he must go to Prison for his obstinate untowardness, (with which it seems they had threatened him) he would suffer it rather with a quiet conscience, than accept of an Employment which they could not discharge. He said, he intended by God's Grace never to be of that Order, neither higher nor lower. He knew what he was capable of: he was poor, and not able to enter on such a station; he had a Rupture which made him that he could not stir much; therefore he desired some place in the University,

1559.

Parker's unwillingness to accept of the Archbishoprick of Canterbury.

Collection Number 8.

1559.

“ where he might wear out his Life tolerably. He knew he could not
 “ answer their Expectation, which made him so importunate not to be
 “ raised so high: He said, he had great apprehensions of Differences
 “ to fall out among themselves; which would be a pleasant diversion to
 “ those of the Church of Rome: he saw some men were men still, even
 “ after all their teaching in the School of Affliction. He protested he
 “ did not seek his own private gain or ease; he had but two or three
 “ years more of life before him, and did not intend to heap up for his
 “ Children. This he writ the first of *March*.

The business of the Parliament made this Motion to be laid aside, till
 that was dissolved; and then on the 17th. of *May* the Lord-Keeper wrote
 to him concerning it: He told him, that he saw by a Resolution taken
 that day in the Queens Presence, that it would be very hard for his
 Friends to get him delivered from that Charge. For his own part, if he
 knew a man to whom the Characters in his Letter did agree better than
 to himself, he should be for preferring of such a one; but knowing no
 such, he must be still for him. On the 19th. after that, the Lord Keeper
 and Secretary *Cecil*, signed a Letter in the Queens Name, requiring him
 to come up; and after that, they sent a second Command to him to
 come to Court, on the 28th. of the Month. He came up, but again
 excused himself. Yet at last, being so often pressed, he writ to the
 Queen her self, “ protesting that extream Necessity forced him to
 “ trouble her, both out of Conscience to God, and regard to her Ser-
 “ vice: he knew his great unworthiness for so high a Function; there-
 “ fore as on his Knees he humbly besought her to discharge him of that
 “ Office, which did require a Man of more Learning, Virtue, and
 “ Experience, then he perfectly knew was in himself. He lamented
 “ his being so meanly qualified, that he could not serve her in that
 “ high Station; but in any other inferiour Office he should be ready to
 “ discharge his Duty to her, in such a Place as was suitable to his infir-
 “ mity. But in the conclusion he submitted himself to her pleasure. In
 the end he was with great difficulty brought to accept of it. So on
 the 8th. day of *July* the *Conge d'Elire* was sent to *Canterbury*; and
 upon that, on the 22d. of *July* a Chapter was summoned to meet the
 first of *August*; where the Dean and Prebendaries meeting, they, ac-
 cording to a method often used in their Elections, did by a Compromise
 refer it to the Dean to name whom he pleased: and he naming Doctor
Parker, according to the Queens Letter, they all confirmed it, and pub-
 lished their Election, singing *Te Deum* upon it. On the 9th. of *Septem-*
ber the Great Seal was put to a Warrant for his Consecration, directed
 to the Bishops of *Duresme*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Peterborough*, *Landaffe*, and
 to *Barlow*, and *Scory* (stiled only Bishops, not being then elected to any
 Sees) requiring them to Consecrate him. From this it appears, that
 neither *Tonstal*, *Bourn*, nor *Pool* were at that time turned out: It seems
 there was some hope of gaining them to obey the Laws, and so to con-
 tinue in their Sees.

This matter was delay'd to the 6th. of *December*. Whether this flow'd
 from *Parker's* unwillingness to engage in so high a Station, or from any
 other secret Reason, I do not know. But then, the three Bishops last
 named refusing to do it, a new Warrant passed under the Great Seal, to
 the Bishop of *Landaff*, *Barlow* Bishop Elect of *Chichester*, *Scory* Bishop
 Elect



R. White sculp.

*Natus Nördovici
1504 August: 6.
Decan⁹ Lincoln.
sub Edvardo VI.*



*Consecr. Archiep.
Cantuariensis
1559: Dec. 17.
Obijt 1575. Maij 17.*

Elect of *Hereford*, *Coverdale* late Bishop of *Exeter*, *Hodgkins* Bishop Suffragan of *Bedford*, *John* Suffragan of *Thetford*, and *Bale* Bishop of *Osney*; that they, or any four of them, should Consecrate him. So by virtue of this, on the 9th. of *December*, *Barlow*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, and *Hodgkins* met at the Church of *St. Mary le Bow*; where, according to the Custom, the *Conge d'Elire*, with the Election, and the Royal Assent to it, were to be brought before them: and these being read, Witnesses were to be cited to prove the Election lawfully made; and all who would object to it were also cited. All these things being performed according to Law, and none coming to object against the Election, they confirmed it according to the usual manner. On the 17th. of *December* *Parker* was Consecrated in the Chappel at *Lambeth*, by *Barlow*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, and *Hodgkins*, according to the Book of Ordinations made in King *Edward's* time: Only the Ceremony of putting the Staff in his hands was left out of the Office, in this Reign. He being thus Consecrated himself, did afterwards Consecrate Bishops for the other Sees: namely, *Grindal* Bishop of *London*, *Cox*, that had been King *Edward's* Almoner, Bishop of *Ely*, *Horn* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Sandys* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Merick* Bishop of *Bangor*, *Young* Bishop of *S. Davids*, *Bul-lingham* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Jewel* Bishop of *Salisbury*, (the great Ornament of that Age for Learning and Piety) *Davis* Bishop of *St. Asaph*, *Guesst* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, *Berkley* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Bentham* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Alley* Bishop of *Exeter*, and *Par* Bishop of *Peterborough*. *Barlow* and *Scory* were put into the Sees of *Chicheſter*, and *Hereford*. And sometime after this, in *February* 1561. *Young* was translated from *St. Davids* to *York*; there being now no hopes of gaining *Heath* to continue in it; which it seems had been long endeavoured, for it was now two years that that See had been in vacancy. In like manner, after so long waiting to see if *Tonſtal* would conform, there being now no more hope of it, in *March* 1561. *Pilkington* was made Bishop of *Dureſme*. *Beſt* was afterwards made Bishop of *Carlisle*, and *Downham* Bishop of *Cheſter*.

I have given the more distinct Account of these Promotions, because of a most malicious Slander with which they were aspersed in after-times. It was not thought on for forty years after this. But then it was forged, and publish'd, and spread over the World, with great confidence, That *Parker* himself was not legally or truly Consecrated. The Author of it was said to be one *Neale*, that had been sometime one of *Bonner's* Chaplains. The Contrivance was, that the Bishop of *Landaff* being required by *Bonner* not to Consecrate *Parker*, or to give Orders in his Diocess, did thereupon refuse it: Upon that the Bishops Elect being met in *Cheapside* at the *Nags-head-Tavern*, *Neale*, that had watch'd them thither, peep'd in through an hole of the Door, and saw them in great disorder, finding the Bishop of *Landaff* was intractable. But (as the Tale goes on) *Scory* bids them all kneel, and he laid the Bible upon every one of their Heads or Shoulders, and said, *Take thou Authority to Preach the Word of God sincerely*, and so they rose up all Bishops. This Tale came so late into the World, that *Sanders*, and all the other Writers in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, had never heard of it: otherwise we may be sure they would not have concealed it. And if the thing had been true, or if *Neale* had but pretended that he had seen any such thing,

The Fable of
the Nags-head
confuted.

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there is no reason to think he would have suppressed it. But when it might be presumed that all those persons were dead that had been present at *Parker's Consecration*, then was the time to invent such a Story; for then, it might be hoped that none could contradict it. And who could tell but that some who had seen Bishops go from *Bow-Church* to dine at that Tavern with their Civilians, as some have done after their Confirmation, might imagine that then was the time of this *Nags-head-Consecration*. If it were boldly said, one or other might think he remembered it. But as it pleased God, there was one then living that remembered the contrary. The old Earl of *Nottingham*, who had been at the Consecration, declared it was at *Lambeth*, and described all the Circumstances of it, and satisfied all reasonable men that it was according to the Form of the Church of *England*. The Registers both of the See of *Canterbury*, and of the Records of the Crown, do all fully agree with his Relation. For as *Parker's Conge d' Elire*, with the Queens Assent to his Election, and the Warrant for his Consecration, are all under the Great Seal: So upon the Certificate made by those who Consecrated him, the Temporalities were restored by another Warrant also enrolled; which was to be shewed in the House of Lords when he took his Place there. Besides that the Consecrations of all the other Bishops made by him, shew that he alone was first Consecrated without any other. And above all other Testimonies, the Original Instrument of Archbishop *Parker's Consecration* lies still among his other Papers in the Library of *Corpus Christi Colledge at Cambridge*, which I saw and read. It is as manifestly an Original Writing, as any that I ever had in my hands: I have put it in the *Collection*, for the more full discovery of the Impudence of that Faction. But it served those ends for which it was designed. Weak people hearing it so positively told by their Priests, came to believe it; and I have myself met with many that seemed still to give some credit to it, after all that clear Confutation of it, made by the most Ingenious and Learned Bishop *Bramhall*, the late Primate of *Ireland*. Therefore I thought it necessary to be the larger in the Account of this Consecration; and the rather, because of the influence it hath into all the Ordinations that have been since that time derived down in this Church.

Some excepted against the Canonicalness of it, because it was not done by all the Bishops of the Province, and three of the Bishops had no Sees when they did it, and the fourth was only a Suffragan-Bishop. But to all this it was said, That after a Church had been over-run with Heresie, those Rules, which were to be observed in its more settled state, were always superseded; as appears particularly when the *Arrian Bishops* were turned out of some great Sees, for the Orthodox Bishops did then ordain others to succeed them, without judging themselves bound by the *Canons* in such Cases. And Bishops that had been rightly Consecrated, could certainly derive their own Character to others, whether they were actually in Sees or not. And a Suffragan-Bishop, being Consecrated in the same manner that other Bishops were, tho he had a limited Jurisdiction, yet was of the same Order with them. All these things were made out with a great deal of Learning by *Mason*, who upon the publishing of that Fiction, wrote in Vindication of the English Ministry.

Thus

Thus were the Sees filled, the Worship Reformed, and the Queens Injunctions sent over *England*. Three things remained yet to be done. The first was, to set out the Doctrine of the Church, as it had been done in King *Edward's* time. The second was, to Translate the Bible, and publish it with short notes. And the third was, To regulate the Ecclesiastical Courts. The Bishops therefore set about these. And for the first, though they could not, by publick Authority, set out the Articles of the Church till they met in a Convocation; yet they soon after prepared them. And for the present, they agreed on a short Profession of their Doctrine, which all Incumbents were obliged to read and publish to their People. This will be found in the *Collection*, copied from it, as it was then printed.

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Collection
Number 11.

In the Articles made in King *Edward's* Reign, which I have put in the *Collection*, the Reader will find on the Margent the differences between those and these marked. In the third Article, the explanation of Christ's descent to Hell was left out. In that about the Scriptures, they now added an enumeration of the Canonical and Apocryphal Books; declaring, that some Lessons were read out of the latter, for the Instruction of the People, but not for the confirmation of the Doctrine. About the Authority of the Church, they now added, That the Church had power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and had Authority in Controversies of Faith; but still subordinate to the Scripture.

In the Article about the Lords Supper, there is a great deal left out, for instead of that large refutation of the Corporal Presence, from the impossibility of a Bodies being in more places at once; from whence it follows, that since Christ's Body is in Heaven, the faithful ought not to believe or profess a Real or Corporal Presence of it in the Sacrament. In the new Articles, it is said, *That the Body of Christ is given and received after a Spiritual manner; and the means by which it is received, is Faith.* But in the Original Copy of these Articles, which I have seen subscribed by the hands of all that sat in either House of Convocation, there is a further addition made. The Articles were subscribed with that Precaution which was requisite in a matter of such consequence; for before the Subscriptions, there is set down the number of the Pages, and of the Lines in every Page of the Book, to which they set their hands.

M. SS. C. Cor.
Christ. Cant.

In that Article of the Eucharist, these words are added, *Christus in Cælum ascendens, corpori suo immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit: Humane enim nature veritatem, juxta scripturas perpetuo retinet, quam in uno & definito loco esse, & non in multa vel omnia simul loca diffundi, oportet: Quum igitur Christus in Cælum sublatus, ibi usque ad finem Seculi sit premansurus, atque inde, non aliunde, (ut loquitur Augustinus) venturus sit ad judicandum vivos & mortuos, non debet quisquam fidelium, Carnis ejus & Sanguinis realem & corporalem (ut loquuntur) presentiam in Eucharistia, vel credere vel profiteri.* In English thus: 'Christ, when he ascended into Heaven, made his Body Immortal, but took not from it the nature of a Body: For still it retains, according to the Scriptures, the verity of a humane Body; which must be always in one definite place, and cannot be spread into many, or all places at once. Since then Christ being carried up to Heaven, is to remain there to the end of the World, and is to come from thence, and from no place else,

An Explanation
of Christ's
Presence in
the Sacrament.

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‘ else, (as says St. *Anſin*) to judge the Quick and the Dead; None of the Faithful ought to believe or profess the real, or (as they call it) the corporal Presence of his Flesh and Blood in the Eucharist.

But 'tis suppressed.

But this in the Original is dasht over with *minium*; yet so, that it is still legible. The secret of it was this; The Queen and her Council studied, (as hath been already shewn) to unite all into the Communion of the Church: and it was alleadged, that such an express definition against a Real Presence, might drive from the Church many who were still of that Perswasion; and therefore it was thought to be enough to condemn Transubstantiation, and to say, that Christ was present after a Spiritual manner, and received by Faith; to say more, as it was judged superfluous, so it might occasion Division. Upon this, these words were, by common consent, left out: And in the next Convocation, the Articles were subscribed without them, of which I have also seen the Original.

This shews that the Doctrine of the Church, subscribed by the whole Convocation, was at that time contrary to the belief of a Real or Corporal Presence in the Sacrament; only it was not thought necessary or expedient to publish it. Though from this silence, which flowed not from their Opinion, but the Wisdom of that Time, in leaving a Liberty for different Speculations, as to the manner of the Presence; some have since inferred, that the chief Pastors of this Church, did then disapprove of the Definition made in King *Edward's* Time, and that they were for a Real Presence.

For the Translating of the Bible, it was divided into many Parcel. The *Pentateuch* was committed to *William Alley* Bishop of *Exeter*. The Books from that, to the second of *Samuel*, were given to *Richard Davis*, who was made Bishop of *St. Davids*, when *Young* was removed to *York*. All from *Samuel*, to the second Book of *Chronicles*, was assigned to *Edwin Sandys*, then Bishop of *Worcester*. From thence to the end of *Job*, to one whose Name is marked *A. P. C.* The Book of the *Psalms* was given to *Thomas Bentham*, Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*. The *Proverbs* to one who is marked *A. P.* The *Song of Solomon* to one marked *A. P. E.* All from thence to the *Lamentations of Jeremy*, was given to *Robert Horn* Bishop of *Winchester*. *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, to *Bentham*. From thence to *Malachi*, to *Grindal* Bishop of *London*. The *Apocrypha* to the Book of *Wisdom*, was given to *Barlow* Bishop of *Chichester*, and the rest of it, to *Parkhurst* Bishop of *Norwich*. The *Gospels*, *Acts*, and *Epistle to the Romans*, were given to *Richard Cox* Bishop of *Ely*. The *Epistles to the Corinthians*, to one marked *G. G.* I know not to whom the rest of the *New Testament* was assigned. All these Allotments I gather from the Bible it self, as it was afterwards set out by *Parker*. What Method they followed in this Work, I cannot discover; unless the Rules afterwards given in King *James* his Time, when the Translation was revived, were copied from what was now done: which Rules, for the curiosity of the thing, I shall put in the *Collection*, as I copied it from *B. Ravis's* Paper. They were given with that care that such a matter required. There were many Companies appointed for every parcel of the Scripture, and every one of a Company was to translate the whole Parcel: then they were to compare these together; and when any Company had finished their Part, they were

to

to communicate it to the other Companies. So it is like, that at this Time those several Bishops that had undertaken the Translation, did associate to themselves Companies, with whose assistance they perfected it afterwards; and when it was let out, at the end of every Section, the initial Letters of his Name, that had translated it, were printed, as *W. E. E. W.* for *Will. Exon*, and *Edwin Wigorn*; and so in the rest. In what Year this was first printed, I am not so well assured. For I have not seen the first Impression of it, but I believe it was in the Year 1561, or soon after it; for the Almanack prefixed for the Moveable Feasts, begins with that Year.

As for the Canons and Rules of the Church Government, they were not so soon prepared. There came out some in the Year 1571. and more in the Year 1597. and a far larger Collection of them in the first Year of King James's Reign. But this Matter has yet wanted its chief force; for Penitentiary Canons have not been set up, and the Government of the Church is not yet brought into the Hands of Church-men. So that in this Point the Reformation of the Church wants some part of its finishing, in the Government and Discipline of it.

Thus did Queen Elizabeth again recover the Reformation of Religion: and it might have been expected, that under such moderate and wise Councils, things should have been carried with that Temper, that this Church should have united in its endeavours to support it self, and become the Bulwark of the Reformation, and the Terror of Rome. But that Blessing was, by the sins of the Nation, the Passions of some, the Interests of others, and the Weakness of the greatest part, in a great measure denied us. The Heats that had been raised beyond Sea, were not quite forgotten; and as some Sparks had been kindled about Clergy-mens Habits in King Edward's Reign; so, though Hooper and Ridley had buried that Difference in their Ashes, it broke out again concerning the Vestments of the Inferior Clergy. Other things were also much contested, Some were for setting up Ecclesiastical Courts in every Parish, for the exercising of Discipline against scandalous Persons; others thought this might degenerate into Faction. These lesser Differences were craftily managed by some who intended to improve them so far, that they might have the Church-Lands divided among them, and they carried these Heats further in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, than one would imagine that considers the temper of that Government. But since that, still by many Degrees, and many Accidents in the Civil Government, they are now grown to that height; that, though considering the grounds on which they have been, and still are maintained, they appeared to be of no great force or moment: Yet if the Animosities and Heats that are raised by them, are well examined, there is scarce any probable hopes left of composing those Differences, unless our Lawyers do vigorously apply themselves to it.

The beginnings of the Divisions of this Church.

The Reformation in Scotland

Having given this Account of the Establishment of the Reformation in England under Queen Elizabeth: I have, in some sort discharged my self of the Design of my Engagement in this Work: but since the settlement of Religion in Scotland was made the same Year, I shall next give

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give some account of that ; which I do with the more assurance, having met with several important things relating to it in *Melville's Memoires*, that are in none of the printed Books. When the Treaty began for a Peace between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, the secret Reason of making it, was, to root out Heresie, so much was expressed in the Preamble to it, that to extirpate Heresie, to have a General Council called, and the Church fully Reformed, both from Errors and Abuses, those Princes had entred into a firm Peace.

The Cardinal of *Lorraine* writ to his Sister the Queen, Regent of *Scotland* ; that now, since they were making Peace, they were resolved to purge the World of Heresie. He also writ to the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews* to the same effect. The Queen Regent was much confounded at this. She was now forced to break her Faith with those who had served her Interests hitherto ; and to whom she had often promised, that they should not be troubled for their Consciences. The danger was also very great from their Combination, since the Queen of *England* would certainly assist them ; both because the Religion was the same in both Countries ; and because, by dividing that Kingdom, she would secure the North of *England* from the mischief *Scotland* could do it, if moved and set on to it by *France*. But the Bishops in *Scotland*, shutting their Eyes upon all Dangers, resolved by some signal Instance, to strike a Terror into the People.

The Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews*, having gathered a meeting of many Bishops, Abbots, and Divines, brought before them one *Walter Mill*, an old decrepit Priest, who had long given over saying Mass, and had preached in several places of the Country. They had in vain dealt with him to recant ; so now he was brought to his Trial. They objected Articles to him, about his asserting the lawfulness of Priests Marriages ; denying the seven Sacraments ; saying the Mass was Idolatry ; denying the Presence of Christs Flesh and Blood in the Sacrament ; and condemning the Office of Bishops ; speaking against Pilgrimages ; and teaching privately in Houses.

To these he answered beyond all their Expectation ; for he was so old and infirm, that they thought he could say nothing. He said, ' He esteemed Marriage a blessed Bond, and free for all men to enter into it ; and that it was much better for Priests to marry, than to vow Chastity and not keep it, as they generally did. He said, ~~He knew~~ no Sacraments, but Baptism and the Lords Supper ; the rest he left to them. He said, The Priests sole communicating was, as if a Lord should invite many to Dinner, and ring a Bell for them to come ; but when they came, should turn his back on them, and eat all himself. He said, That Christ was only spiritually in the Sacrament ; and that there was no other Sacrifice, but that which he offered on the Cross. He held, That they were Bishops indeed, who did the Work of a Bishop ; and not they who sought only their sensual Pleasures, and neither regarded the Word of God, nor their Flocks. He knew Pilgrimages had been much abused, and great Uncleanness was committed, under the colour of going to them ; but there was no ground for them in Scripture.

Upon these Answers he was required to recant ; but he said, he knew he was to die once, and what they intended to do with him, he wished

Mills Martyrdom.

wished they would do it soon. Upon this, he was declared an obstinate Heretick. But the Country was so alienated from them, that they could not find a Man to burn him; and he that had the Jurisdiction in that Regality, refused to execute the Sentence. Yet at last, one of the Arch-bishops Servants was gotten to undertake it; but in the whole Town, they could find none that would sell them a Cord to tie him to the Stake; so they were forced to put it off till the next day; and then, since none other could be had, the Arch-bishop sent the Cords of his own Pavilion for that use. When *Mill* was brought to the Stake, he said, he would not go up of his own accord, because he would not be accessory to his own Death; but if they would put their hand to him, they should see how chearfully he should do it. That being done, he went up, and said, *I will go in to the Altar of God.* He exhorted the People to be no more seduced by the Lyes of their Priests, but to depend upon Christ and his Mercy; for whose Doctrine, as many Martyrs had offered up their Lives, so he blessed God that had so honoured him to call him to give this Testimony, for whose Glory he most willingly offered up his Life. When the Fire was set to him, he called to the People to Pray for him, and continued to cry, *Lord have mercy on me,* till he could speak no more.

His Suffering was much resented by the Inhabitants of *St Andrews*, The Nation was much provoked by it. who raised a great heap of Stones in the place where he was burnt, for a Memorial of it; and though the Priests scattered them often, they renewed them still, till a Watch was set about it.

In all parts of *Scotland*, and especially in the Towns, and in the Families of the Nobility and Gentry, the Reformation had been received, and secretly professed. So they began now to consult what to do. They had many meetings in several places; and finding their Interest was great over the Kingdom, they entred into Confederacies to maintain the true Religion.

Before the Parliament met last Year, they had sent a Petition to the Queen Regent, 'That the Worship of God might be in the Vulgar Tongue, and the Communion might be given in both Kinds: That there should be great care taken in the Election of Ministers, that It might be according to the Custom of the Primitive Church; and that scandalous Ministers might be removed, and more worthy Men put in their places.

~~the~~ Queen Regent, to keep them in hopes till the Dolphin should be acknowledged *King of Scotland*, promised they should not be hindered to have Prayers in their own Tongue, so they would keep no publick Assemblies in *Edinburgh* and *Leith*.

In the Parliament, they proposed the abrogating of the Laws for Church-mens proceedings against Hereticks; and that none should be condemned of Heresie, but according to the Word of God; with some other Limitations of the Severities against them. But the Queen still gave them good hopes; only she said, she could not agree to those things, by reason of the opposition that would be made by the Spiritual Estate. But she suffered them to read a Protestation in Parliament, declaring their desires of a Reformation; and that if, upon the denial of it, Abuses were removed violently, they were not to be blamed, who had begun thus in a modest way to Petition for it.

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This Year it was become visible that she resolved to proceed to extremities. She ordered all the reformed Preachers to appear at *Stirling* the 10th. of May. When this was done, the Earl of *Glencarn* went to her in the Name of the rest, and asked her the reason of that way of proceeding. She answered him in passion, 'That mangre them and all that would take part with them, the Ministers should be banished Scotland, though they preached as soundly as St. Paul did. Upon this he remembred her of the Promises she had often made them: to which she answered, 'That the Promises of Princes should be no further strained than seem'd convenient to them to perform. *Glencarn* replied, if she would keep no Promises, they would acknowledge her no more, but renounce their Obedience to her.

A Revolt began at St. Johnstoun.

That very night she heard that in the Town of St. *Johnstoun*, the People had Sermons openly in their Churches. Upon that she ordered the Lord *Ruthven* to go and reduce that Town: He answered, he could not govern their Consciences: Upon which, she vowed she would make him and them both repent it. The Ministers were coming from all parts, accompanied with many Gentlemen, to appear on the Day to which they were cited. The Queen hearing that, sent word to them to go home, for she would not proceed in the Citation. Many of them upon that returned to their homes, but others went to St. *Johnstoun*: Yet upon their not appearing, she made them all be declared Rebels, contrary to her Promise: This made many leave her, and go over to them at St. *Johnstoun*. The People began there first to break Images; and then they fell into the Houses of the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans*, where they found much more Wealth than agreed with their pretended Poverty. They also pulled down a great House of the *Carthusians*, with so much haste, that within two days there was not one Stone left to shew where it had stood: but yet the Prior was suffered to carry away the Plate. All that was found in these Houses, besides what the Monks carried away, was given to the Poor. The Queen, hearing this, resolved to make that Town an Example, and sent over all the Kingdom to gather the French Souldiers together, with such others as would joyn with her in this Quarrel. But the Earl of *Glencarn* with incredible haste came to their assistance, with 2500 Men: And there were gathered in all, in and about the Town, 7000 Men. The Queen, seeing it now turned to an open Rebellion, employed the Earl of *Argile* and the Prior of St. *Andrews* to treat with them. An Oblivion for what was past was agreed on: The Queen was to come to St. *Johnstoun*, without her French-men: and the matters of Religion were to be referred to a Parliament. Upon this, she went thither; but carried French-men with her, and put a Garrison in the Town; and proceeded to the Fining of many, and the Banishing of others. Being pressed with her Promise, she said, 'The Promises of Princes ought not to be strictly urged, and those were not to be kept that were made to Hereticks; she declared that she would take it on her Conscience, to kill and undo all that Sect, and make the best excuse she could when it was done. Upon this, all the Nation forsook her: and in many other places they went on to cleanse the Churches, and pull down Monasteries.

When the News of this came to the Court of *France*, it was at first not rightly

rightly understood. The Queen Regent represented it, as if it had been a Design to shake off the French Power; and desired a great Force to reduce them. The King then saw too late, that the Constable had given him good Advice, in diswading the Match with *Scotland*, and fearing to be intangled in a long chargeable War, he resolved to send one thither to know the true occasion of these Stirs. So the Constable proposed to him the sending of *Melvil*, by whom he had understood, that the reason of all their disorders was the Queen's breaking her Word to them in the matters of Religion. He carried *Melvil* to the King, and in his presence gave him Instructions, to go to *Scotland*, and see what was the true cause of all these disorders; and particularly, how far the Prior of *St. Andrews*, (afterwards the Earl of *Murray*,) was engaged in them; and if he, by secret ways, could certainly find there was nothing in it but Religion, that then he should give them Assurances of the free Exercise of it, and press them not to engage any further till he was returned to the French Court, where he was promised to find a great Reward for so important a Service: but he was not to let the Queen Regent understand his business. He found upon his going into *Scotland*, that it was even as he had formerly heard; that the Queen Regent was now much hated and distasted by them: but that upon an Oblivion of what was passed, and the free Exercise of their Religion for the future, all might be brought to peace and quiet. But before he came back, the King of *France* was dead, the Constable in disgrace, and the Cardinal of *Lorraine* governed all: So he lost his Labour and Reward, which ye valued much less, being a generous and virtuous Man, than the Ruine that he saw coming on his Country.

159.
The French King intends to grant liberty of Religion.

But is killed.

The Lords that were now united against the Queen Mother came and took *St. Johnston*. From thence they went to *Stirling*, and *Edinburgh*: and every where they pulled down Monasteries; all the Country declared on their side; so that the Queen Regent was forced to fly to *Dunbar-Castle*. The Lords sent to *England* for Assistance, which the Queen readily granted them. They gave out, that they desired nothing but to have the French driven out, and Religion settled by a Parliament. The Queen Regent seeing all the Country against her, and apprehending that the Queen of *England* would take advantage from these Stirs to drive her out of *Scotland*, was content to agree to a Truce; and to summon a Parliament to meet on the 10th of *January*. But the new King of *France* sent over Mr. *de Croque*, with a high threatening Message, that he would spend the whole Revenue of *France* rather than not be revenged on them that raised these Tumults in *Scotland*. The Lords answered, that they desired nothing but the liberty of their Religion: and that being obtained, they should be in all other things his most obedient Subjects. The Queen Regent having gotten about 2000 Men from *France*, fortified *Leith*; and in many other things broke the Truce. There came over also some Doctors of the *Sorbonne* to dispute with the Ministers, because they heard the Scottish Clergy were scarce able to defend their own Cause. The Lords gathered again, and seeing the Queen Regent had so often broke her Word to them, they entered into Consultation to deprive her of her Regency. Their Queen was not yet of Age; and in her Minority, they pretended that the Government of the Kingdom belonged to the States: and there-

A Truce agreed to in Scotland.

1559.
The Queen
Regent is de-
posed.

fore they gathered together many of her Male-administrations, for which they might the more colourably put her out of the Government. The things they charged on her were chiefly these: 'That she had with-
'out Law begun a War in the Kingdom, and brought in Strangers to
'subdue it; had governed without the content of the Nobility, em-
'barked the Coin to maintain her Souldiers; had put Garrisons in free
'Towns, and had broke all Promises and Terms with them. There-
'upon they declared her to have fallen from her Regency, and did sus-
'pend her Power, till the next Parliament. So now it was an irre-
concilable Breach. The Lords lay first at *Edinburgh*, and from thence
retired afterwards to *Sterling*: Upon which the French came and posses-
sed themselves of the Town, and set up the Mass again in the Churches.
Greater Supplies came over from *France* under the Command of the
Marquess of *Elbeuf*, one of the Queen Regent's Brothers; who, though
most of his Fleet were dispersed, yet brought to *Leith* 1000 Foot, so
that there were now above 4000 French Souldiers in that Town. But
what Accession of strength soever the Queen Regent received from
these, she lost as much in *Scotland*; for now almost the whole Coun-
try was united against her; and the French were equally heavy to
their Friends and Enemies. They marched about by *Sterling* to waste
Fife, where there were some small Engagements between them and the
Lords of the Congregation.

The Scots im-
plore the Q.
of England's
Aid.

But the Scots, seeing they could not stand before that force that was
expected from *France* the next Spring, sent to Queen *Elizabeth* to de-
sire her Aid openly; for the secret Supplies of Money and Ammunition,
with which she hitherto furnished them, would not now serve the Turn.
The Council of *England* apprehended that it would draw on a War
with *France*: yet they did not fear that much; for that Kingdom
was falling into such Factions, that they did not apprehend any great
danger from thence till their King was of Age. So the Duke of *Norfolk*
was sent to *Berwick*, to treat with the Lords of the Congregation;
who were now headed by the Duke of *Chattelherbault*. On the 27th
of *February* they agreed on these Conditions: 'They were to be sure
'Allies to the Queen of *England*; and to assist her, both in *England* and
'*Ireland*, as she should need their help. She was now on the other hand,
'to assist them to drive the *French* out of *Scotland*: after which they
'were still to continue in their obedience to their Natural Queen.
'This League was to last during their Queen's Marriage to the *French*
'King, and for a year after: and they were to give the Queen of *Eng-
land* Hostages, who were to be changed every six Months.

This being concluded, and the Hostages given, the Lord *Gray* march-
ed into *Scotland* with 2000 Horse, and 6000 Foot. Upon that, the
Lords sent and offered to the Queen Regent, that if she would send a-
way the *French* Forces, the *English* should likewise be sent back, and
they would return to their Obedience.

Leith is be-
sieged by the
English.

This not being accepted, they drew about *Leith* to besiege it. In
one Sally which the *French* made, they were beaten back with the loss
of 300 men. This made the *English* more secure, thinking the *French*
would no more come out: but they understanding the ill order
that was kept, sallied out again, and killed near 500 of the *English*.
This made them more watchful for the future. So the Siege being
formed.

1559.

formed, a Fire broke out in *Leith*, which burnt down the greatest part of the Town: the *English* playing all the while on them, distracted them so, that the Souldiers being obliged to be on the Walls, the Fire was not easily quenched. Hereupon the *English* gave the Assault, and were beaten off with some loss: but the Duke of *Norfolk* sent a supply of 2000 men more, with the assurance of a great Army, if it was necessary; and charged the Lord *Gray*, not to quit the Siege till the *French* were gone. Ships were also sent to lye in the *Frith*, to block them up by Sea. The *French* apprehending the total loss of *Scotland*, sent over *Montluc* Bishop of *Valence* to *London*, to offer to restore *Calais* to the Queen of *England*, if she would draw her Forces out of *Scotland*. She gave him a quick Answer on the sudden herself, that she did not value that Fish-Town, so much as she did the quiet of *Britain*. But the *French* desiring that she would mediate a Peace between them and the *Scots*, she undertook that, and sent Secretary *Cecil* and Dr. *Wotton* into *Scotland* to conclude it. As they were on the way, the Queen Regent died in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, on the 10th of *June*. She sent for some of the chief Lords before her death, and desired to be reconciled to them; and asked them pardon for the Injuries she had done them. She advised them to send both the *French* and *English* Souldiers out of *Scotland*; and prayed them to continue in their Obedience to their Queen. She also sent for one of their Preachers, *Willock*, and discoursed with him about her Soul, and many other things, and said unto him, that she trusted to be saved only by the Death and Merits of *Jesus Christ*; and so ended her Days: which if she had done a year sooner, before these last Passages of her Life, she had been the most universally lamented Queen that had been in any time in *Scotland*. For she had governed them with great Prudence, Justice, and Gentleness; and in her own Department, and in the order of her Court, she was an Example to the whole Nation: but the Directions sent to her from *France*, made her change her Measures, break her Word, and engage the Kingdom in War; which rendred her very hateful to the Nation. Yet she was often heard to say, that if her Counsels might take place, she doubted not to bring all things again to perfect Tranquillity and Peace.

The Queen
Regent of
Scotland dies.

The Treaty between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*, was soon after concluded. The *French* were to be sent away within Twenty days; an Act of Oblivion was to be confirmed in Parliament; the Injuries done to the Bishops and Abbots were referred to the Parliament; Strangers and Church-men were no more to be trusted with the chief Offices; and a Parliament was to meet in *August* for the confirming of this. During the Queen's absence the Nation was to be governed by a Council of Twelve: of these the Queen was to name seven, and the States five: the Queen was neither to make Peace nor War, but by the Advice of the Estates, according to the ancient Custom of the Kingdom. The *English* were to return, as soon as the *French* were gone: and for the matter of Religion, that was referred to the Parliament: and some were to be sent from thence to the King and Queen, to set forth their desires to them: and the Queen of *Scotland* was no more to use the Arms and Title of *England*. All these Conditions were agreed to on the 8th of *July*; and soon after, both the *French* and *English* left the Kingdom.

A Peace is
concluded.

In

1559.
Reformation
is settled in
Scotland by
Parliament.

In *August* thereafter the Parliament met, where four Acts passed; one for the abolishing of the Popes Power. A second, For the repealing of all Laws made in favour of the former Superstition. A third, For the punishing of those that said or heard Mass. And the fourth was A Confirmation of the Confession of Faith; which was afterwards ratified and inserted in the Acts of Parliament, held *Anno* 1567. It was penned by *Knox*, and agrees, in almost all things, with the *Geneva* Confession.

Of the whole Temporalty, none but the Earl of *Athol*, and the Lords *Somerville* and *Borthwick* dissented to it: They said, they would believe as their Fathers had done before them. The Spiritual Estate said nothing against it. The Abbots struck in with the Tyde, upon assurance, that their Abbies should be converted to Temporal Lordships, and be given to them. Most of the Bishops, seeing the Stream so strong against them, complied likewise; and to secure themselves, and enrich their Friends or Bastards, did dilapidate all the Revenues of the Church, in the strangest manner that has ever been known; and yet, for most of all these Leases and Alienations, they procured from *Rome* Bulls to confirm them; pretending at that Court, that they were necessary for making Friends to their Interest in *Scotland*.

Great numbers of these Bulls I my self have seen and read: So that after all the noise that the Church of *Rome* had made of the Sacrilege in *England*, they themselves confirmed a more entire waste of the Churches Patrimony in *Scotland*; of which there was scarce any thing reserved for the Clergy. But our Kings have since that time, used such effectual endeavours there, for the recovery of so much as might give a just encouragement to the Labours of the Clergy; that universally the inferiour Clergy is better provided for in no Nation than in *Scotland*; for in Glebe and Tythes, every Incumbent is by the Law provided with at least 50 *l. Sterling* a Year: which in proportion to the cheapness of the Country, is equal to twice so much in most parts of *England*. But there are not among them such Provisions for encouraging the more Learned and deservig Men, as were necessary. When these Acts of the Scottish Parliament were brought into *France* to be confirmed, they were rejected with much scorn; so that the Scots were in fear of a new War. But the King of *France* dying in the beginning of *December*, all that Cloud vanished; their Queen being now only Dowager of *France*, and in very ill terms with her Mother-in-law Queen *Katherine de Medici*, who hated her, because she had endeavoured to take her Husband out of her hands, and to give him up wholly to the Counsels of her Uncles. So she being ill used in *France*, was forced to return to *Scotland*, and govern there in such manner, as the Nation was pleased to submit to.

Thus had the Queen of *England* separated *Scotland* entirely from the Interests of *France*, and united it to her own: And being engaged in the same Cause of Religion, she ever after this, had that influence on all Affairs there, that she never received any disturbance from thence, during all the rest of her glorious Reign. In which, other Accidents concurred to raise her to the greatest Advantages in deciding Foreign Contests that ever this Crown had.

Francis the 2d
died.

In July after he came to the Crown, *Henry* the Second of *France*, was unfortunately wounded in his Eye at a Tilting, the Beaver of his Helmet not being let down; so that he died of it soon after. His Son *Francis* the Second succeeding, was then in the 16th Year of his Age, and assumed the Government in his own Name; but put it into the hands of his Mother, the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and the Duke of *Guise*. The Constable was put from the Court, the Princes of the Blood were not regarded, but all things were carried by the Cardinal and his Brother; between whom, and the Queen-Mother, there arose great misunderstandings, which proved fatal to the Queen of *Scotland*; for she, being much engaged with her Uncles, and having an Ascendant over her Husband, did so divide him from his Mother, that before he died, she had only the shadow of the Government. This she remembered ever after against her Daughter-in-Law, and took no care of her afterwards in all her Miseries.

1559.
The Civil
Wars of
France.

But the Prince of *Conde*, with the Admiral, and many others, resolving to have the Government in their Hands, engaged some Lawyers to examine the point of the King's Majority: These writ several Books on that Subject, to prove that two and twenty was the soonest that any King had been ever held to be of Age to assume the Government: and that no Strangers, nor Women, might be admitted to it by the Law of *France*, but that it belonged to the Princes of the Blood, during the King's Minority; who were to manage it by the Advice of the Courts of Parliament, and the three Estates. So that the Design now concerted between these great Lords, to take the King out of their hands who disposed of him, was grounded on their Laws: Yet as this Design was laying all over *France*, Papists and Protestants concurring in it, it was discovered by a Protestant, who thought himself bound in Conscience to reveal it. Upon this, the Prince of *Conde* and many others were seized on; and had not the King's Death, in the beginning of *December* 1560. saved him, the Prince himself, and all the Heads of that Party, had suffered for it.

But upon his Death, *Charles* the Ninth that succeeded him, being but eleven Years Old, the King of *Navarre* was declared Regent; and the Queen Mother, who then hated the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, united her self to him and the Constable, and drew the weak Regent into her Interests. Upon this, some Lawyers examining the Power of the Regents, found that the other Princes of the Blood were to have their share of the Government with him; and that he might be checkt by the Courts of Parliament, and was subject to an Assembly of the three Estates.

In July, the next Year, there was a severe Edict passed against the Protestants, to put down all their Meetings, and banish all their Preachers. The Execution of it was put into the hands of the Bishops; but the greater part of the Nation would not bear it.

So in January thereafter, another Edict passed, in a great Assembly of the Princes of the Blood, the Privy Counsellors, and eight Courts of Parliament, for the free exercise of that Religion; requiring the Magistrates to punish those who should hinder or disturb their Meetings. Soon after this, the Duke of *Guise* and his Brother, reconciled themselves to the Queen Mother, and resolved to break that Edict. This was

1549.

was begun by the Duke of *Vassy*, where a Meeting of the Protestants being gathered, his Servants disturbed them; they began to reproachful Words from these it went to Blows, and throwing Stones, and by one of them the Duke was wounded: for which his *Majesty* took a severe Revenge, for they killed sixty of them, and wounded two hundred, sparing neither Age nor Sex. After this, the Edict was every where broken. Many Lawyers were of Opinion, that the Regent could not do it, and that the People might lawfully follow the next Prince of the Blood in defence of the Edict.

Upon this, his Brother, the Prince of *Conde* gathered an Army. In the beginning of the War, the King of *Navarre* was killed at the Siege of *Roan*; so that, by the Law, the Prince of *Conde* ought to have succeeded him in the Regency; and thus the Wars that followed after this, could not be called Rebellion; since the Protestants had the Law and the first Prince of the Blood of their side, to whom the Government did of right belong.

Thus began the Civil Wars of *France*, which lasted above thirty Years; in all which time, the Queen of *England*, by the Assistance she sent them, sometimes of Men, but for the most part, of Money and Ammunition, did support the Protestant Interest with no great Charge to her self. And by that, she was not only secured from all the Mischief which so powerful a Neighbour could do her, but had almost the half of that Kingdom depending on her.

The Wars of
the Netherlands.

The State of the *Netherlands* afforded the like Advantages in those Provinces; where the King of *Spain*, finding the Proceedings of the Bishops were not effectual for the Extirpation of Heresie, their See being so large, intended to have founded more Bishopricks, and to have set up the Courts of Inquisition in those Parts; and apprehending some opposition from the Natives, he kept Garrisons of *Spaniards* among them, with many other things, contrary to the *Letus Introitus*, that had been agreed to, when he was received to be their Prince.

The People finding all Terms broken with them, and that by that Agreement they were disengaged from their Obedience, if he broke those Conditions, did shake off his Yoke. Upon which followed the Civil Wars of the *Netherlands*, that lasted likewise above thirty Years. To them the Queen gave assistance; at first more secretly, but afterwards more openly: and as both they and the French Protestants were assisted with men out of *Germany*, which were generally led by the brave, but seldom fortunate, *Casimir*, Brother to the Elector Palatine, so the money that payed them, was for most part furnished from *England*.

And thus was Queen *Elizabeth* the Arbiter of all the Neighbouring parts of Christendom. She at home brought the Coin to a true Standard: Navigation prospered; Trade spread, both in the Northern Seas to *Arch-Angel*, and to the East and West *Indies*; and in her long Wars with *Spain*, she was always Victorious. That great *Armada*, set out with such assurance of Conquest, was, what by the Hand of Heaven in a Storm, what by the unweildiness of their Ships, and the nimbleness of Ours, so shattered and sunk, that the few remainders of it returned with irrecoverable shame and loss to *Spain* again. She reigned in the Affections of her People, and was admired for her Knowledge, Vertues,

Vertues, and Wisdom, by all the World. She always ordered her Councils so, that all her Parliaments were ever ready to comply with ~~her~~; for in every thing she followed the true Interest of the Nation. She never asked Subsidies, but when the necessity was visible; and when the Occasions that made her demand any, vanished, she discharged them.

She was admired even in *Rome* it self, where *Sixtus* the fifth used to speak of her, and the King of *Navarre*, as the only Prince's that understood what it was to Govern; and prophanely wished, he might enjoy her but one night, hoping they would beget a New *Alexander* the Great between them. But if that had been, and the Child had taken after the Father, it would have been more like *Alexander* the Sixth.

Notwithstanding all the Attempts of *Rome* against her Person and Government, she still lived and triumphed. In the first ten Years of her Reign, all things were carried with such moderation, that there was no stir about Religion. Pope *Pius* the Fourth, reflecting on the capricious and high Answer his mad Predecessor had made to her Address, sent one *Perpalia* to her, in the second Year of her Reign, to invite her to joyn her self to that See, and he would disannul the Sentence against her Mothers Marriage; confirm the English Service, and the use of the Sacrament in both Kinds. But she sent the Agent word to stay at *Brussels*, and not to come over. The same Treatment met Abbot *Martinengo*, who was sent the Year after with the like Message. From that Time, all Treaty with *Rome* was entirely broken off. *Pius* the Fourth proceeded no further; but his Successor, *Pius* the Fifth, resolved to contrive her Death, as he that writ his Life relates.

Catena.

The unfortunate Queen of *Scotland*, upon the Wars in her Country, was driven to seek shelter in *England*, where it was at first resolved to use her well, and to restore her to her Crown and Country; as will appear by two Papers, which for their Curiosity, being Originals, I have put into the Collection. The one is the Advice that Sir *Henry Mildmay* gave about it: the other is a long Letter written concerning it by the Earl of *Leicester* to the Earl of *Suffex*. They were given me by that most ingenious and vertuous Gentleman, Mr. *Evelyn*, who is not satisfied to have advanced the knowledge of this Age, by his own most useful and successful Labours, about Planting, and divers other ways, but is ready to contribute every thing in his Power to perfect other Mens Endeavours.

Collection
Number 12.

But while the English Council intended to have used the Queen of *Scotland* well, her own officious Friends, by the frequent Plots that were in a Succession of many Years carried on, sometimes by open Rebellion, as in the North of *England*, and in *Ireland*, but more frequently by secret Attempts, brought on her the Calamities of a long Imprisonment, and Death in the Conclusion.

Her Death was the greatest blemish of this Reign, being generally censured by all the Age, except by Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth, who was a Man that delighted in cruel Executions, and so concluded her to be a happy Woman that had the pleasure to cut off a Crowned Head. But Queen *Elizabeth's* own preservation from the many Designs that were

1559. against her Life, made it in some sort, if not necessary, yet more excusable in her: especially that unfortunate Queen having ~~by~~ self cherished the Plot of *Babington* and *Ballard*, and having set her Hand to the Letters that were written to them about it, though she still denied ~~that~~ and cast the blame of it on her Secretaries; who (as she said) had gotten her Hand to them without her Knowledge. The Pope had deposed the Queen (as will appear by his Sentence, which I have put in the Collection;) and the Queen of *Scotland* being the next Heir to the Crown, and a zealous Papist, those of that Religion, hoped by destroying the Queen, to set her in her room; which put *England* in no small disorder, by Associations, and other means that were used for preserving the Queen, and destroying the Popish Interest. The Rebellions and Plots in *England* and *Ireland*, were not a little supported by the Assistance of King *Philip* of *Spain*, who did all he could to embroil the Queens Affairs at home, though still without Success. But the steps of the Queen's Proceedings, both against Papists and Puritans, are so set out by her great and wise Secretary, Sir *Francis Walsingham* in so clear a manner, that I shall set it down here as a most important piece of History; being written by one of the wisest and most vertuous Ministers that these latter Ages have produced. He wrote it in French to one Monsieur *Critoy* a French-man, of which I have seen an English Copy, taken (as is said) from the Original.

Collection
Number 13.

S I R,

Walsingham's
Letter concerning the
Queens proceedings against both
Papists and Puritans.

Whereas you desire to be Advertized, touching the proceedings here in Ecclesiastical Causes, because you seem to note in them some Inconstancy and Variation, as if we inclined sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another; and as if that Clemency and Lenity were not used of late, that was used in the beginning: all which you imputed to your own superficial understanding of the Affairs of this State, having, notwithstanding her Majesties doings in singular Reverence, as the real Pledges which she hath given unto the World of her Sincerity in Religion, and of her Wisdom in Government well meriteth. I am glad of this Occasion, to impart that little I know in that matter unto you, both for your own satisfaction, and to the end you may make use thereof, towards any that shall not be so modestly and so reasonably minded, as you are. I find therefore her Majesties Proceedings to have been grounded upon two Principles.

The one, that Consciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by force of Truth, with the aid of Time, and use of all good means of Instruction and Perswasion.

The other, that Causes of Consciences when they exceed their bounds, and grow to be matter of Faction, loose their Nature, and that Sovereign Princes ought distinctly to punish their Practices and Contempt, though coloured with the pretence of Conscience and Religion.

According to these Principles, her Majesty at her coming to the Crown, utterly disliking the Tyranny of *Rome*, which had used by Terror and Rigour to settle Commandments of Mens Faiths and Con-

Consciences though as a Princess of great Wisdom and Magnanimity,
 she suffered but the exercise of one Religion; yet her proceedings to-
 wards the Papists, was with great Lenity: expecting the good Effects
 which time might work in them; and therefore her Majesty revived
 not the Laws made in the 28th. and 35th. of her Fathers Reign, where-
 by the Oath of Supremacy might have been offered at the King's Plea-
 sure to any Subject, so he kept his Conscience never so modestly to
 himself, and the refusal to take the same Oath, without further Cir-
 cumstances was made Treason. But contrariwise, her Majesty not
 liking to make Windows into Mens Hearts and secret Thoughts, ex-
 cept the abundance of them did overflow into overt and express Acts,
 or Affirmations, tempered her Law so, as it restraineth every manifest
 disobedience, in impugning and impeaching, advisedly and maliciously,
 her Majesties supreme Power, maintaining and extolling a Foreign
 Jurisdiction: And as for the Oath, it was altered by her Majesty into
 a more grateful Form; the hardness of the Name and Appellation of
Supreme Head, was removed; and the Penalty of the refusal thereof,
 turned only to disablement to take any Promotion, or to exercise any
 Charge, and yet of liberty to be reinvested therein, if any Man should
 accept thereof, during his Life. But after, when *Pius Quintus* ex-
 communicated her Majesty, and the Bulls of Excommunication were
 published in *London*, whereby her Majesty was in a sort proscribed,
 and that thereupon, as upon a principal Motive or Preparative, fol-
 lowed the Rebellion in the North; yet because the ill Humours of
 the Realm were by that Rebellion partly purged, and that she feared
 at that time no Foreign Invasion, and much less the Attempt of any
 within the Realm, not back'd by some potent Power, and Succour from
 without, she contented her self to make a Law against that special
 case of bringing in and publishing of any Bulls, or the like Instruments;
 Whereunto was added a Prohibition upon pain, not of Treason, but
 of an inferior degree of Punishment, against the bringing of the
Agnus Dei's, and such other Merchandice of *Rome*, as are well known
 not to be any essential part of the Romish Religion, but only to
 be used in practice, as Love-Tokens, to inchant and bewitch the
 peoples Affections, from their Allegiance to their natural Sovereign.
 In all other Points, her Majesty continued her former Lenity: but
 when about the 20th Year of her Reign, she had discovered in the
 King of *Spain*, an intention to Invade her Dominions; and that a
 principal part of the Plot, was to prepare a Party within the Realm,
 that might adhere to the Foreigner; and that the Seminaries began
 to blossom, and to send forth daily, Priests, and professed Men, who
 should by Vow taken at *Shrift*, reconcile her Subjects from their Obe-
 dience; yea, and bind many of them to attempt against her Majesties
 Sacred Person; and that, by the Poison which they spread, the Hu-
 mours of most Papists were altered, and that they were no more Pa-
 pists in Conscience, and of Softness, but Papists in Faction: Then
 were there new Laws made, for the punishment of such as should
 submit themselves to such Reconcilements, or Renunciation of Obe-
 dience: And because it was a Treason carried in the Clouds, and in
 wonderful secrecy, and came seldom to light; and that there was no

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'presuspicion thereof so great, as the Reverendness of our to Divine
 'Service, because it was set down by their Decrees, that to come to
 'Church before Reconciliation, was to live in Schism; but to come to
 'Church after Reconciliation, was to be heretical and damnable.
 'Therefore there were added Laws concerning Punishment pecuniary,
 'videlicet, such as might not enforce Consciences, but to enfeeble and
 'impoverish the means of those about whom it rested indifferent and
 'ambiguous, whether they were reconciled or not: and when, not-
 'withstanding all this Provision, the Poison was dispersed so secretly,
 'as that there was no means to stay it, but by restraining the Mer-
 'chants that brought it in. Then lastly, There was added a Law,
 'whereby such seditious Priests, of new Election, were exiled; and
 'those that were at that time in the Land, shipped over, and so
 'commanded to keep hence upon pain of Treason. This hath been
 'the proceeding, though intermingled, not only with sundry Exam-
 'ples of her Majesties Grace towards such as in her Wisdom she knew
 'to be Papists in Conscience, and not Faction and Singularity, but al-
 'so with extraordinary mitigation towards the Offenders in the highest
 'Degree, committed by Law, if they would but protest, that if in
 'case this Realm should be invaded with a Forreign Army, by the Popes
 'Authority, for the Catholick Cause, as they term it, they would take
 'part with her Majesty, and not adhere to her Enemies.

'For the other Party, which have been offensive to the State, though
 'in another Degree, which named themselves *Reformers*, and we com-
 'monly call *Puritans*, this hath been the proceeding towards them. A
 'great while, when they inveighed against such Abuses in the Church,
 'as Pluralities, Non-residence, and the like, their Zeal was not condem-
 'ned, only their Violence was sometime censured. When they refu-
 'sed the use of some Ceremonies and Rites, as Superstitions, they were
 'tolerated with much connivancy and gentleness; yea, when they cal-
 'led in question the superiority of Bishops, and pretended to a Demo-
 'cracy into the Church; yet their Propositions were here considered,
 'and by contrary Writings debated and discussed. Yet all this while, it
 'was perceived that their Course was dangerous, and very popular: as
 'because Papistry was odious, therefore it was ever in their Mouths,
 'that they sought to purge the Church from the Reliques of Papistry;
 'a thing acceptable to the people, who love ever to run from one ex-
 'tream to another.

'Because multitude of Rogues, and Poverty was an Eye-sore, and a
 'dislike to every Man; therefore they put into the peoples head, that
 'if Discipline were planted, there should be no Vagabonds nor Beg-
 'gars, a thing very plausible: and in like manner they promised the
 'people many of the impossible Wonders of their Discipline; besides,
 'they opened to the people a way to Government, by their Consistory
 'and Presbytery; a thing, though in consequence no less prejudicial to
 'the Liberties of private men, than to the Sovereignty of Princes; yet
 'in Brit shew very popular. Nevertheless this, except it were in some
 'few that got into extream contempt, was born with, because they
 'pretended in dutiful manner to make Propositions, and to leave it to
 'the Providence of God, and the Authority of the Magistrate.

But

But now of late Years, when there issued from them that affirmed, the consent of the Magistrate was not to be attended; when under pretence of a Confession, to avoid Slander and Imputations, they combined themselves by Classes and Subscriptions, when they descended into that vile and base means of defacing the Government of the Church, by ridiculous Pasquils, when they begun to make many Subjects in doubt to take Oaths, which is one of the Fundamental parts of Justice in this Land, and in all Places; when they began both to vaunt of their strength, and number of their Partizans and Followers, and to use Cominations that their Cause would prevaile, though Uproar and Violence, then it appeared to be no more Zeal, no more Conscience, but meer Faction and Division: And therefore though the State were compelled to hold somewhat a harder hand to restrain them than before, yet was it with as great moderation, as the Peace of the State or Church could permit. And therefore, Sir, to conclude, consider uprightly of these Matters, and you shall see, her Majesty is no more a Temporizer in Religion: It is not the Success Abroad, nor the Change of Servants here at Home, can alter her; only as the things themselves alter, she applyed her Religious Wisdom to Methods correspondent unto them; still retaining the two Rules before mentioned, in dealing tenderly with Consciences, and yet in discovering Faction from Conscience, and Softness from Singularity. Farewel.

Your loving Friend,

F. Walsingham.

THUS I have prosecuted what I at first undertook, the Progress of the Reformation, from its first and small beginnings in England, till it came to a compleat settlement in the time of this Queen. Of whose Reign, if I have adventured to give any Account, it was not intended so much for a full Character of her and her Councils, as to set out the great and visible Blessings of God that attended on her; the many Preservations she had, and that by such signal Discoveries, as both sav'd her Life and secured her Government; and the unusual happiness of her whole Reign, which raised her to the Esteem and Envy of that Age, and the Wonder of all Posterity. It was wonderful indeed, that a Virgin Queen could rule such a Kingdom, for above 44 Years, with such constant success, in so great tranquility at Home, with a vast encrease of Wealth, and with such Glory abroad. All which may justly be esteemed to have been the Rewards of Heaven, crowning that Reign with so much Honour and Triumph, that was begun with the Reformation of Religion.

The end of the third Book; and the History of the Reformation of the Church of England.

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